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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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VOL. 3
BI-MONTHLY
JULY, 1897—MAY, 1898

456022
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CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1898

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THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III JULY, 1897 NUMBER 1

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF THE SALOON.

WHAT is the saloon in society? What is its social value? What are the demands which it supplies? are questions which have received a variety of answers. In general it may be said that these answers have fallen under two main heads, determined in each case by the point of view of those giving them. The patron of the saloon speaks: "It is a necessary feature of my life. It furnishes me with many things which I cannot get elsewhere. It does me no harm;" and his words savor of conviction. But another is heard: "I am opposed to the saloon and to the liquor traffic in all its forms. It is unnecessary; it is waste; it is more than that; it is positive evil and vicious in the highest degree. It represents no necessity and supplies no legitimate want." Diametrically opposed to each other, yet both have spoken from conviction and each has stated the truth as it exists for him. But there is no truth in a contradiction until it be resolved. Society has at least become conscious of the contradiction; its resolution can follow only upon a complete statement of its terms; and it is in the hope that certain partially neglected facts may herein be brought forward, which shall contribute to such a complete statement, that this paper is submitted.

The nineteenth ward of Chicago according to the school census of 1896 has a population of 48,280. It is a workingman's

distr and the population is typical of unskilled labor in general. e largest foreign elements in the ward are the Irish, German, Italian and Bohemian, stated in the order of relative numerical strength. Of those of foreign parentage about one-half

FIG. 1.

are American born. As to moral condition, neither the extremes of vice nor of virtue are reached, while the general moral tone is rather healthful. It is believed that so far as population and worldly condition can be held to affect the saloon problem the conditions of the nineteenth ward are typical of the problem in general. A careful study of the saloons in the ward has been made, of which this does not profess to be a report. It is merely a statement of impressions gathered in the course of the investigation; the report itself belongs to a larger whole not yet completed in details. The laboratory method was employed. The

saloons were visited, an attempt was made to escape the bane of social investigation—the psychologist's fallacy. So far as possible, conditions were exchanged. Purse and scrip were left behind. The saloon became an integral feature of life. It

FIG. 2.

was loafing place, news center, and basis of food supply in its free lunch counter; a complete orientation was made into its life. Trammeled neither by an abstinence pledge nor by a predisposition for its wares, it is believed that the freedom necessary to unbiased judgment was obtained.

It was assumed in beginning the investigation that an institution which society has so generally created for itself must meet a definite social demand; and that the demand was not synonymous with a desire on the part of society to commit suicide by means of alcoholic poison was taken for granted. The question

became that of fixing the demand, of determining the social value. What does the saloon offer that renders it so generally useful, in the economic sense to the great mass of those who patronize it? For it is, not abuse, that it stands for. It does not personify "the vilest element of modern civilization." It does not "trade in and batten upon intemperance." It supplies legitimate needs and stands alone in supplying them. It transforms the individual into a *socius* where there is no other transforming power. It unites the many ones into a common whole which we call society, and it stands for this union amid conditions which would otherwise render it impossible, and intemperance is but its accident. The evils it produces have been portrayed in glowing terms: "Men and women glorying in drunkenness and shame;" "The sotted beasts who nightly gather at the bar." The more uncommon particular has been declared the universal. The exception has been made the rule. If the evils of liquor drinking were in fact what they have been in imagination the human species would have become extinct in Europe within any three centuries since the rise of the Roman Empire. The man who speaks of drunkenness and intemperance only, when treating of drink in general, does not exhaust his subject. Indeed it may be questioned whether he reaches it. That intemperance is an exception can be proved only by careful observation. It is believed that the personal use of this method will support these statements. That great waste is incident to every movement of our social machinery cannot be doubted; that the waste is even greater here than elsewhere need not be denied. The machinery is still useful, though many refuse to look beyond its waste, and it will be employed until a better machine is invented.

Primarily the saloon is a social center. Few will deny this. It is the workingman's club. Many of his leisure hours are spent here. In it he finds more of the things which approximate to luxury than he finds at home, almost more than he finds in any other public place in the ward. In winter the saloon is warm, in summer it is cool, at night it is brightly lighted, and it is always clean. More than that there are chairs and tables and

papers and cards and lunch, and in many cases pool and billiards, while in some few well-equipped gymnasiums can be found which are free to patrons. What more does the workingman want for his club? He already has all that most clubs offer their mem-

FIG. 3.

bers — papers and cards and food and drink and service — and being modest in his wants their quality satisfies him. But his demand for even these things is not fundamental, they are but means to his social expression. It is the society of his fellows that he seeks and must have.

To say that the saloon is the workingman's club does not answer a single objection which its opponents raise; one must first prove the necessity of workingmen's clubs and of the kind that the saloon represents. The common laborer works ten hours per day, his pay is small. In many cases his family is large, at

best the food would not be found sufficient for his gentler brother; add to his that his work is hard and his food poorly cooked, and the whole result will be a subnormal life. Given a human being, a center of life force, and among his first expressions will be a demand for society, nor does the family alone supply this want. History does not supply a single illustration of the self-sufficiency of the family. The social activity reaches beyond the immediate tie to the brother who is a brother only by courtesy. Social need outgrows the family and creates its own larger society, and this is what my workingman must do. He does not desert his family. He is not disloyal to them in seeking it, but he must find a larger circle in which to move. He must himself articulate in a larger life, and where shall he find it?

Does not the church offer what he seeks? In the first place four churches are somewhat inadequate to the needs of a population of 48,000, and yet if all places of worship in the ward, both Jewish and Gentile, be counted, four will be the net result. It is conceived that there is a difference between religious and social need—a difference between the organs of religious and social expression. The church is primarily devoted to worship. We seek *sociality*, and even a reconstructed church open seven days and nights in the week might fail to recognize our want. Indeed it may be questioned whether the church is called upon to note it. With us it does not, and our question remains unanswered.

But someone may say: "Are there not clubs where he can go?" No, and if there were they would offer conventions instead of freedom; must offer conventions of order of business, officers, etc., because of the inherent nature of clubs. The democratic element which is most essential—the absolute freedom to come and go and do as one pleases—cannot be incorporated into a club. But this reservation must be made, that in so far as the club expresses his vital interests, in the same measure does it become the institution which we seek. The trade union answers to this description. It is a much higher form of social expression than the saloon, and among its members it has supplanted the saloon

in a large degree, but at present a very small percentage of workingmen belong to trade unions and their demand for social expression is not thus supplied; yet the reformer's greatest hope lies along this line, while his energies are largely given to more

FIG. 4.

futile forms of social service. Of other organizations created for the purpose of ministering to this social need, most have been failures. They have come from the outside, splendid schemes to impress men, but alas! not to express them. But they succeed only as they express the human energy which they seek to convert to better uses.

Four churches, a few trade unions and impressive social forms cannot hope to meet the social needs of 48,000 people. Remember that there are no music halls or theaters beside. "What else have they but the saloon," and to the saloon they go. It was created for this purpose and still functions to this want.

The saloonkeeper is the only man who keeps open house in

the ward. It is his business to entertain. It does not matter that he does not select his guests; that convention is useless among them. In fact his democracy is one element of his strength. His place is the common meeting ground of his neighbors—and he supplies the stimulus which renders social life possible; th[illegible]n accretion of intelligence that comes to him in his busines[illegible]e hears the best stories. He is the first to get accurate information as to the latest political deals and social mysteries. The common talk of the day passes through his ears and he is known to retain that which is most interesting. He himself articulates in a larger social center composed of many social leaders like himself who, each representing his own following, together come to have a much larger power and place than the average citizen. My workingman is not too democratic to respect the ready intelligence, the power, and the better dress of the leader in his social center. They draw him to the saloon, and once there they continue to hold him. In addition the saloonkeeper trusts him for drinks—a debt of honor—yea more, he lends him money if in greater need. But the saloonkeeper is only one element in this analysis of attraction, and by no means the strongest. The desire to be with his fellows—the fascination which a comfortable room where men are has for him is more than he can resist; moreover the things which these men are doing are enticing to him; they are thinking, vying with each other in conversation, in story telling, debate. Nothing of general or local interest transpires which they do not "argue" out. Their social stimulus is epitomized in the saloon. It is center of learning, books, papers, and lecture hall to them, the clearing house for their common intelligence, the place where their philosophy of life is worked out and from which their political and social beliefs take their beginning. As an educational institution its power is very great and not to be scorned because skilled teachers are not present, for they teach themselves. Nay, verily, the apostle of the new education may welcome this as an illustration of education not divorced from social life by bonds of convention.

No one who is familiar with this life will deny the great educational value of the saloons, and this social expression, this freeing of human activity is rendered possible by the stimulant which the saloon offers. It stands not for social opportunity

FIG. 5.

only. It affords also the conditions of sociality. "The first action of ethylic alcohol," says Dr. Kerr, "is vascular relaxation, commonly called exhilaration or stimulation, when a glow of warmth spreads over the whole system, when the heart beats faster, when 'happy thoughts' crowd in upon the brain, when all seems life and light and joy, when everything without and within wears a roseate hue." The heart beats more rapidly—there is an exaltation of the mind, a freeing of emotional life, pleasurable ideas, rapid thought, unusual merriment. Is it not a social ideal—a condition in which each one would appear before his fellow? Only there are different ways of reaching it. The demanding power of individuals is here wanting. The

ul[illegible], pictures, and good music is absent. The con-[illegible]nt st[illegible] [illegible] purposive intelligence is denied—a thousand hings which st[illegible]ulate to swift and happy thought in other forms of society are entirely wanting here. But human energy, which is after all the primal social fact, demands an avenue of escape and finds its conditions in the best way it can.

Moreover this stimulus not only supplies immediate social need. It has all the value for present-day civilization that stimulants have ever had in the formation of history. It helps to preserve the idea which as yet cannot become an act, and failing in its function must otherwise die. Such, psychologists tell us, is the value of the stimulant—to free the individual from the consciousness of the limitation which prevents the realization of his ideal, and to preserve his ideal for him and for society. It is here that the saloon gets its ultimate social value. The bacchanals were promoters of the Greek state, and the drinking of the Dark Ages contributed to the realization of the modern individual. Upon what beside shall the emotional life feed? or where shall it find its resting place of achievement, while the act itself is impossible save in the heightened activity of an exhilarated self? In this way it is believed that the saloon is aiding in the development of a higher form of society by preserving in its patrons a higher social hope. This is but a part of the social need to which it ministers, but by no means the least part.

There is another primal need which the saloon supplies and in most cases supplies well. It is a food-distributing center—a place where a hungry man can get as much as he wants to eat and drink for a small price. As a rule the food is notoriously good and the price notoriously cheap. And that air of poverty which unfailingly attends the cheap restaurant and finds its adequate expression in ragged and dirty table linen is here wanting. Instead polished oak tables are used and upon them reposes free an abundance such as to constantly surprise a depleted purse. That the saloon feeds thousands and feeds them well no one will deny who has passed the middle of the day there.

As to the physiological effects of the use of alcohol, the

experiments conducted in the Yale laborator[illegible] reported in *Nature*, would seem to indicate that wh[illegible] e quanti[illegible] of alcohol used is not in excess of 2 per cent. o[illegible] the digestive fluid, digestive activity is aided by its presence. "Whisky can

FIG. 6.

be considered to impede the solvent action of the gastric juices only when taken immoderately and in intoxicating quantities." It is believed that a large part of the ordinary beer drinking contributes less than 2 per cent. in alcohol to the whole digestive fluid—but the proof is almost inaccessible. Dr. Keeley declares that "in the laboring man a certain quantity of alcohol will preserve the body weight with the same foot pounds of labor, and with a given quantity of food; and if these other things are equal the absence of the alcohol will require more food, or a decrease either in the labor or in the body weight." He contends that its action is not to build up tissue but to prevent its breaking down. "It has an inhibitory action on cell metabolism." He adds: "I understand that these things are matters

c n, and that the everyday use of alcohol among la or :torily proves the value of the use and not the abuse of a.coh l as a food — direct and indirect."

Such it is believed is the social value of the saloon. That it functions to certain social wants otherwise not supplied is our thesis. That its wares are poison is nowhere lost to sight, but that the poison appears in their abuse and not in their use is our contention. It is also admitted that social want is very inadequately supplied by the saloon. That a condition in which the idea can express itself in emotional terms only is essentially pathological. But it is believed that the saloon will continue to supply it as long as its opponents continue to wage a war of extermination against all that it represents, instead of wisely aiding social life to reach that plane where its present evils shall no longer be its accidents. The saloon is a thing come out of the organic life of the world, and it will give place only to a better form of social functioning. That a better form is possible to a fully conscious society no one can deny. When and what this form shall be remains for society's component units to declare. The presence of the saloon in an unorganized society is proof conclusive that society can wisely organize the need which it supplies.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge further upon the evils of the saloon in a protest against the predominance of one-sided statements in that very particular. They are many and grave, and cry out to society for proper consideration. But proper consideration involves a whole and not a half truth, and the whole truth involves its own power of proper action. In the absence of higher forms of social stimulus and larger social life the saloon will continue to function in society, and for that great part of humanity which does not possess a more adequate form of social expression the words of Esdras will remain true: It is wine that "maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one, of the bondman and of the freeman, of the poor and of the rich. It turneth every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt; and it maketh every heart glad."

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STUDY OF THE CRIMINAL IN MEXICO.

EVERYONE knows that study of the criminal by scientific methods is pursued with ardor in several European countries. However widely workers may ultimately diverge from the ideas of Cesare Lombroso, his writings and influence have been most important in furthering such study. In this country the interest has been somewhat desultory. While the Bertillon system of measurement for identification has been adopted at some places, while important experiments have been made toward physical regeneration of individual prisoners, and while the government supports a special agent to investigate the relations between education and crime, it cannot be claimed that we have done much that is serious toward extensive and systematic investigation and record.

There exists in our sister republic — Mexico — one study of this kind which in some respects is a model. In the *penitenciaria* of the state of Puebla, at the city of Puebla, is a thoroughly organized, well-equipped Department of Anthropology. This *Departamento de antropologia* was established April 2, 1891. It occupies three large rooms on the second floor of the building, and is under direction of Dr. Francisco Martinez Baca. Its work is divided between the laboratory, statistical office, and museum.

Minute study is made of each prisoner sent to the penitentiary. Detailed record is kept of the results. These records are preserved in a large book — which we may call the *Record Book*. The portrait of the prisoner is placed at the upper left-hand corner of the page; below it, to the left, is an extract from legal documents giving the details of his crime. There follow then personal data of several classes.

(*a*) *General:* Name; cell number; age; status; business; race; religion; origin; birthplace; last residence; latitude, alti-

d topography of both these places; statement ne is frequent at those places.

nography: Antecedents of the parents, brothers, immediate relatives; previous history; conditions of the family life; the neuropathic history of the family.

(*c*) *Cephalometry:* Eleven diameters of the head and face; the facial angle.

(*d*) *Anthropometry:* Stature; weight; arm reach; chest girth; total length of upper and lower members; relative lengths of the arm, forearm, hand, and middle finger; relative lengths of the thigh, leg, and foot; notes of asymmetries or abnormalities.

(*e*) *Physiognomy:* Study of the shape of the head and form of the body; examination of the forehead, nose, eyes, mouth, teeth, general aspect, eye color, grimaces, abundance of hair, color of hair, beard development, etc.; prominence of cheek bones, and of the maxillary angles; skin color; muscular development; general condition.

(*f*) *Organoscopy:* General sensibility as shown by the esthesiometer and electrical tests; sensibility to heat; reaction of muscles and veins to electrical excitation; to amyl-nitrite; dynamometric tests; development of tactile sense; of other senses; state of reflex action in skin and tendons.

(*g*) *Psychological:* Development of intelligence; memory; imagination; predominant sentiments, affections, and passions; dominant temper; providence; education; use of slang; tattooing; writing; use of written symbols or hieroglyphics; his *firma*.

Conduct Book.— From the time a prisoner is received until he is discharged a careful report is kept of his life in prison — health, conduct, exhibitions of character, punishments, their causes.

Book of Autographs.— The handwriting of criminals and other abnormal persons has been studied with some care and may give some information. In Mexico a person's signature — *firma* — does not consist simply of his name, but also of a flourish, usually below or across his name, which is frequently elaborate and peculiar and upon which more pains is spent than on the writing

of the name itself. It is quite certain that an [illegible] rest in the handwriting finds for the student it[illegible] fantastic flourish. A special book is devoted to a co[illegible] of these autographs.

DR. BACA.

Book of Autopsies.— Any prisoner dying in the penitentiary is dissected carefully and a minute record is made of every anatomo-pathologic lesion or abnormality.

It will be seen that a mass of most important material is being secured regarding these Puebla criminals. According to law, the skulls and brains of all criminals who die in the institution are the property of the museum of the department. The brains themselves are preserved, but in addition to that careful copies are made of them in plaster before they have had time to lose form or size by shrinkage. In 1892 a report of the work of

the department was prepared for the World's Columbian Exposition. It forms an octavo volume of some 123 pages, with diagrams and plates. Its title is *Estudios de Antropologia Criminal.* It is written by Dr. Baca and his assistant, Dr. Manuel Vergara It is an important work. When it was written there were in the museum skulls and brains of twenty-six individuals, whose life histories, prison conduct, mode of death, and physical structure were all known to the authors. The volume contains the first printed observations upon the criminality of a race.

Seventy-three per cent. of these individuals were of Indian race. Their absolute brain weight was low, varying from 1295.91 grams to 1157.85 grams. This is to be expected in a population which is badly nourished, overworked physically, and underworked intellectually. Sixty-nine per cent. of them showed meningeal affections. Abnormalities in the brain were common; among them was the presence of a fourth frontal convolution, found in almost 20 per cent. of the cases. The horizontal and vertical antero-posterior circumferences of the skull are small; the latter shows that the lack of development is *not* in the hinder portion, which is normal in size, but in the forward part. Certain points regarded as evidences of criminality in Europe are believed by our authors to be racial features. Thus the epactal bone (os incæ) is common; again, heavy eye arches, so conspicuous in European criminals, are here almost lacking. In Europe the *absence* of natural beard growth is mentioned as a criminal sign; in Mexico, among a people with naturally smooth bodies and faces, its *presence* is sinister. So true is this that popular saying asserts: *No te fies de indio barbon ni de espagñol lampiño; ni de mujer que hable como hombre, ni de hombre que hable como niño.* (Trust not the bearded Indian nor the beardless Spaniard; neither the woman who talks like a man, nor the man who talks like a child.) The more common skull form in these cases is the dolichocephalic (which is also the more common form in the race) or long skull; yet more than 20 per cent. are brachycephalic. In Europe exaggerated or extreme forms of skull of these types are considered degenerate signs; in Mexico such

extreme forms are rare. Asymmetry of skull and of face, projecting ears, absence of the helix of the ear, attached lobule, disproportionate size of the ear,—all these are common among Mexican as among European criminals.

Unfortunately, however, in Mexico we have no observations on normal cases for comparison. That any mark or character shall be called a stigma of degeneration or criminality it must not be among the normal race characters of the people studied. What is distinctly degenerate among one people may be quite normal in another. Our authors do not overlook these facts. In only one case, however, have they data regarding the normal race type; in the matter of skull form and asymmetry of the skull they have the evidence drawn from 594 normal cases. The result of comparison shows plainly enough that asymmetry is more common in criminals than in honest folk.

Chapters upon Hygiene of the Penitentiary and Medical Statistics follow. Finally the authors present five full-page plates, each showing twenty portraits of criminals, and four most important chart tables. On these are shown the collected data for all the twenty-six cases. I. Brains. II. Details of anatomo-pathological lesions as shown by autopsies. III. Craniometric; seventy measures being made on each skull. IV. Cranioscopic.

It is certain that Dr. Baca has developed a department of criminal anthropology far more comprehensive in plan and scope than any in our own country; it is also certain that his book is the most important original contribution of material yet made in criminology in America. While it may be regretted that Lombroso's ideas have so strongly influenced the authors, and while our lack of data regarding normal Mexican Indians is to be deplored, this carefully presented mass of observations is of great value.

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THE STAKE OF THE CHURCH IN THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

THIS paper is not an exhortation to the church to do its duty in social reform. It is not an appeal to conscience, but to the more delicately developed faculty of looking out for our own interest. I wish to show to all who believe that the church has an important function to fulfill in the complex structure of human society, that the future and welfare of this great institution would be impaired by social deterioration and advanced by true social progress.

Churches are institutions rooted in the national life; they will flourish if their soil is fertile of good; they will decay if it is barren and parched. Like other institutions the churches not only have duties to perform, but rights and interests of their own to guard. They own property; they employ men; they receive and disburse moneys. It stands to reason that anything which affects property, employment, and finances generally will affect the churches too. Of course with the church, more than with any other institution, the question of duty is paramount. If her duty collides with her interest, her duty must be done, though it tear the last shred of property from her naked body. But as long as there is no such collision, considerations of self-interest are legitimate; most of all if it can be shown that its duty and its self-interest in the wider outlook run parallel.

I shall endeavor to point out the stake which the church as an institution has in various phases of the social movement.

Take first the land question, the fundamental economic question. In all our occupations we need land, a *locus standi*. Even the push-cart peddler, who uses the public streets for his business with nearly as much freedom as if he were a peripatetic street-car company, needs a place to store his cart at night and another to store himself. The request of Archimedes, Δὸς ποῦ στῶ,

"Give me a place to stand and I will lift the earth with a lever," is the modest request of every worker on earth, only that we expect to lift ourselves rather than the earth. Now religious work, as soon as it gets beyond the first itinerant stage, makes the same demand, and makes it increasingly. The churches need land for their work. And if so, any legal or social condition affecting the availability of the land will affect church work.

To take the extreme case: the monopoly of land in a certain district would give the owner the power of autocratic interference in the religious affairs of the district owned. I understand that Lord Salisbury as lord of the manor refuses dissent a standing place on his lands. Similar action has been attempted by corporations in this country.

Of course control so complete and so personal is rare, at least as yet. But it is not a rare thing for the conditions of land ownership to act at least as a check on church extension. If a church wishes to make itself socially useful to the community by erecting a parish house near the church, the first item to be considered is the price of the land needed. If it wishes to begin a mission for evangelistic work, the first item again is the rent of the store or hall. If land is readily obtainable and rent low, such expansion of church work is comparatively easy. If land prices and rents are high, church expansion is checked to that extent, unless the wealth and liberality of the members have grown in the same ratio as land values. In smaller cities or in the suburbs churches often grow out of cottage meetings or Sunday schools held in private houses; but as population thickens and space grows dearer the former dwellers in houses become dwellers in tenements, and the free foothold is lost to church enterprises during their infancy. A certain church in New York thirty-five years ago maintained several missions simultaneously; several of these grew into churches, which in turn propagated. Recently the same church desired to enter into similar work once more. It is stronger now in membership and liberality, but it was found that no suitable store could be secured under fifty dollars a month and that amount was prohibitive.

The rise of land values acts as an automatic brake on church extension, and the worst of it is that the pressure of the brake grows strongest precisely when the free expansion of church work is most needed, namely, when population is congested. In no great city, so far as I know, do the churches keep pace with the growth of the population. Is this altogether due to the lethargy of the churches, or ought some of the blame to go to the nimbleness of land values?

Of course in so far as land values are regulated by a just and inevitable natural law we can have no quarrel with them. We cannot complain if the best sites are dearer than the worst. But in so far as land values are artificially enhanced by land speculation and by a vicious system of taxation, the churches have a right to cry out against the silken bands that are strangling religious enterprise in common with every other form of enterprise. Anyone who for purposes of speculation holds land in or about a city idle or partly idle contributes thereby to raise the price of every inch of soil in that town and hampers every church that wants to use land. And if our system of taxation taxes idle land more gently than improved land, and encourages speculation in land by allowing land owners to appropriate the increase in value created by the community, that system of taxation is as hostile to church work as to any other form of industry and progress. The church has a stake in the land question.

I wish some competent single taxer would tell us how churches would fare under the single tax. If the present exemption of church property from taxation continued under that system, it would practically cut in two the cost of securing a place of worship, and would enable the churches to devote their resources entirely to the erection of a suitable building. If total exemption were refused, partial exemption on some sliding scale might be permitted. And even if all government favors were withdrawn, and the church property were taxed evenly with other property, I doubt if they would be worse off than they are now. They would be situated then as if they were located on leased ground now, with the privilege of unlimited renewals. Moreover the

value of the ground used, on which the tax would be computed, would be lower than at present; first, because land now idle would be forced into use and would come into competition with all other land; second, because the speculative water would be let out of all land values. Then, too, it is on the whole juster to a corporation like a church, which is constantly renewing its membership, to tax its members evenly from year to year for the use of its ground, than to draw the entire purchase price from a single set of members in a few years. Practically this is usually impossible; most churches when they have secured property are compelled to carry a mortgage debt for a number of years, thus distributing the exertion over a longer term. But under the present system, after interest has been paid for years, the principal is still as big as ever and will have to be paid some time. Under the single tax there would be no principal to pay.

The only churches that would be less favorably situated under the single tax than under the present system would be old churches holding valuable land in down-town districts of our cities. At present they are often enabled to sell at a very great advance over the price once paid and with their booty to move up town, buy a fine site, and begin over again. This process would be stopped. If the stampede of the down-town churches were checked in this way, the mourning would be great, but not universal.

In the second place, the churches have a stake in the entire question of the distribution of wealth. If the present tendency to accumulation should continue; if the middle class should dwindle and our country be filled with a great proletariat — would the churches be profited thereby? We have Christ's word for it that the kingdom of God does not flourish among the rich. We have our own observation for it that it does not flourish among the very poor. The churches seem to thrive best among plain and sturdy people, who earn their living in the sweat of their own brows, but who are not harried beyond hope by the cares of the morrow or driven beyond their strength by the exactions of their

daily tasks. The churches have as much interest in looking after the permanence and prosperity of this class as the German peasant along the Rhine has in keeping intact the thin layer of ground on his hillsides from which his vines draw their sustenance.

If we come to have a well-defined wealthy class and a permanently poor class, we shall also have rich churches and poor churches, with a gulf fixed between them. Wealthy families will drift together. No amount of gush about rich and poor meeting together in the church, no amount even of real Christian sacrifice will be sufficient to overcome the silent social forces which will stratify people in the churches according to their wealth. The life of a wealthy man in a church of poor people is not altogether pleasant. Much is expected of him and little gratitude is given him. If he uses his managing capacity and the influence of his wealth he is accused of domineering and carrying the church in his pocket. If he is morally sensitive, the contrast between the poverty of his brethren and his own wealth will cause him constant social compunction and spiritual unrest, and after all he will not feel that he and his family sustain real Christian fellowship with those about him. If his natural masculine democracy can overcome the hindrances, it is a question if his wife will do the same. Sooner or later there will be a turn and the family will pass gracefully into a church composed of their social equals and ministering to the æsthetic tastes created by wealth. As surely as great differences in wealth exist, so surely will they manifest themselves in church life too.

As the poorer churches lose their best contributors they find it harder to pay their way. Even now it is almost impossible for a church in New York composed entirely of working people to equip and maintain its own worship, especially against the competition of wealthier neighbors. Outside aid is called in. But where permanent financial help is given some degree of control usually has to be conceded. The weak church is turned into a "mission" or reduced to some form of vassalage. Or it comes under the control of some larger organization and that again is

managed by men with time and money to spare. Even among the free churches a "bastard episcopacy, based on money only," grows up, with all the dangers of an ecclesiastical episcopacy and none of its spiritual power. The independence and self-government of the local churches, which are justly cherished by our most American denominations, will under such circumstances decay in fact, though still maintained in theory. These conditions are even now blighting the manliness and the Christian initiative of the churches.

The distribution of the national wealth also affects the income and efficiency of missionary and benevolent societies. If the income of the people sinks to the bare cost of living, there is little margin for missionary contributions. The widow's mites were large in the sight of God, but the trustees of the temple fund could not make them go very far. On the other hand the gifts of the rich, while often dazzling by their splendor, are actually small compared with their superfluity and in proportion to the total wealth controlled by them. The best and steadiest givers, if properly educated to give, are people of steady income who have a fair margin above the immediate necessities of life. To put the case concretely, imagine two churches; suppose that the aggregate income of the members in the one is about as large as in the other, say $150,000 a year. But in the one church this income is divided about evenly among 100 families, averaging $1500 a year; in the other there are 100 families receiving about $500 a year, and two families with $50,000 a year each. Under ordinary circumstances it can safely be predicted that the former church would give more steadily and liberally to missionary purposes than the latter.

If wealth concentrates in few hands, the churches will become more and more dependent on a few rich men for all larger undertakings. It would even now disturb the equilibrium of the denominations if some rich giver became alienated, or if he died and his heirs preferred another denomination. Such dependence of the churches on men of worldly power and often of worldly mind would contain the essence of that dependence of the church

on the state from which American Christianity has cut loose. It would expose the churches to dictation by those whose spirit cannot well be in sympathy with pure Christianity. The churches have everything to gain from a fairly even distribution of wealth. They would thrive best in a population in which there would be neither great fortunes nor solid poverty. It is therefore to their interest to assist in securing a condition in which every man would obtain an approximately fair return for his work, and nothing more.

In the third place the church has an interest of its own in the hours and conditions of labor. The demands on the vitality and vigor of all classes of workers are greater today than in former ages, and greater in America than on the more leisurely continent. Under our competitive methods of production and under the whiplash of American intensity the pace is fearfully rapid. If in addition the food and housing of the workers are inadequate, the consumption of vitality is ruinous. The efforts of organized labor to maintain the Sunday rest and to shorten the weekly hours of labor are intended to check in a measure this rapid exploitation of the vitality of workingmen.

The churches, at least according to the American conceptions of church life, are largely dependent on the voluntary labor of their members. The gospel of work is preached incessantly. In the Sunday school, the sewing school, the evangelistic meeting, and in all its multifarious work a modern church may be officered by paid workers, but the rank and file are volunteer workers. These men and women voluntarily add this religious and philanthropic work to the weekly stint of work by which they earn their daily bread. It is plain that the more completely their professional work consumes their working force, the less will they have left for the work of the church. How can a young woman put any brightness and sustained charm into her Sunday-school work if she has been standing for eleven hours a day behind a counter, perhaps without a chair to sit down in even during the intervals of her work? How can a man travel up

and down tenement stairs and stand the physical and mental wear of house-to-house visiting when he has been working all the week in an ill-ventilated shop amid the clang of machinery? They do this extra labor; they rejoice in doing it; but often they break down under it. It is grand; it is also heartbreaking.

Our type of church life, with its abundant use of volunteer labor, makes the churches dependent on some measure of leisure and surplus energy among their members. In the measure in which the people are drained of their strength by excessive hours of labor, and by poor ventilation, insufficient noonday rest, etc., in that measure the churches are robbed of their workers. In really poor districts the churches even now depend mostly on paid labor and on the help of workers of the upper classes from other churches. But that is a retrograde tendency, and if it became general would change the very type of the religion preached.

That leads us to another point. The increasing social distress and degradation of the people has led to the establishment of the so-called institutional churches. There are but few churches in every city conspicuous for their institutional features, but scarcely any churches have entirely escaped the influences of this tendency. It has modified them all. This is greatly to the credit of the churches. However ill considered some of the manifestations may be, it is at any rate an effort to cope with a sad situation in a Christly spirit. But that does not do away with the fact that a fearful burden has thus been imposed on the churches. Institutional features greatly increase the cost of church work. They make immense demands on the energy, care, and organizing ability of the leaders. Unless there are ample funds to employ paid helpers, the extra work will mostly fall back on the pastor. It is like increasing the diameter, weight, and revolutions of a fly-wheel without increasing the size of the axle around which it spins. Insurance agents ought to regard the pastor of an institutional church as a bad risk. It is murderous work. And the more willing and consecrated a man is, the faster will it wear

him out. If this is inevitable, ministers must e'en get nervous prostration and creep away to a hole to die. "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." But if it is a needless sacrifice, ministers have a right to object against being made the scapegoats of others. By the great primal law of self-preservation they have a right to object against the way human wreckage is being dumped down on them to cure and set up again. When I was a boy of fifteen I was once set all alone to stack the straw turned out by an eight-horse threshing machine. My frantic efforts under that inexorable stream of straw were a foretaste of later experiences. If an active city pastor will compute the time he has spent during the last three years in turning himself into an employment bureau and dealing with out-of-works, he will realize how much his work and welfare are affected by social conditions.

In one way this philanthropic work has given a wholesome bent to modern church life. But there is always danger that the distinctively spiritual work will be crowded to one side. Those who object to the institutional church as a perversion of the church are not altogether wrong. It was an early experience of the apostles that they could not "continue steadfastly in prayer and in the ministry of the word" if they had to "serve tables." Nor is the moral effect on the people purely good. Wherever something is to be had for nothing, cupidity is aroused, and the spiritual work of the churches will have to be done through a clinging and blinding vapor of self-seeking and hypocrisy.

The institutional church is a necessary evil. The people ought to be able to provide for themselves what the churches are trying to provide for them. If the people had comfortable homes, steady work, and a margin of income for the pleasures of life, they could look out for themselves and the churches could prune off their institutional attachments. While social conditions were simple and wholesome there were no institutional churches; the family and neighborhood could attend to the isolated cases of sickness and need. Make social life healthy and you can simplify church work. Let poverty and

helplessness increase, and the work of the churches will increase too. The more Christlike they are, the more unbearable will their burdens become. Certainly the churches have a stake in the social movement.

A still subtler detriment suffered by the church through social deterioration is that the morale of its members is impaired and its reputation in the community weakened. It is a commonplace of the statistics of crime that periods of financial depression are accompanied and followed by an increase in all forms of crime against property. Men are pushed hard and cross the lines of legality. But statistics take no account of those who are pushed across the line drawn by their own conscience or the conscience of their moral community. Any attentive observer must have noticed the havoc wrought by the last three years. I have seen church members take positions in the liquor trade against the protest of their conscience and their social pride. Christian men remain in business situations where they have to lie habitually on behalf of their employers; they are afraid they will find no other position. The distress of this last winter has reached even the women who have hitherto found work by washing, scrubbing, etc., and widows who have heretofore maintained their self-respect are now living with men to whom they are not married in order to have bread and shelter for themselves and their children. This snapping of moral restraints is most injurious where there has been sincere striving to live a right life. There it is a sin against the light. Church members in such cases lose their self-respect; they get out of view of their church; they enter the class of publicans and sinners. The last three years have come like the devastating floods of the Mississippi and have swept away what the church has erected with infinite labor. What if the downward movement of these years should become in a measure permanent? Has the church no stake in these questions?

Anything that impairs the morale of the church also impairs its reputation for moral superiority. It is perhaps the instinct

of human equality in a morbid form which prompts men to seize so eagerly on the sins and inconsistencies of church members and to argue from single cases that they are no better than other people and probably worse. But in spite of all that, the church still has a reputation, and that reputation is its stock in trade, its good will, its source of authority. To weaken it is to weaken the efficacy of the church and frustrate its work.

The harder it is under our social environment to do the plain righteousness demanded by the standards of everyday life the less likely is it that Christians generally will live up to the more exacting demands of the peculiar morality of Jesus, which is theoretically the standard of the church. Jesus demands that we shall not lay up treasures on earth, but shall live like the birds, without care for the morrow. It is comparatively easy to venture on a life of obedience to this command if one is sure of an opportunity to earn a living through every coming year. But when a man's trade regularly has five months of work and seven months of idleness, and when men are crowded out by younger men and turned adrift as soon as the signs of age set in, it becomes pretty hard not to scrape together treasure while there is anything to scrape. Christ demands that we shall love our neighbor as ourselves. That is comparatively easy when it is clear that my neighbor is my coworker and that his prosperity involves my own. But if there is only one job for the two of us and it is a question between us who will snatch it, or if I can make my business pay only by drawing my neighbor's customers, it becomes difficult to love him as well as myself. I do not say that it becomes impossible; there are heroic souls that trample on impossibilities. But for the mass of Christian people obedience to the ethics of Jesus becomes more remote as the social conditions in which they live make the practice of the ordinary virtues harder. A socialist in Germany said to me that if ever the commune was established that would be the first fair chance for those who desired it to live according to the precepts of Jesus.

But the farther the church lags behind its own acknowledged

standard of life the worse it is for its reputation. The charge of insincerity is made angry and incisive by the feeling of wrong done to society by the church. Men feel that the church by inefficiency and cowardice is responsible for the social ills under which they suffer. That is a tribute to the latent moral power of the church. There is no such feeling toward any other organization. The secret societies of our country are large, wealthy, influential, composed of picked men, and many of them ostensibly formed to further the cause of humanity. I have met with no anger against them because they have left the social problems unsolved; not because they are doing all they can, but apparently because nobody thinks they have any saving power in them. But the church is covered with reproach and accusations. It stands indicted for culpable neglect and malfeasance in office, and such a charge is no more pleasant for a body of men than for an individual. It is not only a question of duty and the will of God. It is to the interest of the church to save its reputation and have the good will of its fellow-men. Does the salt of the earth enjoy being cast into the street and trodden under foot of men?

Finally, it seems to me that even the mystic spiritual life of the church, its trust in God and fellowship with him, must suffer in the midst of social decay. I believe in the victorious power of the spiritual life. Faith can overcome the world and glory even in tribulation. I have seen holy lives unfolding in the most depressing surroundings, like edelweiss at the edge of a glacier. But Christ bids us pray that we be not led into temptation, knowing that the stronger the temptation the fewer will resist.

Walter Besant, in contemplating the sordid life of the East End of London, raises the question if there has ever been a great city that was really religious. I do not know; but I am sure that there is no great city in which modern industrialism has set up its smoking and flaring altars of Mammon in which religion is not struggling for its life like a flower growing among the cobble stones of the street. The larger our cities grow the less hold does religion seem to have over the multitude of men and

the general life. The church is inquiring for the cause with compunctions of conscience and anguish of heart. It has sought to improve its organization, to try new methods, to elicit more funds. It has blamed the tired workers for their lack of success. But still it looks like a losing race. Is it not perhaps true that as the social life of the people grows sordid, as the home and family life are contracted and crushed, and as the future looms up in dreary uncertainty and hopelessness, the religious sense of the people is choked and the natural basis for the religious life dwindles? For one thing, the people of our great cities are cut off from nature and from nature's God. All that they see and touch was made by man. To men in Chicago the heavens do not declare the glory of God, for they are covered with smoke. To us in New York the firmament showeth but an insignificant fragment of his handiwork between the cornices and fire escapes of the tenements. Her children in the city suck no sweetness from the bosom of mother earth, for her bosom is covered with asphalt and flagstones. Suppose a modern Job were sitting with his friends in a tenement in New York and reasoning about God. Suppose God wished to reveal his majesty to him, as he did to ancient Job; how would God do it? The wild ass and behemoth and leviathan convey no impression of ungovernable freedom, and of a strength yielding only to God, as they munch their food behind the bars at Central Park. The rain and the snow carry no sense of awe, for the street-cleaning department attends to such things promptly. The reverence in face of the vastness of nature, the delight in her beauty and her gifts, and the fear of her power, are almost eliminated in a great city, and thereby one of the influences which predisposes to religion and educates us for the spiritual life is wiped out. Men see and know the works and the cleverness of man and in that they believe. As for God, they know of him by hearsay. And so the soil in which the church has to sow its seed is trodden hard or washed away, leaving the bare rock.

Has the church no stake in the social movement?

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ON A DIFFERENCE IN THE METABOLISM OF THE SEXES.

It is increasingly apparent that all sociological manifestations proceed from physiological conditions. The variables entering into social consciousness and activity—technology, ceremonial, religion, jurisprudence, politics, the arts and professions, trade and commerce—have confessedly either a primary or a secondary connection with the struggle for food. Reproduction, a utilization of surplus nutrition, is also obviously in the closest possible relation with food, and the evidence here detailed is designed to show that the determination of sex is a chemical matter, maleness and femaleness being solely expressions of a difference of attitude toward food. If such a connection can be traced between sex and nutrition it will afford a starting point for a study of the comparative psychology of the two sexes and for the investigation of the social meaning of sex.

A grand difference between plant and animal life lies in the fact that the plant is concerned chiefly with storing energy, and the animal with consuming it. The plant by a very slow process converts lifeless into living matter, expending little energy and living at a profit. The animal is unable to change lifeless into living matter, but has developed organs of locomotion, ingestion, and digestion which enable it to prey upon the plant world and upon other animal forms, and in contrast with plant life it lives at a loss of energy. Expressed in biological formula, the habit of the plant is predominantly anabolic, that of the animal predominantly katabolic. Certain biologists, limiting their attention in the main to the lower forms of life, have maintained very plausibly that males are more katabolic than females, and that maleness is the product of influences tending to produce a katabolic habit of body.[1] If this assumption is correct, maleness and

[1] Geddes and Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, 1889, have presented this view in an

femaleness are merely a repetition of the contrast existing between the animal and the plant. The katabolic animal form, through its rapid destruction of energy, has been carried developmentally away from the anabolic plant form; and of the two sexes the male has been carried farther than the female from the plant process. The body of morphological, physiological, ethnological, and demographic data which follows becomes coherent, indeed, only on the assumption that woman stands nearer to the plant process than man, representing the constructive as opposed to the disruptive metabolic tendency.[1]

The researches of Düsing,[2] supplementing the antecedent observations of Ploss,[3] and further supplemented by the ethnological data collected by Westermarck,[4] may be regarded tentatively as having demonstrated a connection between an abundance of nutrition and females, and between scarcity and males, in relatively higher animal forms and in man. The main facts in support of the theory that such a connection exists are the following: Furriers testify that rich regions yield more furs from females and poor regions more from males. In high altitudes, where nutrition is scant, the birth rate of boys is high as compared with lower altitudes in the same locality. Ploss has pointed out, for instance, that in Saxony from 1847 to 1849 the yield of rye fell and the birth rate of boys rose with the approach

elaborate form. The present paper is an attempt to extend the general thesis to the human species, with a suggestion of its social implications.

[1] HAVELOCK ELLIS, *Man and Woman*, 1894, has brought together a mass of very valuable material on the question of the somatic and psychic differences of man and woman, but aside from some very sane remarks in their proper connection, has made no attempt to generalize his materials. H. CAMPBELL, in a volume of much the same scope, *Differences in the Nervous Organization of Man and Woman*, 1891, has given a résumé of the theory of Geddes and Thomson, and suggested its extension to the human species, but without attempting to work out the application in detail.

[2] C. DÜSING, *Die Regulirung des Geschlechtsverhältnisses bei der Vermehrung der Menschen, Thiere, und Pflanzen*, 1884; *Das Geschlechtsverhältniss der Geburten in Preussen*, 1890.

[3] H. PLOSS, "Ueber die das Geschlechtsverhältniss der Kinder Bedingenden Ursachen," *Monatsschrift für Geburtskunde und Frauenkrankheiten*, Vol. XII, pp. 321–60.

[4] E. WESTERMARCK, *The History of Human Marriage*, 1891, pp. 470–83.

of high altitudes. More boys are born in the country than in cities, because city diet is richer, especially in meat; Düsing shows that in Prussia the numerical excess of boys is greatest in the country districts, less in the villages, still less in the cities, and least in Berlin.[1] In times of war, famine, and migration more boys are born, and more are born also in poor than in well-to-do families. European statistics show that when food stuffs are high or scarce the number of marriages diminishes, and in consequence a diminished number of births follows, and a heightened per cent. of boys; with the recurrence of prosperity and an increased number of marriages and births, the per cent. of female births rises (though it never equals numerically that of the males).[2] More children are born from warm-weather than from cold-weather conceptions,[3] but relatively more boys are born from cold-weather conceptions. Professor Axel Key has shown from statistics of 18,000 Swedish school children that from the end of November and the beginning of December until the end of March or the middle of April, growth in children is feeble. From July-August to November-December their daily increase in weight is three times as great as during the winter months.[4] This is evidence in confirmation of a connection between maleness, slow growth, and either poor nutrition or cold weather, or both. Physical growth is also completed earlier by girls than by boys, and girls from the well-nourished classes reach puberty at an earlier age than girls from the poor classes. Professor Key's investigations[5] have also confirmed the well-known fact that maturity is reached earlier in girls than in boys, and have shown that in respect of growth the ill-nourished girls follow the law of growth of the boys. Growth is a function of nutrition, and puberty is a sign that somatic growth

[1] DÜSING, *Geburten in Preussen*, pp. 29–33.

[2] *Geburten in Preussen*, pp. 14–19.

[3] H. PLOSS, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, 3. Aufl., Vol. I, p. 419.

[4] AXEL KEY, "Die Pubertätsentwickelung und das Verhältniss derselben zu den Krankheitserscheinungen der Schuljugend," *Verhandlungen des X. Internationalen Medicinischen Congresses*, 1890, Vol. I, p. 91.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–90.

is so far finished that the organism produces a surplus of nutrition to be used in reproduction. Organically reproduction is also a function of nutrition, and, as Spencer pointed out, is to be regarded as discontinuous growth. The fact that an anabolic surplus, preparatory to the katabolic process of reproduction, is stored at an earlier period in the female than in the male, and that this period is retarded in the ill-nourished female, is a confirmation of the view that femaleness is an expression of the tendency to store nutriment, and explains also the infantile somatic characters of woman. Finally, the fact that polyandry is found almost exclusively in poor countries, coupled with the fact that ethnologists almost uniformly report a scarcity of women in those countries, permits us to attribute polyandry to a scarcity of women and scarcity of women to poor food conditions.

This evidence should be considered in connection with the experiments of Yung on tadpoles, of Siebold on wasps, and of Klebs on the modification of male and female organs in plants:

According to Yung, tadpoles pass through an hermaphroditic stage, in common, according to other authorities, with most animals. . . . . When the tadpoles were left to themselves the females were rather in the majority. In three lots the proportion of females to males was, 54–46; 61–39; 56–44. The average number of females was thus about fifty-seven in the hundred. In the first brood, by feeding one set with beef Yung raised the percentage of females from 54 to 78; in the second, with fish, the percentage rose from 61 to 81; while in the third set, when the especially nutritious flesh of frogs was supplied, the percentage rose from 56 to 92. That is to say, in the last case the result of high feeding was that there were 92 females, and 8 males.[1]

Similarly, the experiments of Siebold on wasps show "that the percentage of females increases from spring to August, and then diminishes. We may conclude without scruple that the production of females from fertilized ova increases with the temperature and food supply, and decreases as these diminish.[2]

Nor are there many facts more significant than the simple and well-known one that within the first eight days of larval life the addition of food will determine the striking and functional differences between worker and queen.[3]

[1] GEDDES and THOMSON, *loc. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 4.

[2] ROLPH, quoted by GEDDES and THOMSON, *loc. cit.*, bk. i, chap. 4.

[3] GEDDES and THOMSON, *ibid.*

It is certainly no mere chance, but agrees with other well-known facts, that for the generation of the female organ more favorable external circumstances must prevail, while the male organ may develop under very much more unfavorable conditions.[1]

These facts are not conclusive, but they all point in the same direction, and are probably sufficient to establish a connection between food conditions and the determination of sex. But behind the mere fact that a different attitude toward food determines difference of sex, lies the more fundamental, indeed, the real explanation of the fact, and this chemists and physiologists are not at present able to give us. Researches must be carried further on the effect of temperature, light, and water on variation before we may hope to reach a positive conclusion. We can only assume that the chemical constitution of the organism at a given moment conditions the sex of the offspring, and is itself conditioned by various factors—light, heat, water, electricity, etc.—and that food is one of these variables.[2] It is sufficient for our present purpose that sex is a constitutional matter, indirectly dependent upon food conditions, that the female is the result of a surplus of nutrition, and that the relation reported among the lower forms persists in the human species.

In close connection with the foregoing we have the fact

[1] G. KLEBS, *Ueber das Verhältniss des männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechts in der Natur*, 1894, p. 19.

[2] Food affords the basis for metabolic changes in the parent organism, but it is probable that food is less *directly* related than heat and light to the determination of sex. Sachs, whose experiments must be given the greatest possible weight, has determined that the ultra-violet rays of light are necessary to the chemical changes essential to the formation of the reproductive organs. (J. SACHS, "Ueber die Wirkung der ultravioletten Strahlen auf die Blüthenbildung," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen über Pflanzen-Physiologie*, Vol. I, pp. 293 *seq.*) More recently, Klebs has shown that by diminishing the intensity of light the development of female sex organs in ferns can be interrupted, so that in spite of the presence of male organs fertilization is impossible; at the same time the prothallia are enabled in weak light to grow feebly and to put out small asexual processes, which in the presence of bright light become normal prothallia. Similarly, the development of sexual organs in *algæ* is dependent on a certain intensity of light, and the plant remains sterile if the light is diminished below a certain point. (G. KLEBS, *Ueber einige Probleme der Physiologie der Fortpflanzung*, 1895, pp. 13–16.)

reported by Maupas[1] that certain infusorians are capable of reproducing asexually for a number of generations, but that unless the individuals are sexually fertilized by crossing with unrelated forms of the same species they finally exhibit all the signs of senile degeneration, ending in death.[2] After sexual conjugation there was an access of vitality, and the asexual reproduction proceeded as before. "The evident result of these long and fatiguing experiments is that among the ciliates the life of the species is decomposed into evolutional cycles, each one having for its point of departure an individual regenerated and rejuvenated by sexual copulation."[3] The results obtained by Maupas receive striking confirmation in the universal experience of stock breeders that in order to keep a breed in health it is necessary to cross it occasionally with a distinct but allied variety. It appears, then, that a mixture of blood has a favorable effect on the metabolism of the organism, comparable to that of abundant nutrition, and that innutrition and in-and-in breeding are alike prejudicial. If this is true, and if heightened nutrition yields an increased proportion of females, we ought to find that breeding out is favorable to the production of females, and breeding in to the production of males; and a considerable body of evidence in favor of this assumption exists.[4]

[1] E. MAUPAS, "Théorie de la sexualité des Infusoires ciliés," *Comtes Rendus*, 1887, Vol. CV, pp. 356 *seq.*

[2] The extinction took place at about the 330th generation in *onychodromus grandis*, at about the 320th generation in *stylonichia mytilis*, at about the 330th generation in *leucophrys patula*, and at about the 660th generation in *oxytricha* (indeterminate). MAUPAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 358.

[3] MAUPAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 358.

The celebrated experiments of Maupas, taken in connection with recent investigations of Klebs, illustrate the fact that the phenomena characteristic of any given form can rarely be generalized. Klebs' experiments on *algæ* have shown that the same form can be rendered sexual or asexual at will. No sexual organs are produced in feeble light or in running water. The same form which reproduces sexually in stagnant water reproduces asexually and indefinitely in running water. (KLEBS, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.) It does not appear, however, that Maupas' conclusions are affected by this fact.

[4] WESTERMARCK, *loc. cit.*, pp. 476–83, following a suggestion of Düsing, has brought together much of the evidence on this point, but the application of the facts here made has not, I believe, been suggested.

Observations of above 4000 cases show that among horses the more the parent animals differ in color the more the female foals outnumber the male. Similarly, in-and-in bred cattle give an excessively large number of bull calves. Liaisons produce an abnormally large proportion of females,[1] incestuous unions, of males.[2] Among the Jews, who frequently marry cousins, the per cent. of male births is very high.

According to Mr. Jacobs' comprehensive manuscript collection of Jewish statistics . . . . the average proportion of male and female Jewish births registered in various countries is 114.5 males to 100 females, whilst the average proportion among the non-Jewish population of the corresponding countries is 105.25 males to 100 females. . . . . His collection includes details of 118 mixed marriages; of these 28 are sterile, and in the remainder there are 145 female children and 122 male—that is, 118.82 females to 100 males.[3]

The testimony is also tolerably full that among *metis* and among exogamous peoples the female birth rate is often excessively high.[4]

Viewed with reference to activity the animal is an advance on the plant, from which it departs by morphological and physiological variations suited to a more energized form of life; and the female may be regarded as the animal norm from which the male departs by further morphological and physiological variations. It is now well known that variations are more frequent and marked in males than in females. Among the lower forms, in which activity is more directly determined mechanically by the stimuli of heat, light, and chemical attraction, and where in general the food and light are evenly distributed through the medium in which life exists, and where the limits of variation are consequently small, the constitutional nutritive tendency of the female manifests itself in size. Among many *cephalopoda* and *cirripedia*, and among certain of the *articulata* the female is larger than the male. Female spiders, bees, wasps, hornets, and butterflies are larger than the males, and the difference is noticeable

[1] A. von Oettingen, *Die Moralstatistik*, 3. Aufl., p. 56.

[2] Düsing, *Die Regulirung des Geschlechtsverhältnisses*, p. 237.

[3] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, pp. 479 and 481 n.

[4] *Cf.* Westermarck, *ibid.*, pp. 476–83.

even in the larval stage. So considerable is the difference in size between the male and female cocoons of the silk-moth that in France they are separated by a particular mode of weighing.[1] The same superiority of the female is found among fishes and reptiles, and this relation wherever it occurs may be associated with a habit of life in which food conditions are simple and stimuli mandatory. As we rise in the scale toward backboned and warm-blooded animals the males become larger in size, and this reversal of relation, like the development of offensive and defensive weapons, is due to the superior variational tendency of the male resulting in characters which persist in the species wherever they prove of life-saving advantage.[2]

The superior activity and variability of the male among lower forms has been pointed out in great detail by Darwin and confirmed by others.

> Throughout the animal kingdom, when the sexes differ in external appearance, it is, with rare exceptions, the male which has been more modified; for, generally, the female retains a closer resemblance to the young of her own species, and to other adult members of the same group. The cause of this seems to lie in the males of almost all animals having stronger passions than the females.[3]

Darwin explains the greater variability of the males as shown in more brilliant colors, ornamental feathers, scent-pouches, the power of music, spurs, larger canines and claws, horns, antlers, tusks, dewlaps, manes, crests, beards, etc., as due to the operation of sexual selection, meaning by this "the advantage which certain individuals have over others of the same sex and species solely in respect of reproduction"[4] the female choosing to pair with the more attractive male, or the stronger male prevailing in a contest for the female. Wallace[5]

[1] G. DELAUNAY, "De l'égalité et inégalité des deux sexes," *La Revue scientifique*, 3 Sept., 1881; C. DARWIN, *Descent of Man*, chap. 10.

[2] A. WEISMANN, *Essays upon Heredity*, Vol. I, "The Duration of Life," has shown that size and longevity are determined by natural selection.

[3] C. DARWIN, *Descent of Man*, chap. 8.

[4] DARWIN, *ibid.*, chap. 8.

[5] A. R. WALLACE, *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, 1870, chap. 3.

advanced the opposite view, that the female owes her soberness to the fact that only inconspicuous females have in the struggle for existence escaped destruction during the breeding season. There are fatal objections to both these theories; and, taking his cue from Tylor,[1] Wallace himself, in a later work, suggested the true explanation, namely, that the superior variability of the male is constitutional, and due to general laws of growth and development. "If ornament," he says, "is the natural product and direct outcome of superabundant health and vigor, then no other mode of selection is needed to account for the presence of such ornament."[2] That a tendency to spend energy more rapidly should result in more striking morphological variation is to be expected; or, put otherwise, the fact of a greater variational tendency in the male is the outcome of a constitutional inclination to destructive metabolism. It is a general law in the courtship of the sexes that the male seeks the female. The secondary sexual characters of the male are developed with puberty and in some cases these sexual distinctions come and go with the breeding season. What we know as physiological energy is the result of the dissociation of atoms in the organism; expressions of energy are the accompaniment of the katabolic or breaking-up process, and the brighter color of the male, especially at the breeding season, results from the fact that the waste products of the katabolism are deposited as pigments.

When we compare the sexes of mankind morphologically

[1] "If we take the highly decorated species; that is, animals marked by alternate dark or light bands or spots, such as the zebra, some deer, or the carnivora, we find, first, that the region of the spinal column is marked by a dark stripe; secondly, that the regions of the appendages, or limbs, are differently marked; thirdly, that the flanks are striped or spotted along or between the regions of the lines of the ribs; fourthly, that the shoulder and hip regions are marked by curved lines; fifthly, that the pattern changes, and the direction of the lines or spots, at the head, neck, and every joint of the limbs; and lastly that the tips of the ears, nose, tail, and the feet and the eye are emphasized in color. In spotted animals the greatest length of the spot is generally in the direction of the largest development of the skeleton."—A. TYLOR, *Coloration in Animals and Plants*, 1886, p. 92.

[2] A. R. WALLACE, *Darwinism*, chap. 10.

we find a greater tendency to variation in man and a greater tendency to atavism in woman.

All the secondary sexual characters of man are highly variable, even within the limits of the same race; and they differ much in the several races. . . . . Numerous measurements carefully made of the stature, the circumference of the neck and chest, the length of the backbone and of the arms, in various races . . . . nearly all show that the males differ much more from one another than do the females. This fact indicates that, as far as these characters are concerned, it is the male which has been chiefly modified, since the several races diverged from their common stock.[1]

Morphologically the development of man is more accentuated in almost every respect than that of woman. Anthropologists, indeed, regard woman as intermediate in development between the child and the man.

The outlines of the adult female cranium are intermediate between those of the child and the adult man; they are softer, more graceful and delicate, and the apophyses and ridges for the attachment of muscles are less pronounced, ... the forehead is . . . . more perpendicular, to such a degree that in a group of skulls those of the two sexes have been mistaken for different types; the superciliary ridges and the gabella are far less developed, often not at all; the crown is higher and more horizontal; the brain weight and cranial capacity are less; the mastoid apophyses, the inion, the styloid apophyses, and the condyles of the occipital are of less volume, the zygomatic and alveolar arches are more regular.[2]

Wagner decided that the brain of woman taken as a whole is uniformly in a more or less embryonic condition. Huschke says that woman is always a growing child and that her brain departs from the infantile type no more than the other portions of her body.[3] Weisbach[4] pointed out that the limits of variation in the skull of man are greater than in that of woman. Genius in general is correlated with an excessive development in brain growth, stopping dangerously near the line of hypertrophy and insanity, while microcephaly is a variation in the opposite direction in which idiocy results from arrested develop-

[1] DARWIN, *loc. cit.*, chap. 19.

[2] P. TOPINARD, *Éléments d'Anthropologie générale*, p. 253.

[3] DELAUNAY, *loc. cit.*

[4] WEISBACH, "Der deutsche Weiberschadel," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. III, p. 66.

ment of the brain through premature closing of the sutures; and both these variations occur more frequently in men than in women. The form of woman is rounder and less variable than that of man, and art has been able to produce a more nearly ideal figure of woman than of man; at the same time the bones of woman weigh less with reference to body weight than the bones of man, and both these facts indicate less variation and more constitutional passivity in woman. The trunk of woman is slightly longer than that of man,[1] and her abdomen is relatively more prominent, and is so represented in art. In these respects she resembles the child and the lower races, *i. e.*, the less developed forms.[2] Ranke states that the typical adult male form is characterized by a relatively shorter trunk, relatively longer arms, legs, hands, and feet, and relatively to the long upper arms and thighs by still longer forearms and lower legs, and relatively to the whole upper extremity by a still longer lower extremity; while the typical female form approaches the infantile condition in having a relatively longer trunk, shorter arms, legs, hands, and feet, relatively to short upper arms still shorter forearms, and relatively to short thighs still shorter lower legs, and relatively to the whole short upper extremity a still shorter lower extremity[3]—a very striking evidence of the ineptitude of woman for the expenditure of physiological energy through motor action. Morphological differences are less in low than in high races, and the less civilized the race the less is the physical difference of the sexes. In woman the reproductive function fixes the form with relative definiteness at an early period; but the further variation and fixation of physical traits in man is conditioned by a multifarious activity, and it results that in the higher races men are both more unlike one another than in the lower races, and at the same time more unlike than the women of their own race; and the less civilized

[1] TOPINARD, *loc. cit.*, p. 1066.

[2] Topinard's figures (*loc. cit.*, p. 1066) show, however, that the Esquimaux and the Tasmanians have a shorter trunk than the Europeans.

[3] J. RANKE, "Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Bayern," *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns*, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

the race the less is the physical difference of the sexes. A similar relation holds between the higher and lower classes of the same society. The measurements of Broca and Topinard show that the difference in cranial capacity of the inhabitants of the epoch of polished stone is about 127^{cc}, of the modern French of the provinces about 150^{cc}, and of Parisians about 222^{cc}. Several observers have recorded the opinion that women of dolichocephalic races are more brachycephalic, and women of brachycephalic races more dolichocephalic than the men of the same races. If this is true it is a remarkable confirmation of the conservative tendency of woman. "I have thought for several years that woman was, in a general way, less dolichocephalic in dolichocephalic races, and less brachycephalic in brachycephalic races, and that she had a tendency to approach the typical median form of humanity."[1] The skin of woman is without exception of a lighter shade than that of man, even among the dark races. This cannot be due to less exposure, since the women and men are equally exposed among the uncivilized races, and it is due to the same causes as the more brilliant plumage of male birds. "In the human species," says Delaunay, "whether we consider stature, color of the hair, muscular strength, voice, tastes, ideas, or even chirography, we find among women a great resemblance and among men an immense difference."[2]

After making all deductions for the limitations of woman's activity by civilization (and they are many) we may still say that the cause of the greater variation of the male in mankind, as in the subhuman species, is the tendency to a rapid destruction of energy.[3]

[1] TOPINARD, *loc. cit.*, p. 375.

[2] DELAUNAY, *loc. cit.*

[3] If the common characters of a genus are more evident in the female than the male we may look also in the female for the persistence of characters which in the course of organic evolution are vanishing, and Paul Albrecht, in a somewhat brutal paper on the greater bestiality of woman, from the anatomical standpoint, has maintained that she stands nearer than man to our prehistoric ancestors in the following respects: In woman the stature is less than that of man; both dolichocephaly and prognathism are more marked and of more frequent occurrence; the inner incisors are more power-

We have no other than a utilitarian basis for judging some variations advantageous and others disadvantageous. We can estimate them only with reference to activity and the service or disservice to the individual and society implied in them, and a given variation must receive very different valuations at different historical periods in the development of the race. Departures from the normal are simply nature's way of "trying conclusions." The variations which have proved of life-saving advantage have in the course of time become typical, while the individuals in which unfavorable variations, or defects, have occurred have not survived in the struggle for existence. Morphologically men are the more unstable element of society, and this instability expresses itself, as we have seen, in the two extremes of genius and idiocy; and we have conclusive evidence that defects in general are more frequent in men than in women.

A committee reported to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1894,[1] that of some 50,000 children (26,287 boys, and 23,713 girls) seen personally by Dr. Francis Warner (1892–1894) 8941 were found defective in some respect. Of these 19 per cent. (5112) were boys, and 16 per cent. (3829) were girls.

An examination of 1345 idiots and imbeciles in Scotland by Mitchell showed the following distribution of the sexes :

	Male	Female		Male		Female
Idiots, - - -	430	284	or	100	to	66.0
Imbeciles, - -	321	310	or	100	to	96.5

showing that "the excess of males is much greater among idiots

fully developed ; the *trochanter tertius* occurs more frequently (more frequently, indeed, than in the apes); the anchylosis of the first coccyggeal vertebra with the sacrum is less frequent ; the presence of a fifth coccyggeal vertebra is more frequent ; hypertrichosis is more frequent, baldness less frequent ; resort to biting and scratching is more frequent. (PLOSS, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 5.) His argument, while obviously not free from whimsicality, confirms the view that woman is less anatomically developed than man.

[1] "Physical and Mental Deviations from the Normal among Children in Public Elementary and Other Schools," *Report of the Sixty-fourth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1894*, p. 434 *seq.*

than among imbeciles; in other words, that the excess of males is most marked in the graver forms of the disease."[1]

A census of the insane in Prussia in 1880 showed that 9809 males, and 7827 females were born idiots. Koch's statistics of insanity show that in idiots there is almost always a majority of males, in the insane a majority of females. But the majority of male idiots is so much greater than the majority of female insane that when idiots and insane are classed together there remains a majority of males.[2] Insanity is, however, more frequently induced by external conditions, and less dependent on imperfect or arrested cerebral development. Mayr has shown from statistics of Bavaria that insanity is infrequent before the sixteenth year; and even before the twentieth year the number of insane is not considerable.[3] In insanity the chances of recovery of the female are greater than those of the male, and mortality is higher among insane men than among insane women. There is practical agreement among pathologists on this point.[4] Campbell points out in detail[5] that the male sex is more liable than the female to gross lesions of the nervous system, a fact which he attributes to the greater variability of the male.

An excess of all other anatomical anomalies, except cleft palate, is reported among males. Manley reports that of 33 cases of harelip treated by him only 6 were females.[6] It appears also that supernumerary digits are more frequent in males. Wilder[7] has recorded 152 cases of individuals with supernumerary digits, of whom 86 were males, 39 females, and 27 of unknown sex. A similar relation, according to Bruce, exists in regard to supernumerary nipples.[8] Muscular abnormalities,

[1] A. MITCHELL, "Some Statistics of Idiocy," *Edinburgh Medical Jour.*, Vol. XI, p. 639.

[2] "Koch's Statistics of Insanity," *Jour. of Ment. Sci.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 435.

[3] MAYR, *Die Verbreitung der Blindheit, der Taubstummheit, des Blödsinns und des Irrsinns in Baiern*, p. 100.

[4] See CAMPBELL, *loc. cit.*, p. 146 *seq.*

[5] CAMPBELL, *ibid.*, pp. 132–40.

[6] J. H. MANLEY, "Harelip," *International Med. Jour.*, Vol. II, p. 209 *seq.*

[7] *Communications of the Massachusetts Med. Soc.*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 9.

[8] Of the 3956 individuals examined, 1645 were males, and of these 47 (2.857 per

monstrosities, deaf-mutism, clubfoot, and transposition of viscera are also reported as of commoner occurrence in men than in women.[1] Lombroso states that congenital criminals are more frequently male than female.[2] Cunningham noted an eighth (true) rib in 14 of 70 subjects examined. It occurred 7 times in males and 7 times in females, but the number of females examined was twice as large as the number of males.[3] The reports of the registrar-general show that for the years 1884–1888 inclusive the deaths from congenital defects (spina bifida, imperforate anus, cleft palate, harelip, etc.) were, taking the average of the five years, 49.6 per million of the persons living in England for the male sex, and 44.2 for the female.[4]

It has already been noted as a general rule throughout nature that the male seeks the female, and physicians generally believe that men are sexually more active than women,[5] though woman's need of reproduction is greater,[6] and celibacy unquestionably impresses the character of woman more deeply than that of man. Additional evidence of the greater sexual activity of man is furnished by the overwhelmingly large proportion of

cent.) presented supernumerary nipples. Of the 3956 individuals 2311 were females, and of these 14 (.605 per cent.) presented supernumerary mammæ or nipples. That is, this anomaly was found to occur more than four times as frequently in men as in women. J. MITCHELL BRUCE, "On Supernumerary Nipples and Mammæ," *Jour. of Anat. and Phys.*, Vol. XIII, p. 432.

Leichtenstern, however, whose investigations were of earlier date than those of Bruce, says that supernumerary mammæ occur with about equal frequency in the two sexes. LEICHTENSTERN, "Ueber das Vorkommen und die Bedeutung Supernumerärer Brüste und Brustwarzen," VIRCHOW'S *Archiv. f. Patholog. Anat.*, Vol. LXXIII, p. 238.

[1] ELLIS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 358–65.

[2] LOMBROSO e FERRERO, *La Donna delinquente*, chap. 12.

[3] Hyrtl, of Vienna, however, examined thirty subjects, and found the anomaly in question only three times, and exclusively in females. He attributed it to tight lacing. D. J. CUNNINGHAM, "The Occasional Eighth True Rib in Man," *Jour. of Anat. and Physiol.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 127.

[4] H. CAMPBELL, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

[5] KRAFFT-EBING, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, p. 14; CAMPBELL, *loc. cit.*, pp. 199–215; PLOSS, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 313.

[6] A. HEGAR, *Der Geschlechtstrieb*, p. 7.

the various forms of sexual perversion reported by psychiatrists in the male sex.[1]

Pathological variations do not become fixed in the species, because of their disadvantageous nature, but their excess in the male is, as we have seen in the case of variations which have become fixed, an expression of the more energetic somatic habit of the male.

A very noticeable expression of the anabolism of woman is her tendency to put on fat. "Women, as a class, show a greater tendency to put on fat than men, and the tendency is particularly well marked at puberty, when some girls become phenomenally stout."[2] The distinctive beauty of the female form is due to the storing of adipose tissue, and the form even of very slender women is gracefully rounded in comparison with that of man. Bischoff found the following relation between muscle and fat in a man of 33, a woman of 22, and a boy of 16, all of whom died accidentally and in good physical condition:[3]

	Man	Woman	Boy
Muscle, -	41.8	35.8	44.2
Fat, - -	18.2	28.2	13.9

The steatopyga of the women of some races and the accumulation of adipose tissue late in life are quasi-pathological expressions of this tendency.

The strength of woman, on the other hand, her capacity for motion, and her muscular mechanical aptitude are far inferior to that of man. Tests of strength made on 2300 students of Yale University[4] and on 1600 women of Oberlin College[5] show the mean relation of the strength of the sexes, expressed in kilograms:

	Back	Legs	R. forearm
Men, - -	153	186	56
Women, - -	54	76.5	21.4

[1] See, for example, MOLL, *Die Conträre Sexualempfindung;* KRAFFT-EBING, *loc. cit., passim.*

[2] H. CAMPBELL, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

[3] Quoted by Ellis, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

[4] DR. J. W. SEAVER, *Anthropometric Table*, 1889.

[5] DR. DELPHINE HANNA, *Anthropometric Table*, 1891.

The average weight of the men was 63.1 kilograms, and of the women 51 kilograms, and making deduction for this, the strength of the men is still not less than twice as great as that of the women. The anthropometric committee reported to the British Association in 1883 that women are little more than half as strong as men.

The first field day of the Vassar College Athletic Association was recently held (November 9, 1895), and a comparison of the records of some of the events with those of similar events at Yale University in the corresponding year, while by no means fair to the young women, gives us a basis of comparison:

	Yale	Vassar
100-yard dash, - -	$10\frac{2}{5}$ seconds	$15\frac{1}{4}$ seconds
Running broad jump, -	23 feet	11.5 inches
Running high jump, -	5 ft. 9 in.	4 feet
220-yard dash, - -	$22\frac{3}{5}$ seconds	$36\frac{1}{4}$ seconds

In tracing the transition from lower to higher forms of life we find a great change in the nature of the blood, or what answers to the blood, and the constitution of the blood is some index of the intensity of the metabolic processes going on within the organism. The sap of plants is thin and watery, corresponding with the preponderant anabolism of the plant. Blood is only "a peculiar kind of sap," and there is almost as much difference between this sap in warm-blooded and cold-blooded animals as between the latter and plants. Rich, red blood characterizes the forms of life fitted for activity and bursts of energy. In his exhaustive work on the blood Hayem has given a summary of the results of the investigations of chemists and physiologists on the differences in the composition of the blood in the two sexes. Contrary to the assertion of Robin, Hayem finds that the white blood corpuscles are not more numerous in women than in men, and he also states that the number of hæmatoblasts is the same in the two sexes. All chemists are agreed, however, that the number of red corpuscles is greater in men than in women. Nasse found in man 0.05824 of iron to 100, and in woman only 0.0499. Becquerel and Rodier give 0.0565 for

man, 0.0511 for woman, and Schmidt, Scherer, and others give similar results. Welcker (using a chronometer) found between the corpuscles of man and woman the relation of 5 to 4.7, and Hayem confirmed this by numeration. Cadet found in woman on the average 4.9 million corpuscles per the cmm., and in man 5.2 million. More recently Korniloff, using still another method—the spectroscope of Vierordt—has reached about the same result. The proportion of red blood corpuscles varies according to individual constitution, race, and sex. In robust men Lacanu found 136 red corpuscles in 1000, in weak men only 116 in 1000; in robust women only 126 in 1000, and in weak women 117.[1] Professor Jones has taken the specific gravity of the blood of above 1500 individuals of all ages and of both sexes.[2] An examination of his charts shows that the specific gravity of the male is higher than that of the female between the ages of 16 and 68. Between the ages of 16 and 45 the average specific gravity of the male is about 1058, and that of the female about 1054.5. At 45 years the specific gravity of the male begins to fall rapidly and that of the female to rise rapidly, and at 55 they are almost equal, but the male remains slightly higher until 68 years, when it falls below that of the female. The period of marked difference in the specific gravity of the blood is thus seen to be coincident with the period of menstruation in the female. A chart constructed by Leichtenstern, based upon observations on 191 individuals and showing variations in the amount of hæmoglobin with age, is also reproduced by Professor Jones, suggesting that the variations in specific gravity of the blood with age and sex are closely related to variations in the amount of hæmoglobin. Leichtenstern states that the excess in men of hæmoglobin is 7 per cent. until the tenth year, 8 per cent. between 11 and 50 years, and 5 per cent. after the fiftieth year.[3] Jones states further[4] that the specific gravity is higher

[1] J. HAYEM, *Du Sang et de ses alterations anatomiques*, pp. 184–5.

[2] E. LLOYD JONES, "Further Observations on the Specific Gravity of the Blood in Health and Disease," *Journal of Physiology*, Vol. XII, pp. 299 *seq.*

[3] O. LEICHTENSTERN, *Untersuchungen über den Haemoglobulingehalt des Blutes*, p. 38.

[4] Pp. 316 *seq.*

in persons of the upper classes and lower in the poorer classes. Observations of boys who were inmates of workhouses gave a mean specific gravity of 1052.8 and on schoolboys a mean of 1056, while among the undergraduate students of Cambridge University he found a mean of 1059.5. Several men of very high specific gravity in the last group had distinguished themselves in athletics. "Workhouse boys are in most cases of poor physique, and one can hardly find a better antithesis than the general type of physique common among the athletic members of such a university as Cambridge."[1] There is no more conclusive evidence of an organic difference between man and woman than these tests of the blood. They permit us to associate a high specific gravity, red corpuscles, plentiful hæmoglobin, and a katabolic constitution.

A comparison of the waste products of the body and of the quantity of materials consumed in the metabolic process indicates a relatively larger consumption of energy by man. It is stated that man produces more urine than woman in the following proportion: men 1000 to 2000 grams daily; women 1000 to 1400 grams. As age advances the amount diminishes absolutely and relatively in proportion to the diminution of the energy of the metabolic process. A table prepared from adults of both sexes, twenty-five years of age, of the average weight of sixty kilograms shows a larger proportion both of inorganic and organic substances in the urine of men.[2] Milne Edwards has found that the bones of the male are slightly richer in inorganic substances than those of the female.[3]

The lung capacity of women is less, and they consume less oxygen and produce less carbonic acid than men of equal weight, although the number of respirations is slightly higher than in man. On this account women suffer deprivation of air more easily than men. They are not so easily suffocated, and are reported to endure charcoal fumes better, and live in high altitudes where men cannot endure the deprivation of oxygen.[4] The number of

[1] JONES, *ibid.*, pp. 316 *seq.* [3] DELAUNAY, *loc. cit.*

[2] E. BOURGOIN, art. "Urines," *Dict. encyc. des sciences médicales.*

[4] DELAUNAY, *loc. cit.*; PLOSS, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 36–7; ELLIS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 202–4.

deaths from chloroform is reckoned as from two to four times as great in males as in females, and this although chloroform is used in childbirth. Children also bear chloroform well.[1] Women, like children, require more sleep normally than men, but "Macfarlane states that they can better bear the loss of sleep, and most physicians will agree with him. . . . . One of the greatest difficulties we have to contend with in nervous men is sleeplessness, a result, no doubt, of excessive katabolism."[2] Loss of sleep is a strain which, like gestation, women are able to meet because of their anabolic surplus. The fact that women undertake changes more reluctantly than men, but adjust themselves to changed fortunes more readily, is due to the same metabolic difference. Man has, in short, become somatically a more specialized animal than woman, and feels more keenly any disturbance of normal conditions, while he has not to meet the disturbance the same physiological surplus as woman.

Lower forms of life have the remarkable quality of restoring a lost organ, and of living as separate individuals if divided. This power gradually diminishes as we ascend the scale of life, and is lost by the higher forms. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the lower human races, the lower classes of society, women and children, show something of the same quality in their superior tolerance of surgical disease. The indifference of savage races to wounds and loss of blood has everywhere been remarked by ethnologists. Dr. Bartels has formulated the law of resistance to surgical and traumatic treatment in the following sentence: "The higher the race the less the tolerance, and the lower the culture-condition in a given race the greater the tolerance."[3] The greater disvulnerability of women is generally recognized by surgeons. The following figures from Lawrie, Malgaigne, and Fenwick are representative:[4]

[1] ELLIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 219.

[2] CAMPBELL, *loc. cit.*, pp. 117 and 119.

[3] MAX BARTELS, "Culturelle und Rassenunterschiede in Bezug auf die Wundkrankheiten," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XX, p. 183.

[4] LEGOUEST, art. "Amputations," *Dict encyc. des sciences médicales.*

LAWRIE (GLASGOW).

	Men		Women	
Pathological amputations, -	110 cases	29 deaths	41 cases	7 deaths
Traumatic "	106 "	59 "	14 "	4 "
Total, - - -	216	88	55	11
	or, 40.74 deaths per 100		20 deaths per 100	

A difference of 20.74 per cent. in favor of women.

MALGAIGNE (HOSPITALS OF PARIS).

	Men		Women	
Major pathological amputations,	280 cases	138 deaths	98 cases	44 deaths
Minor " "	106 "	9 "	40 "	2 "
Major traumatic "	165 "	107 "	17 "	10 "
Minor " "	73 "	13 "	10 "	0 "
Total - - -	624	267	165	56
	or, 37.98 deaths per 100		34.18 deaths per 100	

A difference of 3.8 per cent. in favor of women.

FENWICK (NEWCASTLE, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH).

	Men		Women	
Amputations, - -	304 cases	86 deaths	64 cases	16 deaths
	or, 27.86 deaths per 100		25 deaths per 100	

A difference of 2.86 per cent. in favor of women.

TOTAL FOR THE THREE SERIES.

	Men		Women	
Amputations, - -	1144 cases	441 deaths	284 cases	83 deaths
	or, 38.56 deaths per 100		29.29 deaths per 100	

A difference of 9.27 per cent. in favor of women.

Legouest states in the same article that the lowest mortality of all is in children from five to fifteen years of age. Ellis quotes a passage from a paper read by Lombroso at the International Congress of Experimental Psychology held in London:

Billroth experimented on women when attempting a certain operation (excision of the pylorus) for the first time, judging that they were less sensitive and therefore more *disvulnerable*, *i. e.*, better able to resist pain. Carle assured me that women would let themselves be operated upon almost as though their flesh were an alien thing. Giordano told me that even the pains of childbirth caused relatively little suffering to women, in spite of their apprehensions. Dr. Martini, one of the most distinguished dentists of

Turin, has informed me of the amazement he has felt at seeing women endure more easily and courageously than men every kind of dental operation. Mela, too, has found that men will, under such circumstances, faint oftener than women.[1]

The same tolerance of pain and misery in women is shown by an examination of the number of male and female suicides from physical suffering. Von Oettingen states that in 30,000 cases the per cent. of suicides from physical suffering was in men 11.4, in women 11.3,[2] and Lombroso, following Morselli, gives the following table representing the proportion out of a hundred suicides of each sex resulting from the same cause:[3]

	Men	Women
Germany (1852–1861) - -	9.61	8.08
Prussia (1869–1877) - -	6	7
Saxony (1875–1878), - -	4.61	6.21
Belgium, - - - -	1.34	0.84
France (1873–1878), - -	14.28	13.56
Italy (1866–1877), - -	6.70	8.50
Vienna (1851–1859), - -	9.20	10.04
" (1869–1878), - -	7.73	10.37
Paris (1851–1859), - -	10.27	11.22
Madrid (1884),- - -	31.81	31.25

But these figures represent the number of suicides in each hundred of either sex, whereas suicide is three to four times as frequent among men as among women, and the absolute proportion of suicide among men from physical pain is, therefore, overwhelmingly great. Still more significant is a table given by Lombroso showing the per cent. of suicides from want.[3]

	Men	Women
Germany (1852–1861), - - -	37.75	18.46
Saxony (1875–1878), - - -	6.64	1.52
Belgium, - - - - - -	4.65	4.02
Italy (1866–1877), - - - -	7	4.60
" " (financial reverses), -	12.80	2.20
Norway (1866–1870), - - -	10.30	4.50
Vienna (1851–1859), - - - -	6.64	3.10

[1] ELLIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

[2] A. VON OETTINGEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 780.

[3] LOMBROSO e FERRERO, *loc. cit.*, chap. 16.

But the excess of male suicides over female is so great that, reckoned absolutely, about one woman to seven or ten men is driven by want to take her life.

Physical suffering and want are among the motives which, constitutional differences aside, would appeal with about the same force to the two sexes. But the great excess both of suicide (3 or 4 men to 1 woman) and of crime (4 or 5 men to 1 woman), in men, while directly conditioned by a manner of life more subject to vicissitude and catastrophe, is still remotely due to the male, katabolic tendency which has historically eventuated in a life of this nature in the male.

Woman offers in general a greater resistance to disease than man. The following table from the registrar-general's report for 1888[1] gives the mortality in England per million inhabitants at all ages and for both sexes from 1854–1887 in a group of diseases chiefly affecting young children:

Disease	Year	Male	Female
Smallpox, - -	1854–1887	183	148
Measles, - -	1848–1887	426	408
Scarlet fever, - -	1859–1885	763	738
Diphtheria, -	1859–1887	157	176
Croup, - - -	1848–1887	221	192
Whooping cough,	1848–1887	451	554
Diarrhea, dysentery,	1848–1887	932	835
Enteric fever, -	1869–1887	288	277

or, a total mortality of 3421 per million for the males, and 3328 for the females. The greater fatality of diphtheria and whooping cough in the female is attributed to the smaller larynx of girls, and their habit of kissing. In diphtheria, indeed, the number of girls attacked is in excess of the boys, and it does not appear that their mortality is higher when this is considered.[2] Statistics based on nearly half a million deaths from scarlet fever in England and Wales (1859–1885) show a mean annual in males of 778, and in females of 717, per million living.[3] Dr.

[1] P. xxi, Table F, quoted by Campbell, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

[2] B. A. WHITELEGGE, "Milroy Lectures on Changes of Type in Epidemic Diseases," *Brit. Med. Jour.*, March 18, 1893.

[3] A. NEWSHOLME, *Vital Statistics*, 3d ed., p. 178.

Farr reports on the mortality from cholera in the epidemic years of 1849, 1854, 1866, that "the mean mortality from all causes in the three cholera years was, for males, 19.3 in excess, for females, 17.0 in excess of the average mortality to 10,000 living; so females suffered less than males. . . . . The mortality is higher in boys than in girls at all ages under 15; at the ages of reproduction, 25–45, the mortality of women, many of them pregnant, exceeds the mortality of men; but at the ages after 65 the mortality of men exceeds the mortality of women."[1] Statistics show that woman is more susceptible to many diseases, but in less danger than man when attacked, because of her anabolic surplus, and also that the greatest mortality in woman is during the period of reproduction, when the specific gravity of her blood is low and her anabolic surplus small. It is significant also that the point of highest mortality from disease and of the highest rate of suicide in the female, as compared with the male, falls at about 15 years, and is to be associated with the rapid physiological changes preceding that time.[2]

The numerical relation of the sexes at birth seems to be more variable in those regions where economic conditions and social usages are least settled, but in civilized countries the relation is fairly constant, and statistics of 32 countries and states between the years 1865 and 1883 show that to every 100 girls 105 boys are born, or including stillborn, 100 girls to 106.6 boys.[3] But the mortality of male children so much exceeds that of female that at the age of five the sexes are about in numerical equilibrium; and in the adult population of all European countries the average numerical relation of the sexes is reckoned as 102.1 women to 100 men. Von Oettingen gives a representative table[4] compiled from statistics of eight European countries, showing that (omitting the stillborn) 124.71 boys to 100 girls die before the end of the first year, and that between the years of 2 and 5 the proportion is 102.91 boys to 100 girls; or, about 25 per

[1] W. Farr, *Vital Statistics*, p. 385.

[2] Mortality from cancer is, however, much higher in women than in men. Newsholme, *loc. cit.*, p. 208.

[3] Ploss, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 26.

[4] Von Oettingen, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

cent. excess of boys in the first year, and 3 per cent. in the years between 1 and 5. In the intra-uterine period and at the very threshold of life the mortality of males is still greater. The figures of Wappæus were 100 stillborn girls to 140.3 boys; Quetelt gave the proportion as 100 : 133.5; and the statistics of 14 European countries during the years 1865–1883 show that 130.2 boys were stillborn to every 100 girls.[1] So that while more boys than girls are born living, still more are born dead. That this astonishingly high mortality is due in part to the somewhat larger size of boys at birth and the narrowness of the maternal pelvis is indicated by the statement of Collins of the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital, Dublin, that within half an hour after birth only 1 female died to 16 males; within the first hour 2 females to 19 males, and within the first 6 hours 7 females to 29 males.[2] But that this explanation is not sufficient is shown by the fact that a high mortality of boys extends through the whole of the first year, and through five years, in a diminishing ratio, and also that the tenacity of woman on life, as will be shown immediately, is greater at every age than man's except during a period of about five years following puberty. "There must be," says Ploss, "some cause which operates more energetically in the removal of male than of female children just before and after birth,"[3] but besides the more violent movement of boys and their greater size no explanation of the cause has been advanced more acceptably than Haushofer's teleological one, quoted by Ploss, that nature wished to make a more perfect being of man, and therefore threw more obstacles in his way. A satisfactory explanation is found if we regard the young female as more anabolic, and more quiescent, with a stored surplus of nutriment by which in the helpless and critical period of change from intra- to extra-uterine conditions it is able to get its adjustment to life. The constructive phase of metabolism has prevailed in them even during fetal life. That there is need of a surplus of nutrition in the child at birth, or that a surplus

[1] Ploss, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 207.

[2] Ellis, *loc. cit.*, p. 377.

[3] Ploss, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 206.

will stand it in good stead, is indicated by the results of the weighing of children communicated by Winckel to the Gynæcological Society of Berlin in 1862. Winckel weighed 100 newborn children, 56 boys and 44 girls, showing that birth was uniformly followed by a loss of weight. The average diminution was about 108 grams the first day, and but little less the second day. At the end of five days the loss was 220 grams, six-sevenths of which occurred during the first two days.[1] The tendency to decreased vitality in girls after maturity and before marriage just referred to must be associated with the katabolic changes implied in menstruation and the newness to the system of this destructive phase of metabolism.

We should expect the death rate of men to run high during the period of manhood in consequence of their greater exposure to peril, hardship, and the storm and stress of life. But two tendencies operate to reduce the comparative mortality of men between the twentieth and about the fortieth year: the fact of the severe male mortality in infancy which has removed the constitutionally weak contingent, and the fact that during this period women are subject to death in connection with childbirth. So that in the prime of life the mortality of males does not markedly exceed that of females. But the statistics of longevity show that with the approach of old age the number of women of a given age surviving is in excess of the men, and that their relative tenacity of life increases with increasing years. Ornstein has shown, from the official statistics of Greece from 1878–1883, that in every period of five years between the ages of 85 and 110 years and upwards a larger number of women survive than of men, and in the following proportion:

Years	Men	Women
85– 90,	1296	1347
90– 95,	700	820
95–100,	305	370
100–105,	116	168
105–110,	52	69
110 and over,	20	34

[1] DEPAUL, art. "Nouveau-Né," *Dict. encyc. des sciences médicales.*

Of the 459 centenarians 188 were men and 271 were women.[1] In Bavaria the women aged from 51 to 55 years alive in 1874 had lived in the aggregate more then seven million years, while the men of the same age had lived not so much as six and one-half million.[2] Turquan[3] gives a table showing the death rate of centenarians in all France during a period of twenty years (1866–1885). From this it appears that there died in these years an annual average of 73 centenarians, of which 27 were men and 46 women. In only one year of the twenty did the deaths of men exceed those of women. Lombroso and Ferrero have shown that between 1870 and 1879 the inhabitants of the prisons and convict establishments in Italy who were over 60 years of age showed a percentage of 4.3 among the women, and 3.2 among the men, although the number of men condemned to prison for long periods is far greater than among women. "Women are not only longer lived than men, but have greater powers of resistance to misfortune and deep grief. This is a well-known law, which in the case of the female criminal seems almost exaggerated, so remarkable is her longevity and the toughness with which she endures the hardships, even the prolonged hardships, of prison life. . . . . I know some denizens of female prisons who have reached the age of 90, having lived within those walls since they were 29 without any grave injury to health."[4] Woman's resistance to death is thus more marked at the two extremes of life, infancy and old age, the periods in which her anabolism is uninterrupted. Menstruation, reproduction, and lactation are at once the cause of an anabolic surplus and the means of getting rid of it. At the extremes of life no demand of this kind is made on woman, and her anabolic nature expresses itself at these times in greater resistance.

Dr. Lloyd Jones has determined that between 17 and 45

[1] B. ORNSTEIN, "Makrobiotisches aus Griechenland," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Bd. XVII, p. 193 *seq.*

[2] G. MAYR, *Die Gesetzmässigkeit im Gesellschaftsleben*, 1877, p. 144.

[3] V. TURQUAN, "Statistique des centenaires," in *Revue scientifique*, September 1, 1888.

[4] LOMBROSO e FERRERO, *loc. cit.*, chap. 10.

years of age the specific gravity of the blood of women is lower than that of men. In old women the specific gravity rises above that of old men, and he suggests that their greater longevity is due to this.[1] No doubt the greater longevity of women is to be associated with the rise in specific gravity of their blood, but this rise in the specific gravity of women after 45 years is consequent upon their anabolic constitution. High specific gravity in general is associated with abundant and rich nutrition; it falls in women during pregnancy, lactation, and menstruation, and when these functions cease it is natural that the constructive metabolic tendency on which they are dependent should show itself in a heightened specific gravity of the blood (*i. e.*, greater richness) and in consequence greater longevity.

Some facts in the brain development of women point to the same conclusion. The growth of the brain is relatively more rapid in women than in men before the twentieth year. Between 15 and 20 it has reached its maximum, and from that time there is a gradual decline in weight until about the fiftieth year, when there is an acceleration of growth, followed by a renewed diminution after the sixtieth year. The maximum of brain weight is almost reached by men at 20 years, but there is a slow increase until 30 or 35 years. There is then a diminution until the fiftieth year, followed by an acceleration, and at 60 years again a rapid diminution in weight, but the acceleration is more marked and the final diminution less marked in woman than in man.[2] The table on page 59, prepared by Topinard, shows that woman from 20 to 60 years of age has from 126 to 164 grams less brain weight than man, while her deficit from 60 to 90 years is from 123 to 158 grams.[3]

The only explanation at hand of this relative superiority of brain weight in old women is that with the close of the period of reproduction (the anabolic surplus being no longer consumed

[1] E. Lloyd Jones, "Further Observations on the Specific Gravity of the Blood in Health and Disease," *Journal of Physiology*, Vol. XII, p. 308.

[2] See Topinard, *Éléments d'Anthropologie générale*, 1885, pp. 517–25; 557–8.

[3] Topinard, *loc. cit.*, p. 559.

in the processes of menstruation, gestation, and lactation) the constructive tendency still asserts itself, and a slight access of growth and vitality results to the organism.

DIFFERENCE IN BRAIN WEIGHT FROM TWENTY TO SIXTY YEARS.

Author	Number of brains	Weight of women's brains gr.	Difference from man gr.
Broca (revised list of Wagner),	77	1,244	−126
Welcker,	258	1,247	−143
Peacock (Scotch),	89	1,275	−142
Boyd (English),	370	1,221	−133
Thurnam (various),	536	1,233	−138
Broca (registers),	51	1,195	−164
Bischoff,	272	1,227	−141
Broca–Bischoff–Boyd,	693	1,211	−150
FROM SIXTY TO NINETY YEARS.			
Broca (revised list of Wagner),	32	1,203	−123
Welcker,	99	1,175	−125
Boyd (English),	374	1,176	−124
Thurnam (various),	422	1,178	−131
Broca (registers),	85	1,111	−158
Bischoff,	50	1,157	−150

Organic development in general, and social structure and function in particular, are conditioned by this fundamental contrast in the metabolism of the sexes. Sex is, indeed, an expression of this difference, or, more exactly, it is this difference, and in the principle of sex lies the possibility of all higher development. Asexual organisms never rise above a low type of development because variation, on which development depends, is furnished only by the union of different organisms. The principle of sex is, therefore, to be recognized as the beginning of those changes which, controlled by natural selection, end in the development of organs of locomotion, prehension, ingestion, and digestion, fitting the organism increasingly for the struggle for food.

The struggle for food is, however, anti-social, or at best unsocial, in its beginning, and we must seek the principle of social

feeling in connection with reproduction. The transition from very low forms of life, controlled mechanically by the purely physical stimuli of heat, light, electricity, and acid,[1] to human society, characterized by an increasingly rational control of environment, is dependent on association. This principle of association has two aspects. In its connection with the food process its lowest expression is seen in the hostile coexistence of different species, affording an opportunity to the strong to prey upon the weak, and a higher expression is reached in human societies where division of labor makes a peaceful exchange of products possible. But the association connected with trade and commerce is never truly social; it is a civilized *bellum omnium inter omnes.*

Social feeling, as such, originates in the association connected with reproduction, and its physical basis is the anabolic nature of the female. Among the lower animal forms the conversion of the anabolic surplus of the female into offspring involves a great waste of physiological energy on the part of the female, but is followed by little or no association between parent and offspring. Since, in the absence of social feeling, the larger the number of offspring the larger the chance of survival of some, natural selection has in some cases enormously developed the capacity for physiological waste in the female; a thousand eggs may be spawned where only a single form comes to life or reaches maturity. But a higher type of development involves a closer association between the parent and offspring, and this is secured through natural selection by a modified structure in the female, culminating among the mammals in the intra-uterine development of the young and the disposition in the female to care for the young after bringing them forth. The expansion of the abdominal zone in the female in connection with this modification of her reproductive system is the physical basis of the altruistic sentiments. Feeling is a physiological change, and its seat is not the encephalon, but the viscera; the sense organs and the

[1] J. LOEB, *Der Heliotropismus der Thiere und seine Uebereinstimmung mit dem Heliotropismus der Pflanzen*, 1890.

encephalon simply mediate the perception which stimulates the vaso-motor system. The superior physiological irritability of woman, whether we call it sensibility, feeling, emotionality or affectability, is due to the fact of the larger development of her abdominal zone, and the activity of the physiological changes located there in connection with the process of reproduction.

This physiological predisposition of woman to feeling expresses itself primarily in love of offspring, and secondarily in ties of blood. Subsequent to the conversion of her surplus of energy into offspring there follows a period in which her surplus energy is converted into milk for the sustentation of the offspring, and the time during which the child draws its life from the breast of the mother is a moment of supreme importance for the development of the race, since it is in connection with this quasi-physiological association that the first altruistic sentiments are knit. The first social unit is not the family but the mother and her group of children, and the tribe is primarily an aggregation of those related by blood to a group of females.

Both social feeling and social organization are thus primarily feminine in origin — functions of the anabolism of woman. But natural selection operates still further in favoring both the offspring and the community where the male is associated in a supplementary way with the female in the expression of social feeling and the extension of social activities. Thus in the human species those races have prevailed in which in consequence of a monogamous system of marriage the providence of both parents is assured to the offspring, resulting in better nutrition and somatic and psychical training; and those nations have prevailed in which the katabolic energies of man have extended into a complicated political system based on territory, the tribal organization based on descent through females. But it is impossible that humanitarian sentiments should have been developed except as a supervention upon maternal affection, and impossible that political organization should have developed except as a supervention upon association based on ties of blood.

The history of art is also closely associated with the fact of sex. Woman has been historically the bearer of social sentiment, because of her capacity for feeling, and man has been the bearer of social will, because of his capacity for action. Art is a generalized expression of any affective phase of life. There are in art what we may call pure masculine motives, representing the disruptive, militant, katabolic nature of man: Prometheus and Hamlet and Laocoon in conflict with circumstance. Historical paintings and epic and dramatic poems frequently contain this motive. Again, such characters as Penelope, Antigone, Dorothea Brooke stand for what we may call the feminine motive in art, representing the capacity of the female for sacrifice. But the artistic situation *par excellence* is the softened representation of the biological fact that the katabolic male seeks the anabolic female — the affinity of Romeo and Juliet, of Caponsacchi and Pompilia.

The striking historical contrast and parallelism of the militant and industrial activities of society is a social expression of this sexual contrast. Man's katabolism predisposed him to activity and violence; woman's anabolism predisposed her to a stationary life. The first division of labor was, therefore, an expression of the characteristic contrast of the sexes. War and the chase were suitable to man, because his somatic development fitted him for bursts of energy, and agriculture and the primitive industries were the natural occupation of woman. This allotment of tasks was not made by the tyranny of man, but exists almost uniformly in primitive communities because it utilizes most advantageously the energies of both sexes. The struggle is so fierce and constant that the primitive community which should let any energy go to waste would not long survive. Through war and amalgamation the survival of the strongest ethnic type and the association of men in large numbers were secured, but this was only preliminary to the expansion (largely through the energies of man) of the industrial type of society represented from the beginning by the agriculture, arts, and manufactures of primitive woman. Devices for the artificial application of force were

largely developed in connection with the destructive activities of man, and the transfer of man's technological aptitude to the constructive side of life represented primarily by woman was the beginning of the indefinite extension of invention and the useful arts.[1]

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[1] A series of papers will follow this on the social psychology of sex, with especial reference to early association and social organization.

SOCIAL CONTROL. VIII.

ART.

ART is here meant in its broadest sense. It includes poetry, rhetoric, eloquence, painting, and sculpture—all those means, in short, whereby an idea wins peculiar force through its *form of expression.*

I.

How can art modify the feelings to the advantage of society?

(*a*) *By arousing the passions.*—Early art is seen in the direct service of corporate excitement. It supplies aids and symbols by which at gatherings the individual is spurred to a common emotion. All manner of festivals and feasts—war, religious, Bacchic, phallic—make use of the arts of representation. While there is a distinct value in anything that promotes a convergence of feeling upon a single sentiment, art serves society especially by arousing the passions of conflict. The warfare that preceded discipline was waged under great excitement. It was necessary to submerge the ordinary self-preservative instincts beneath a tide of fury. Hence the resort to drug and intoxicant, and hence also the choral song, the tribal chant, the wild dance, and the mimic warfare that preceded the rush upon the foe. Even in the later military organizations marching songs, war songs, watchwords, battle cries, inspiring bulletins, and eloquent words by chiefs serve to direct the ideas and impulses of a soldier to society's advantage. While within the group the social office of art must lie in taming man, its service in respect to the enemies of the group must consist in playing upon man's passions.

(*b*) *By kindling sympathy.*—The characteristic emotion art aims to arouse is, as Guyau insists,[1] social. It is the diffused

[1] *L'Art au point de vue sociologique.*

pleasure that comes in moments of enlargement and solidarity. Art is "an *ensemble* of means of producing that general and harmonious stimulation of the conscious life which constitutes the sentiment of the beautiful."[1] In times of decadence it may become merely a means for producing agreeable sensations, a kind of decorative fringe. But in its best estate it is interpretative and appeals to the emotions. "The true object of art is the expression of life." "It is a mode of amplifying experience and extending our compact with our fellow-men beyond the bounds of our personal lot."[2]

The taproot of selfishness is weakness of imagination. "We can sympathize only with what we can picture to ourselves; and the inability to feel for another simply means inability to grasp by means of the imagination the experiences through which that other is passing."[3] So far as the artist by his warmth of imagination releases from the closed chamber of self he conciliates the individual and society. Oftener, however, his task is to give to sympathy range rather than force. Life rather than art is the first nurse of sympathy. But with most people their contacts with others are quite too few. Fellow feeling for those they meet is not enough because their life circle is too narrow. They need a magic that shall lift into view what is below their horizon. Perhaps the chief ethical function of art, therefore, is to supply those imaginative contacts by which local groups are conciliated and the segments of society cemented together.

The artist, like Le Sage's Asmodeus, waves aside all roofs. He shows us in another sex, class, lot, group, race, or age the old passions, longings, hopes, fears, and sorrows we have so often supped and bedded with. So he calls forth fellow feeling and knits anew the ever-raveling social web. Without his filaments to bind hearts together it is doubtful if the vast groups of today could last. Certainly a nation like ours could not endure without the mutual comprehension and sympathy established within the folk-mass by artists living and dead. It is they who

[1] *L'Art au point de vue sociologique*, p. 16.

[2] GEORGE ELIOT.

[3] HUDSON, *The Church and Stage*, p. 68.

have put breath into the common past and joined men in love of it. It is they who have discovered the common character and enamored the people of its type. And they are still at work keeping all parts of the nation *en rapport.* The yoke of enforced coöperation galls fellow citizens, and it needs art to allay the irritation. Not slavery alone but the narrow sympathies of a provincial literature caused the South to drift away. East and West become alienated through clash of interests, but the story writers and playwrights come in and help the people of each section to understand the other.

This service of art is most signal in a vast democratic state embracing many kinds of life and many interests. Here, where only imperial ideas and grand policy can give success, comes the sternest test of popular government, for the mass of men are necessarily of few contacts and narrow experience. Unless the flagging imagination of the common man be stimulated to divine the multifarious life of his country, his will be no fit hands to hold the reins. Hence Greek and Italian and Swiss democracies were local, while empires had to be committed to leisured aristocracies or bred princes. An imperial democracy like ours is an experiment, and succeeds only because the press and a national literature inspire broad sympathies.

The man of genius, with his clairvoyant gift of seeing into all kinds of life and his power to make us feel that life as our very own, wins his most brilliant triumphs in modifying the relations of classes. The emancipation of negro slaves or Russian serfs is hastened because a Stowe or a Turgenieff makes them *comprehended.* A Dickens or a Reade is formidable to social abuses because he has the power to make us yokefellows of their victims. A Tolstoi or a Millet, by making the peasant *understood*, gives him a new social weight. Slaves, serfs, convicts, exiles, outcasts, sufferers of every sort gain strength the moment genius gives them a voice. Social struggles turn not wholly on the relative strength of classes, but in a measure on the degree to which a suffering class can convict the rest of common clay. What once was done by revolt is now often done by the mild

influence of a social art. "Put yourself in his place!" is the cry of the artist, and our obedience is the test of his genius.

Not all art is sociable. Conventional art, ornamental art, art that interprets nature—these aim to please rather than to socialize. But the kinds—like poetry, eloquence, novel, or drama—that deal with human life rather than forms or hues certainly modify moral character. The interest and sympathy they awaken is not virtue, but it is the seed-plot of the virtues and their natural climate. We are apt to regard culture as compatible with selfishness, but the iciest indifference of the man of culture is aglow compared with the absolute zero of heartlessness possible to the savage. There is little good art that has not in it something of the sociable, and he who has been long exposed to its humanizing influences cannot get away from the comprehension of his kind. His eyes have been opened, his imagination unsealed. At some point or other his interest in his fellow-men will betray him into generosity and demonstrate that art has made him a citizen of humanity.

(*c*) *By exploiting the æsthetic sense.*—It is in the power of art to foster goodness by making it beautiful and to blight badness by making it ugly. There are, of course, æsthetic elements in social conduct, and the artist in quest of beauty is the one to reveal them. But the lukewarm support the æsthetic sense of itself lends to morality is by no means enough for society in its stern conflict with the rampant individual will.[1] If the æsthetic will not of its own motion join the social banner, it must be pressed into service under leadership of the lords of the imagination. While some men naturally abominate selfishness, all men abominate filth; and by art it is possible so to link together the two that the loathing for defilement shall extend to self-seeking. When conscience is weak it can be reinforced by taste, so that he who is not saved by his sympathies may be saved even by his fastidiousness.

[1] In "The Æsthetic Element in Morality" PROFESSOR SHARP concludes that the statement of Martineau that "the beauty of conduct is conditioned by its rightness" certainly represents "a serious error."

The artist weds the moral to the æsthetic by taking advantage of our feelings for person. The faces of saints are shown as clear and beautiful, while sinners are painted black and hideous. The poets and painters of a blond race will make evil men swarthy, while those of a dark race will make them red haired. In the epic and drama of our fair race the hero is a tall blonde, while the villain is small and dark. Physical deficiencies such as the hunchback or the clubfoot get so associated with evil character as to breed great injustice. Avarice besets young and old, fair and foul. Yet art has coupled it indissolubly in our minds with the filthy person, yellow skin, and long, bony, clutching fingers of an old man.

Besides putting a shadow into the face of a sinner and a halo about the head of the saint, art polarizes our feelings in regard to types of deed and character. In literature unruly appetites are "leprosy;" sin is "defilement;" lust is "a cruel pestilence;" obedience to instincts is "the bondage of our corruption;" sinful passions are "scabs;" hypocrites are "whited sepulchres;" wealth seeking is "raking muck;" evil practices are "putrid sores;" crafty transactions are "malodorous;" absence of integrity is "rottenness." The wicked are "like the troubled sea when it cannot rest; whose waters cast up mire and dirt." The egotists are, after their kind, cormorants, vampires, leeches, vultures, vipers, toads, spiders and vermin.

Dante, a moral æsthete, is able to give conduct the stamp he wished by his choice of punishments in his Malebolge. Flatterers "snort with their muzzles," traitors "bark," fratricides butt together "like two he-goats," thieves become reptiles, falsifiers are covered with scabs, gluttons thrust forth their heads "as in a ditch the frogs stand only with their muzzles out." So Spenser in his *Faërie Queene* shows Envy of "leprous mouth," Lechery "rough and blacke and filthy," Gluttony on a swine, crane-necked and "spuing up his gorge." Tennyson and Browning while less crude are no less emphatic. Thus the wrong is yoked with the foul and the excesses of egoism are associated with disgustful images.

In short, two series of ideas and their correlative feelings are completely blended. Moral excellence is made akin to every other form of excellence. Conformity to the principles of associate life is purity, straightness, whiteness, sweetness, clearness, life, health; while nonconformity is filth, stain, blemish, deformity, disease, decay. By causing the unsocial to appear first as *sin*, or that which is offensive to God, and then as *defilement*, or that which is offensive to man, society exploits first man's reverence and then his fastidiousness.

(*d*) *By exploiting the sense of the sublime.*—In many the first straying from the ego is not toward fellowship, but toward the vast. Not sympathy, but thirst for largeness, carries them out of themselves. They sicken of self-seeking because individual aims seem petty, and so crave, like Faust, to lay hold on the permanent. Art now turns this to social account. She weans away men still zestful for life by harping on its brevity, frailty, feebleness. By skillful selection and fitting imagery the artist is able to impress with the triviality of life and the insignificance of the individual lot. The consequent quest for a fit aim of endeavor is directed to social advantage by dwelling on the vastness, might, and permanence of society, the nation, or the race. Only the group is worth striving for; it alone can give eternity to one's name or work.

Occasionally one reminds us that society is nothing but people, and if the individual joy or pain be held trivial corporate aims are stricken with a like blight. But such a voice is a jarring note in the chorus. Art leads us into society, and there causes us to repose and rest satisfied. The collective life is magnified till it fascinates with its spaciousness, glorified till it dazzles with its splendor. Thus the stream of dependence and awe that naturally sets out toward the universe is skillfully turned aside and caused to make fruitful the social garden. In a century of *Götterdämmerung* like ours this apotheosis of society is especially marked.

(*e*) *By perfecting social symbols.*—The grand permanent needs of man get provided for in the ordinary flow of social life. But

in times of struggle a part of society must leave ease, embrace pain, defy their instincts, and act in many respects as irrational beings. Most of those thus devoted can form no mental picture of the good to accrue to others from these sacrifices. Hence they must be moved by unrealities and lured on by symbols. War time, therefore, with its high-beating emotion and its dire need of idealism, is the moment of triumph for the lords of the imagination. During this epoch of illusion the magicians become the chief custodians of the group consciousness, the incarnation of the social spirit. The crisis over, the tempered idealism of religion and morality resumes its sway, and Tyrtæus becomes a Pindar.

Art, with its strong human impulse, will always strive to make pearls of man's drops of sweat. But softening inevitable ills, or winning to present hardship for the sake of a future gain, is easy compared to the task of luring men to the supremest sacrifices for the sake, not of themselves or their near ones, but of society at large. In war stress the artist must be alchemist enough to turn lead into gold. Pain he must make sweet, disease comely, mutilations lovely, and death beautiful. It is his to convince men

> "That length of days is knowing how to die;"[1]

that

> "Death for noble ends makes dying sweet;"[2]

> "That death within the sulphurous hostile lines,
> In the mere wreck of nobly pitched designs,
> Plucks heart's-ease and not rue."[2]

Ever a considered prudence strives to order the lives of men, but the artist must know how to make the current of emotion foam over restraining bank and dam.

This the artist does by appealing to the æsthetic sense. He sings the pomp and glory of war, its glitter and circumstance, and is silent as to its hideousness. Thanks to this favorite device of poets, painters, and orators, modern warfare is, despite

[1] LOWELL, Ode read at Concord. [2] LOWELL, *Memoriæ Positum.*

the field correspondent, about as mythic to the popular mind as the struggles of the gods and the Titans. Or the artist arbitrarily associates the martial and the æsthetic. He envelops the brave man in a cloud of glory and substitutes a halo for a physiognomy. The fallen brave "sleep," while cowards "rot." Soldiers are "heroes," while stay-at-homes are "children," "women," "sweet little men."

But by far the mightiest service of the artist is the perfecting of the symbol. By his mythopœic faculty he transmutes realities and replaces the grisly features of hardship, mutilation, and death with some attractive image. Duty is "God's eldest daughter;" war becomes Mars, Bellona, "Thor's Hammer;" death appears as the Valkyrie, Azrael, the Angel of the Darker Drink, the Valley of the Shadow, "Lethe's sleepy stream;" the sword is the "Iron Bride;" the enemy are "hireling hosts" or "ruffian bands."

Especially is it the duty of the artist

> "To body forth that image of the brain
> We call our Country, visionary shape,
> Loved more than woman, fuller of fire than wine,
> Whose charm can none define,
> Nor any, though he flee it, can escape!"[1]

Symbols for the group arise naturally in the impassioned popular mind. But it needs rare imagination to give these vague shapes that outline and color and life and beauty which enable them to work upon citizens as the image of Helen upon the soul of Faust. Once the prince or king personified the unity of the group and the artist served patriotism by glorifying the leader. With modern states comes a harder task of perfecting and animating a pure symbol — Columbia, La Belle France, or Britannia — that men shall fight for as loyally as for chief or liege. As it is men who rear and defend the state, this group symbol is always feminine, appealing as maid or mother to the strongest affections of man's heart. It is likewise their high symbolic value that explains why queens inspire the most ardent loy-

[1] LOWELL, Ode read at Concord.

alty and make the best modern sovereigns. Could we conceive society in charge of women, we should no doubt get a change in national symbol as significant as the passage in the church from the Madonna-cult to the Jesus-cult. Equally meaning is the fabrication for the symbol for the larger, not the minor, group. It is when the imagination fails to grasp the vast collective life that the symbol is invoked. A Tyrtæus merely reminds of home and altar. A Lowell appeals for his country—

> "Smoothing thy gold of war-disheveled hair
> On such sweet brows as never other were;"

or dreams of Truth

> "plumed and mailed'
> With sweet, stern face unveiled
> And all-repaying eyes. . . . ."

In such way, then—breathing life and charm into symbols that press back realities and enter among the guiding stars of the individual life—does the artist make himself ally and friend of the purposes of society.

(*f*) *By fascinating with new types.*—What the artist holds up to nature is not always a mirror; sometimes it is a model. For he may not content himself with putting us in touch with our kind; he may choose to put us under the spell of exceptional or imaginary people, for whom he would excite admiration rather than fellow feeling. All people long to stamp their lives with distinction, but few there are who can conceive how to do it. To these victims of the commonplace comes the genius with this radiant image or that fascinating figure. He flashes before their eyes a Werther or a Hernani, a Prince Hal or a King Arthur, a Gretchen or a Julie, and they troop after him as children after the Piper of Hämelin. In this way a Calderon, a Rousseau, or a Bunyan leaves his stamp on national character. The welding power of a national literature is partly its power to assimilate a people by molding them over a number of specific types.

The ideal creations, then, of poet or novelist or playwright become mother types and bring forth men and women in their

image each after its kind. "Whole generations of German girls and women," says Nordau, "have formed themselves upon the model of Claurens' female figures, as now upon the Gold Elsies and Geierwallys of recent fiction." The well-dowered darling of the creative artist moving gloriously through an ideal world is as irresistible as was Amadis of Gaul to Don Quixote. Its public yield to its charm as helplessly as iron filings to the magnet or the waters to the moon's attraction. It is a new force abroad in society.[1]

Of course the fancy-begotten type may not touch the moral at all. It may be only an arc or crescent of life. The painter may charm us with a mere pose, an expression, or a way of wearing the hair. An actress may create a model as to voice, gait, or manners. Even the rounded types brain-born of genius are not, like "social types," wholly subdued to social ends. They are patterns, not only for our relations to others, but for all manner of choices whatsoever. They are addressed to the individual and embody the genius' conception of how he may live out his life. Yet it is certain that a type like St. Preux, or John Halifax, or Trilby, strongly imbued with the social spirit, will draw its imitators upward and so help a little in the problem of moralization. The artist's ideal therefore may become an ally of social control.

II.

Such aid the artist can give if he will. But will he? Consider first the influences that predispose him to side with society

The group by its might and permanence has peculiar power to stir the imagination and awaken fervor. The nation itself, with its colossal life-drama, is a hero no less splendid than an Achilles or a Beowulf. Who, whether friend of England or foe

[1] "Thus the poets and novelists stand like the Jacob of the Bible before the watering-trough and set their 'rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut tree' in which they have 'pilled white strakes' in the gutters and cause 'ring-straked, speckled, and spotted generations to be brought forth as they may choose.'" — NORDAU, *Paradoxes*, "The Import of Fiction."

is not stirred by Matthew Arnold's majestic image of the "weary Titan" "staggering under the too vast orb of her fate"? In the gropings of a vast collective life towards self-consciousness, swift-divining genius finds just that hint which incites it to imagine and to glorify a gigantic group personality.

If he but keep the epic attitude, the artist, however narrow his sympathies, will be apt to cast his influence on the side of order. For though he spurn codes and creeds he cannot disavow that morality which lies at the base of all association. Equally indifferent though he be to all men he will feel the reasonableness and rightness of those sentiments which will not let one live as if there were no other will in the world. So he holds the beam level between clashing individuals he will insensibly be led to consecrate the dictates of an elementary justice. But when he becomes subjective he loses this impartial view. The thoroughly modern and decadent aim of the artist to *express himself*, rather than to give what he sees or imagines, helps to explain the more frequent outcropping in literature of a deeply anti-social individualism.

Again, sociability runs hand in hand with the very technique of the artist. The delight he aims to confer flows from the felt harmony of self with other beings. Despise the multitude as he may, the artist is still alive to the charm of some people, and so after all levels his appeal at our sympathies. Take from his palette love, affinity, and loyalty and there would be little left save the elementary beauty of form and color and motion. Everywhere in works of art we find some clear note of sociability.

The individual artist is often the flower of an entire civilization. He sends his root fibers far and wide into the culture of his time, which culture is already social. Moreover, in whatever medium he works he comes in contact with traditions, canons, models and ideals[1] which have been elaborated for that

[1] "Signs of communal literary culture are to be found in any literature with which the author of the present work is at all acquainted."—POSNETT, *Comparative Literature*, p. 129.

particular art and which exert a shaping pressure on each craftsman. These will tend to limit the caprice and irresponsibility of the individual artist because the standards of every fine art come in time to a sort of *modus vivendi* with the reigning moral and religious standards.

As his work goes much further than his practice it is possible for the artist to help in the moral uplifting of people without living up to his ideals. Singing the praises of friendship, constancy, poverty, independence, toil, simplicity, solitude or patriotism, however much it may move others, happily does not commit the singer to any rash choices. His life is private, his work is public, and while the latter inspires and exalts he may live his life much as other people. The orator or the poet may nerve others to do and die without imitating a Fichte or a Körner. Devotees who take art as the witness of higher beings stand aghast at the gap between the artist's utterance and his life. But the judicious will see in this dualism the chief means whereby art has become the ally of society and a beacon light for moral progress. Only on such terms, perhaps, could the world have the inspiration of a Petrarch, a Rousseau, a Shelley, or a Coleridge. Let us not quarrel with an arrangement that enables each to assist in setting high his neighbor's ideal.

Nevertheless the rarest worth will always be that of the great sincere artists who speak from their heart of hearts and whose work is moral because their natures are profoundly social. Where, as with Æschylus, Dante, Milton, Lessing, Lammenais, or Tolstoi, the art has that indescribable ring of the personality, its mastery will be greatest.

Such are the guarantees that works of art generally shall in respect to social spirit stand above the average man and so draw him *upward.*[1] But we must not suppose that the net result is any such unflinching support of the social order as is given by

[1] Of the four novels — *The Count of Monte Christo*, *Les Miserables*, *Vanity Fair* and *Ben Hur* — which during a recent twenty-three months were drawn more than a thousand times each from the St. Louis Public Library, only one is ethically neutral. Two if not three are profoundly social.

religious beliefs or by moral ideals. Law, belief, religion, ceremony, become institutions. This implies two things: that they repose on a consensus and will not obey the will of one man; that they get organized and so act in a measure independently of the wills at any moment in charge of them. A system of belief, for instance, goes on with its tremendous momentum dealing out bane and blessing on behalf of the central requirements of society in an almost automatic way. Art, on the other hand, being very little of an institution, will not bless that which it can see no good in. Born of the zeal and sympathy of individuals it holds no brief for the established order. It will exalt self-sacrifice for persons. But the impersonal requirements, the exactions that protect not people but institutions, the inobvious necessities of restraint occasioned by the social division of labor —these too often the artist misunderstands and so rages blindly against. Willful, moody, and erratic, this member of the *genus irritabile vatum* is ever shaking off the dust of his shoes against the *de facto* order, flouting authority and stirring people up against restraints. The more downright forms of control he detests, while he exalts spontaneity and has great faith in the appeal to sympathy. And so it comes about that art, while fighting in the main on the side of society, has not the steady stroke of church or state.

III.

Other guarantees for the sociality of art are found in the control society exercises over it.

This control is by hindrance and by furtherance.

We see hindrance in official censors, in the licensing of play houses, in the suppression of "The Clemenceau Case," in the exclusion of the *Kreuzer Sonata* from the mails, in the shutting out of "Le Debacle" from French garrisons. Besides the authorities we have librarians, hanging committees, art juries, monument boards, reputable publishers, and responsible periodicals conspiring to check the raid of the immoral artists upon the public. Behind these hovers a cloud of critics and every work

of art must run the gauntlet of them ere it can gain easy access to the multitude. Flanking these are the church with its Index, the pulpit with its thunders against the stage, W. C. T. U.'s, Y. M. C. A.'s, mothers' associations and reading clubs down to the local oracle and the village Dogberry. What with censor, police, critic, priest, schoolmaster and matron, the hindrances society can oppose to a demoralizing work of art are very considerable.

Still more effective is the furtherance given to that which is deemed most salutary and wholesome. A great quantity of art-work is selected and paid for by society. The literature conned in the schools, the libraries of barracks and ships, the eloquence of senates, the oratory and poetry of public occasions, the frescoes of public buildings, the collections in public galleries and museums, the repertory of subsidized theaters, the art in churches and cathedrals—on these the social purgation shows as plainly as the patronage of the Bourbons shows on the battle pieces at Versailles. Add now to this the effect of general praise and commendation, the favor shown one class of literature by the church, the fillip given another by the "family" magazine, and it will be evident that the policy of society toward art is anything but *laissez faire*.

Abandon though we may all official censorship, so long as society spontaneously organizes itself into a hierarchy of leaders and led, of makers and takers of opinion, it will be possible greatly to let or hinder the access of the artist to the public. Let those of influence but appreciate the moral bearing of art, and the universal impulse of everyone to look out for his neighbor's morals will do the rest.

Artists resenting the yoke of morality have coined the absurd phrase "art for art's sake," and with it have bewildered not a few. To meet this cry with empty assertions of the "moral purpose of art," the "moral obligations laid upon the artist," is but to heap up chaff. But put "social" for "moral" and the situation becomes clear.

The realists, naturalists, and veritists assert that art is an individual affair, that one has the right to speak, print, or publish

anything he pleases or that he can get another to like. Art as Master of Revels and Dispenser of Delights cannot attain its utmost unless unfettered by conventionalities. To naysay the free access of artist to patron is to mutilate art, kill inspiration, and cut off humanity from choice springs of enjoyment.

For society to concede any such claim would be sheer folly. What madness, when we are all the time besetting the individual with our theologies and religions and ideals, and can scarcely keep him in order at that, to let the irresponsible artist get at him and undo our work! Why give art *carte blanche* when there is scarcely a speculation abroad regarding the other world which has not been shaped by considerations of this world's discipline? When sober Reason has scarcely won *Lehrfreiheit* it is over-early to emancipate the Artistic Imagination.[1]

By whom art shall be supervised is another question. All attempts to lodge the supervision of art in any man or board have done more harm than good. By brutal suppression they consecrate the established order and turn artists into sycophants or revolutionists. It may be best that the fate of the artist's work be decided by the ten thousand influential, subject to an appeal to the million uninfluential. Then let the indefinite public ban without ruth or scruple whatever gives moral offense. In this way it is possible to enforce the amenableness of art to society without asserting its amenableness to law.

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[1] In France, where "Hands off!" has been the maxim, the demoralization traceable to anti-social art has given rise to a strong movement for social control. The Beringer Bill, which is likely to become a law, punishes not only the publication or sale of an immoral book or picture but even the possession of it.

ECCENTRIC OFFICIAL STATISTICS. II.

In the January number of the Journal of Sociology the writer called attention to the eccentric character of census statistics of production and wages. The purpose of the present article is a criticism of census statistics of capital and wealth which seem equally eccentric. In *The Margin of Profit* Mr. Edward Atkinson says:

> Mr. Chamberlain attempts to sustain his position by making the common blunder, which he shares with many members of Congress who ought to know better, by trying to find out what were the profits of manufacturing in 1880 from the figures of the census. For such a purpose the figures of the census are mere rubbish. If the questions had been put in such a way that the profits of the different arts investigated would have been disclosed, manufacturers would either have returned no answer whatever or would not have given correct and complete answers. The taking of the census had no such purpose and it would be impossible to carry it out if it had. All that you have in the census —and I know of what I speak, for I framed the forms of many of the questions, especially in the department of which I took the census myself—I say all that you have in the census which is of value and which can be used with safety is the gross value of manufacturing production, the cost of the materials, the number of employés and the sum of their wages.[1]

In the eleventh census we find adopted the very plan which Mr. Atkinson declares it would be impossible to carry out, for besides miscellaneous expenses in addition to cost of material and wages which were not reported at the tenth census, it was attempted to obtain the full amount of capital employed in man-

[1] The value of even these items may be doubted when we find so noted a statistician as Mr Atkinson quoting the sum of manufactured products as the value of manufacturing production. This Mr. Atkinson does in an article in the Chicago *Record* of December 11, 1896, saying: "According to the census of manufactures the total value in 1890 was $9,372,437,283, number of employés 4,712,622, average earnings $484."

The value of the products of manufacturing industry is thus quoted for the purpose of showing the relative insignificance of products with which it is compared. The error of such statements was shown in the writer's preceding article.

ufacturing industry, whether owned, hired, or borrowed. This it is claimed was not accomplished in the census of 1880. The futility of any attempt to obtain the amount of manufacturing capital is not only intimated by Mr. Atkinson, but declared by General Walker in his remarks of the *Ninth Census* which he repeated in the *Census of 1880:*

> The census returns of capital invested in manufactures are entirely untrustworthy and delusive. The inquiry is one of which it is not too much to say that it ought never to be embraced in the schedules of the census, not merely for the reason that the results are, and must remain wholly worthless, the inquiry occupying upon the schedules the place of some technical questions which might be made to yield information of great value, but also because the inquiry in respect to capital creates more prejudice and arouses more opposition to the progress of the enumeration than all the other questions of the manufacturing schedule united. It is in fact the one question which manufacturers resent as needlessly obtrusive, while at the same time it is perhaps the one question in relation to their business which manufacturers, certainly the majority of them, could not answer to their own satisfaction if disposed.

As capital can only increase from earnings, statistics which indicate an enormous increase of capital invested and a comparatively insignificant profit on such investment, as do those of the eleventh census, are evidently, like those of the tenth census, "mere rubbish," which it is worse than a waste of the public treasure to publish. Notwithstanding the incomparability of the statistics of capital of the tenth and eleventh censuses, we find in the latter census elaborate comparative tables showing by localities and industries the amount of capital required to produce $100 of product in the two periods. Not only do we find these comparisons, that cannot fail to mislead, but attempts to compute the profits of manufacturing capital from statistics that according to Mr. Atkinson and General Walker must be wholly worthless.

On page 166, part 3, of the manufacturing statistics are presented miscellaneous expenses of the cotton-goods industry, embracing information reported at no previous census, with the remarks;

Although the ascertainment of the profits of manufacturing is no part of the purpose of the census inquiry, and although the facts which can be procured by an official examination must necessarily omit many items and circumstances which must be considered before the actual profits are disclosed, yet the omissions are now so much fewer than on any former occasion that we can certainly arrive at a nearer approximation of the truth regarding the margin of profit than ever before, as shown in the following statement:

EXPENSES AND PRODUCT.

Value of products, - - - - -		$267,981,724
Cost of material used, - -	$154,912,979	
Wages, - - - - - -	66,024,538	
Salaries of officers and clerks,	3,464,734	
Miscellaneous expenses, - -	16,716,524	241,118,775
Remainder, - - - -		$26,862,949

This remainder represents 7.59 per cent. of the capital excluding the value of hired property, but represents much more than the actual profits of manufacturing. All capital expenditures, excepting rent and interest paid for cash used in business are excluded from the items entering into the cost of production; ordinary repairs are included, but all renewals and expenditures on account of depreciation of machinery are omitted.

The cost of renewal takes a large percentage of nominal profits in a cotton-spinning mill. An allowance of 3 per cent. of the value of the buildings and machinery is a moderate one; this would be a gross sum of $6,233,054; reducing the $26,862,949 by this sum, the remainder will be $20,629,895 which is 5.83 per cent. of the reported capital.

The amount of capital reported as invested in this industry is stated as $354,020,843 exclusive of hired property, of which $230,993,567 represents the plant and $123,027,276 live assets. Miscellaneous expenses were given as follows:

Rent paid for tenancy, - - -	$ 488,735
Taxes, - - - - - -	2,689,632
Insurance, - - - - - -	1,213,322
Repairs of buildings and machinery, -	3,987,748
Interest paid on cash used in business,	4,098,435
Sundries not elsewhere reported, -	4,238,652

We find it remarked: "Borrowed cash is included in the capital reported at the census of 1890, but it is impossible to state in which of the different items it is included, as the schedule of inquiry did not require such a statement. The amount can be estimated by computation based on the interest report under miscellaneous expenses."

At 5 per cent. the amount of interest paid represents an average amount of borrowed capital of $81,969,870, equal to two-thirds of the reported live capital. As interest on this amount is included in expenses it cannot be properly included in the amount of capital on which to compute the margin of profit. Such a computation gives rise to the ungracious suspicion of a purpose on the part of census officials to mislead the public as to the profits of capital. Possibly, however, this is only a blunder illustrating their incompetence. Deducting the borrowed capital on which interest had been paid from the reported capital, and dividing the profits shown by the remainder, we have as the quotient representing the margin of profit 7.61 per cent. instead of 5.83 per cent.

It may be noticed that the capital reported seems out of proportion to the value of the product. Cotton goods are staple and sold largely on orders and for cash and seldom on long time. The writer is informed by one acquainted with the business that in ordinary times, such as was the census year, the live assets should be turned over at least five times during the year. According to these statistics it required $123,027,026 to handle $267,981,724 of product, over 20 millions of which was profits in large part available for handling the product. To what extent the capital reported as invested in the plant may be an exaggeration we have no means of computing, but it seems quite evident that the live assets are reported at more than double the actual live capital. Moreover as there is specifically included in expenses all material consumed in manufacturing production, together with rent, interest, and ordinary repairs, and besides wages of operatives the salaries of those who conduct the business, it seems difficult to conceive what can be the expenses amounting to $4,238,652 which we find included as "sundries not elsewhere reported."

The depreciation of plant, for which allowance is also made, has been largely if not entirely offset by the increase of site values, which increase has become part of the capital on which the margin of profit is computed.

A comparison of the manufacturing statistics of the tenth

and eleventh censuses indicates an increase of 69.31 per cent. in production and 120.78 per cent. in the amount of capital invested. The worthlessness of census statistics of capital, and the manner in which a large part of the apparent total increase of product as well as capital is obtained, is shown in the following table compiled from the tables of the eleventh census. Accepting these figures we must conclude that in these five trades there were almost four times as many employés and four times as large a product in 1890 as in 1880, and that five and a half times as much capital was invested, though there had been an increase in the numbers of those reporting themselves as engaged in these occupations (as shown by the tables of occupation) of but 68 per cent.

	Year	Average number of employés	Capital	Value of product
Carpentry	1880	54,138	$19,541,358	$94,152,139
	1890	140,021	81,542,845	281,195,162
Masonry, brick and stone	1880	16,020	3,990,706	29,586,553
	1890	119,029	54,969,408	204,165,642
Painting and paper hanging	1880	17,711	5,645,950	22,457,560
	1890	56,281	23,135,781	72,067,998
Plumbing and gas fitting	1880	2,165	5,950,512	18,133,250
	1890	5,327	29,235,247	80,905,925
Plastering and stucco work	1880[1]	.....	.....	.....
	1890	10,624	3,309,297	13,460,824
Total	1880	90,034	$35,128,520	$164,329,502
	1890	331,282	192,192,578	651,795,551
Increase per cent	....	267	445	296

To one acquainted with the manner of letting building contracts and conducting the business of these trades the amount of capital reported seems greatly out of proportion to the product and the number of employés and amount of wages. One of Chicago's most experienced architects, to whom the table was submitted, declared it absurd, and expressed the opinion that Chicago contractors have not capital invested in their business to the extent of 10 per cent. of the value of the work executed.

[1] Tabulated in 1880 under head of Masonry, brick and stone.

While many of the contractors engaged in these industries have accumulated property, the larger proportion are persons of small means, and those who possess wealth find more profitable investment for it than in an occupation where but little capital is required.

Building contracts as a rule provide for payments as the work progresses, but 15 per cent. being usually retained till the completion of the contract. This enables the contractor who purchases his material on credit to obtain payments on his contract to meet most of his expenses. With a very small amount of capital, which is turned over many times, he is able to execute a large amount of work. The principal capital employed is that of the producers of building material. As this capital is reported in such industries, to include it also as capital employed in building trades is to count the same capital twice.

The great increase that may be noticed in the number of employés reported, as has been stated, results from the defective enumeration of the previous census. The same is true as to the increase of product. We have here in five industries an increase in the value of the product amounting to almost half a billion, not more than 10 per cent. of which can be due to an actual increase.

An investigation of census reports of valuation shows also an enormous apparent increase of wealth due to deficient earlier enumerations. Quoting the figures of our census, Mulhall declares: "This is a prodigious increase of wealth and without parallel in the history of the human race" (*Dictionary of Statistics*). Discovering how greatly not only our own people but the whole world have been misled by comparisons of incomparable census statistics we are surprised that so eminent a statistician and economist as Colonel Wright should remark that census statements of less than the full amount have little disastrous effects. This indicates a failure to perceive the danger of which Robert Giffen, the most eminent of English statisticians, warns his readers in *Growth of Capital*. Giffen declares: "Country has been compared with country and period with period in the most reckless fashion without any regard to the comparability of the data."

In his contribution to the JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, November 1895, Colonel Wright says:

> Like all fruit the fruit of the census tree has been of various grades. The information was not always accurate but it was rarely vicious, and taking the census of 1850 as the first great stage of growth it must be understood as of varied quality. I have said the results were never vicious. This was true because overestimates are rare under census taking. If the returns were in any sense defective, they were defective as to quantity stated. . . . . If more than the full amount was given the result might be damaging, but statements of less than the full amount while disappointing have little or no disastrous effect.

Showing the different methods adopted in preceding censuses from those of the tenth census, which must make comparisons most dangerous unless accompanied by the fullest explanation and warning, Colonel Wright remarks of the tenth census: "Its faults were the faults of any such great undertaking, but they were less than the faults of any previous census."

The viciousness of our census statistics seems to be not in the deficiencies of the earlier enumerations but in the comparisons of incomparable statistics which we find in the later censuses. In the tenth census, instead of a caution as to comparing the valuations of that census with preceding censuses, we find remarks conveying the impression that while the estimate of true value of the census of 1860 was comparable with that of 1880 it was not comparable with the estimates of the preceding census. Judging by its results the fault of the tenth census, which Colonel Wright so highly commends, seems infinitely greater than the fault of any preceding census. By misleading our most eminent statesmen and writers as well as those less experienced, the tenth and eleventh censuses have defeated the purpose for which at great expense they have been compiled. What wonder that with official statistics which seem to indicate a per capita increase of wealth during the decade of war and waste, 1860–1870, three times as great as during the decade of peace and toil which followed, so many have concluded that the apparently great prosperity of this period was due to the greenback issues, and that there is virtue in a flood of money! What wonder either that a

comparison of statistics of 1880 and 1890 with those of 1860 should have led others to believe in the potency of a tariff tax for the creation of wealth! Deceived by the statistics of the tenth census, we find one so influential in molding public opinion and directing legislation as the late James G. Blaine alleging an increase in the wealth of the nation from 1860 to 1880 of 30 billion dollars as a result of our tariff policy. This assertion, first made in his letter accepting the nomination of his party for the presidency in 1884, is repeated in *Twenty Years of Congress* and in his discussion of the tariff question with Mr. Gladstone (*North American Review*, January 1890). This mistaken assertion has been iterated and reiterated by the greater as well as the lesser lights of the protective theory, including ex-President Harrison and President McKinley. Not only have those of one political faith been misled, but we find the free-trade champion, Roger Q. Mills, replying to Mr. Blaine's reply to Mr. Gladstone, practically indorsing Mr. Blaine's erroneous assertions (*North American Review*, February 1890). Mr. Blaine having properly omitted slave values in comparing the census valuation of 1860 with that of 1880, Mr. Mills charges him with an error of two billions, but is oblivious of the fact that claiming the difference between the valuation of 1860 and 1880 as measuring the increase of the nation's wealth during the period was an error of several times two billions.

The question at issue is, as was declared by Mr. Blaine, of transcendent importance to the present and future of the republic, and its discussion by the foremost advocates of opposing theories had unquestionably wide influence. "We must," said Mr. Blaine, "insist on being guided by facts and not by theories."

In the light of recent admissions by census officials, Mr. Blaine's boasted facts seem only fiction. These admissions have been made with evident reluctance, and only as attention has been called to the facts by those having no connection with the census office.

In a contribution to the Chicago *Record* of November 5, 1892, Mr. Robert P. Porter, late superintendent of census, placed oppo-

site the estimates of true value for 1860 and 1890, in a table which he presented, the remark: "A comparison cannot be made; 1860 only includes estimated true value based upon assessed property." Mr. Porter's *Record* article followed a contribution to that journal in which the author of the present paper had demonstrated the incomparability of census estimates of "true value." Though in this newspaper article Mr. Porter makes this admission, census bulletins for which he was responsible contain the very comparisons which he declares ought not to be made. *Bulletin 104*, dated August 22, 1891, contains statistics of assessed and true value, in which the earlier estimates of true value are tabulated with those of 1880 and 1890 as the true value of all property. Instead of any word of warning as to the comparability of the data the following remarks are made:

> Should it be found on completion of the inquiry in relation to the true value of all property in the United States, that the same relation exists in 1890 between assessed value and true value as existed in 1880, the absolute wealth of the United States according to the eleventh census may be estimated at $62,610,000,000 or nearly $1000 per capita as against $514 per capita in 1860, $7.80 per capita in 1870 and $8.70 per capita in 1880. . . . . The final returns showing the absolute wealth of the country will necessarily be among the last publications of the office, as complete data for the calculation are not available until after the inquiries relating to agriculture and manufactures have been finished.

As will be shown, and as is admitted by Mr. Porter, the valuation of 1860 did not represent the true value of all property and is therefore incomparable with the later valuations which represent what Mr. Porter terms the "absolute wealth" of the country. Candid criticism of census bulletins having been invited, the writer under date of September 12, 1891, called Mr. Porter's attention to the erroneous statements and comparisons of this bulletin and the manner in which the public was being deceived thereby. This however had no effect, for on the 4th of June following *Census Bulletin 192* contained the same false statements, and only differed from the former bulletin in a slight change in the valuation for 1890. *Bulletin 379*, issued after Mr. Porter's retirement from the census, which occurred after the attention

of Secretary Smith had been called to the character of Mr. Porter's bulletins, gives the first intimation of the radical difference in methods in the earlier and later censuses. In this bulletin are presented the following figures accompanied by the following remarks:

True value of all real and personal property				Assessed valuation of real and personal property		
Year	Amount	Per capita	Increase per cent.	Total	Per capita	Increase per cent.
1850	$ 7,135,780,228	308		$ 6,024,666,909	260	
1860	16,159,616,068	514	126.46	12,084,560,005	384[1]	100.58
1870	30,068,518,507	780	85.07	14,178,986,732	368	17.33
1880	43,642,000,000	870	45.14	17,139,903,495	342	20.88
1890	65,037,091,197	1036	49.02	25,473,173,418	407	48.62

It is evident from the small difference between the true and assessed values in 1850 and from the entire omission of the value of unorganized territories, that no account was taken at that time of the vast area of vacant public lands, or of any other property real or personal exempt from taxation, and the same is probably true at least to a considerable extent in 1860. The true valuation reported in 1870 is believed to include, not only the property taxed, but also to a great extent that exempt from taxation by law or escaping it by fraudulent evasion, but little information as to the kinds of property included is published. The report of 1880 shows a classification of the property included, indicating a more rigorous investigation as to values.

This bulletin is stated to have been prepared by Mr. J. K Upton who also prepared bulletins 104 and 192. Seemingly unwilling to admit the falsity of his preceding bulletin, Mr. Upton remarks of the valuation of 1860: "The same is probably true, at least to a great extent."

The method adopted in 1860 is plainly stated in the remarks of the superintendent of that census, which show that no property could have been included in the estimate of true value which was not included in the assessor's returns. In the *Eighth Census* it is remarked:

The marshals of the United States were directed to obtain from the records of the states and territories respectively an account of the value of real and personal estate as assessed for taxation. Instructions were given these officers to add the proper amounts to the assessments so that the returns

should represent as well the true or intrinsic value as the inadequate sum generally attached to property for taxable purposes. . . . . It must be borne in mind that the value of all taxable property was returned, including that of foreigners as well as natives, while all was omitted belonging to the United States.

In the remarks of the *Ninth Census* (1870) General Walker cautioned the public against comparing the valuation of that census with the preceding census, and on page 3, Vol. III, explains:

That part of the social statistics schedule of 1850 which is devoted to the subject of valuation has always been understood to require:

1. A positive statement of the value of real estate *as assessed* for purposes of state and local taxation.

2. A positive statement of the value of personal property *as assessed* for purposes of state and local taxation.

3. An estimate of the officer making the returns of the true value of both species of property combined. The phraseology of the schedule in this matter is most unfortunate, but it has always been understood (interpreted is hardly the word) to mean what is given above.

General Walker farther explained that he had undertaken not only to obtain the value of property exempt from assessment but to estimate and include the value of property escaping assessment by reason of concealment. As the result we find that while in the census of 1860 the estimated true value reported exceeded assessed values but 35 per cent., the estimated true value in the census of 1870 exceeded the assessed value 112 per cent.

As has been stated by Colonel Wright the census of 1880 was taken under a new law. This law provided for the appointment of special agents for the collection of valuation and manufacturing statistics, a duty that in previous censuses had been performed by the marshals who made the enumeration of population. At this census Mr. Robert P. Porter was appointed special agent in charge of statistics of wealth, debt, and taxation. As a result of the change of methods the estimates of true value of the tenth census exceeded those of the ninth census 45 per cent., though assessed values indicated an increase of but 20 per cent.

The estimates of true value of this census were tabulated with

valuations of preceding censuses as "the true value of all property," and this without a word of caution or explanation as to the incomparability of the estimates of value of that census with those of preceding censuses. The fact that the tenth census, unlike the ninth census, failed to give such warning may perhaps be accounted for by the resignation of General Walker before the work of the tenth census was completed. This left the remarks of the tenth census accompanying the tables of valuation to be written by Henry Gannett, Mr. Porter's subordinate, who instead of warning the public of the incomparability of the figures which he presented with those of previous censuses, cautioned it against a comparison of the valuations of 1850 and 1860, saying:

> Yet we can scarcely credit so great an increase in the true value of property of the United States in a single decade as that from $7,135,780,228 to $16,159,616,068 or 126 per cent. Not only is so great an increase in itself very improbable, but there are many other considerations which indicate that the valuation of 1850 was much too small. For instance the growth of the agricultural and manufacturing interests during this period does not indicate so great an increase of wealth nor does the progress of our foreign trade and navigation interests, nor the increase of our banking and internal commerce; all these point to the probability that where the true valuation of 1860 and 1850 as given by the eighth and seventh censuses respectively are incompatible with one another, it is the latter which is mainly in fault.

This seems to have misled Mr. Blaine and through him must have misled the many thousands who read Mr. Blaine's letter of acceptance in 1884 and Whitelaw Reid's letter accepting the nomination of vice president in 1892, in which he quoted Mr. Blaine's letter. Referring to the valuation of 1850 Mr. Blaine said:

> Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuations used in the states for purposes of assessment, and that, as everyone knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property. In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness, the distinction between "assessed value" and "true value" being carefully observed. The grand result was that the "true value" of all property in the states and territories (excluding slaves) amounted to 14 billions of dollars. . . . . At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States as returned by the census of 1880 amounted to the enormous aggregate of 44 billions of dollars. This great result was

attained notwithstanding that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in a bloody war.

We have quoted Mr. Blaine as showing how even the brightest minds have been misled, and through them the public, by these contributions of the United States government to social science.

How greatly Mr. Blaine was deceived may be seen from the remarks of Superintendent Walker in the *Census of 1870*.

It will be easily gathered from the remarks already submitted that it is the belief of the superintendent that the estimates of the true value of property at the census of 1860 were made generally without any appreciation of the principles which should govern in the treatment of the subject, and that the results were for nearly all the states defective, while for some the statements of value were so far below the fact as to be unworthy of publication.

That the somewhat greater difference between the estimates of true value and assessed value in 1860 than in 1850 may have been due to a closer approximation of the true value of assessed property is possible, though it seems likely that in a decade of such rapid development as was that of the fifties the assessments failed to keep pace with the actual increase of values. Whatever of incomparability there may have been between the census estimates of "true value" for 1850 and 1860, it is evidently slight in comparison with the degree of incomparability between the estimate for 1860 and those of the succeeding censuses. Yet while quick to see the impropriety of a comparison of incomparable statistics which might seem to indicate a prosperous condition in a period of comparative commercial freedom, Mr. Gannett was entirely blind to the impropriety of comparisons that grossly exaggerated the apparent increase of wealth during a period of tariff restriction. Here seems the great trouble regarding our census statistics, that they have been intrusted to politicians anxious to furnish figures to support a theory instead of to economists seeking facts from which to formulate theories.

To Mr. Gannett's mind an increase in the value of property of nine billions in the decade 1850–1860 is so great as to seem incredible, while an increase from 14 billions (omitting slave values) in 1860 to 30 billions in 1870 and nearly 44 billions in

1880 is not to be questioned beyond allowance for a premium on gold of 25 per cent. in 1870. That is, during the decade of war, in which for nearly half the period more than a million of the most vigorous of our population North and South were withdrawn from productive pursuits to turn their energies to destruction, while the remainder of the population was chiefly employed in production of war material that went up in smoke, there was a larger increase in the national wealth than in the decade of peace and productive toil which preceded. In support of this absurd assertion, utterly regardless of the facts, Mr. Gannett declares that the growth of agricultural, manufacturing, and other interests does not indicate so great an increase of wealth.[1]

Accurate information regarding the growth of capital and wealth seems absolutely necessary to the formation of an intelligent opinion regarding the merits of systems of taxation and finance. That our census has failed to furnish this is admitted in the remarks of the recently issued *Census Volume of Wealth and Taxation* which may be epitomized as follows:

[1] As appears by the *Census of 1860* and other official sources these interests for the census years 1850 and 1860 were as follows:

	1850	1860
Cash value of farms	$3,271,575,426	$6,645,045,007
Value of farming implements and machinery	151,587,638	247,127,496
Manufacturing capital	553,245,351	1,009,855,715
Tonnage of merchant marine	3,525,454	5,325,454
Tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign trade	1,439,694	2,379,396
Exports of gold and silver and domestic merchandise	136,946,912	373,189,274
Imports of gold and silver and domestic merchandise	178,138,318	362,166,254
Miles of railroad	8,588	30,598
Value of railroads (cost)	296,260,128	1,134,452,909
Number of banks	872	1,562
Banking capital	227,469,074	421,880,095
Loans and discounts	412,607,653	691,945,580

According to the figures of the *Census of 1890* the value of farms and improvements amounted to $10,096,776 in 1880 and $13,279,252,649 in 1890. The increase in value of farms from 1850 to 1860 was thus considerably greater than from 1880 to 1890, and almost as great as in the twenty years, 1860 to 1880.

In comparing the report of true valuation of 1890 with like valuations of previous periods it should be borne in mind:

1. That no statement of true valuation previous to 1890 included the value of vacant state or national land or Indian reservations.

2. That the true valuation for 1870 admittedly embraces certain duplications of value of personal property arising from the taxation of mortgages and the realty represented by them, and that the values are inflated, owing to the depreciation of the standard then in use, requiring a corrective reduction of 20 per cent.

3. That for 1860 and 1850 the true value appears to have been made by adding to the assessor's list such an amount as would, in the opinion of the officer reporting, compensate for the undervaluation of the assessors.

If such course was pursued no property exempt from taxation or which escaped the assessor's list is included as a part of the property valued.

These admitted differences of method pursued in reaching the figures of true valuation for the several census periods, and the temporary character of the census office, of themselves preclude any attempt of one census to revise the figures of a previous one, and the figures as published, if not as accurate as desired, can be accepted with safety as showing in a general way a continuous increase in the wealth of the nation, the exact proportions of which cannot be measured.

Here is an admission that the universal impression regarding this matter derived from the misleading remarks of the *Tenth Census* and bulletins of the present census is erroneous. Since these remarks were written by Mr. Upton, who prepared the misleading bulletins, it is not surprising that in them he endeavors to envelop the matter in doubt by saying, "*if* such a course was pursued." That such a course *appears* to have been followed he admits, but what appear to be the facts conflict with preconceived opinions and theories and so, though it is evident that under the earlier census law and the instructions which they received the marshals could have pursued no other course, Mr. Upton says, "*If* such a course was pursued no property exempt from taxation or which escaped the assessor's list is included."

How far the public is misled by census figures which we find quoted without explanation or word of warning, not only in widely circulated unofficial works of reference such as the Chicago *Daily News Almanac*, but in the *Statistical Abstract* and in bulletins of the labor bureau, can only be judged when we have

obtained something like a correct idea of the true value of all property in 1860.

The correction of the figures of the earlier censuses so that they may be fairly comparable with the later valuations is a task that could be successfully accomplished only by one having access to official records, and then with the application of almost infinite patience and perseverance. This task has, however, been accomplished by a statistician, Mr. Frederick C. Waite, whose ability, displayed in this very investigation, caused Mr. Porter, a few months before retiring, to place him in charge of investigations of true value of the present census.

Mr. Waite's conclusion, after most thorough and painstaking investigation, was that the true value of all property in 1860 could not have been less than 25 billion dollars exclusive of slave values. Considering that the valuation of 1870 was $30,068,578,507 and that the assessed valuation of 1870 indicated an actual decrease in value per capita expressed in the inflated currency of the period, this estimate does not seem above the mark. While it must be considered that the valuation of 30 billions is expressed in a depreciated currency, and that according to the statement of Superintendent Walker prices were enhanced from 30 to 40 per cent. in the census year, it must also be considered that the valuation of 1870 is claimed by Mr. Porter and is admitted by General Walker to have been inadequate.

Assessed values show an increase from 1870 to 1880 of 20 per cent., and were there no change in methods of assessment, the valuation of 1880 being 43.6 billion dollars they would indicate the true value of all property in 1870 to have been $36,333,000,000.

Mr. Waite, however, in the paper to which we have referred, points out that there was during the seventies a very material change in the methods of assessment, saying:

During the seventies a tidal wave of opposition to the law-defying, low-assessment plan swept the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In 1874, although values had declined under the pressure of the panic of 1873, Pennsylvania increased her assessment of real estate 536 million dollars over

that of 1873, or an increase of 50 per cent. in a single year. Minnesota increased her assessment of real estate 109 per cent. the same year. The previous year Indiana added 250 million dollars to her assessment of real estate. Illinois increased her assessment from 372 million to 899 million dollars, the work of a twelvemonth. Ohio in her decennial assessment increased that of real estate 318 million dollars, or to within 76 million dollars of what it was assessed at ten years later. California in 1873 increased her assessment of real estate from 182 million to 423 million dollars. New York's record was no less wonderful. After the panic of 1873, in the face of swift-declining values caused by 92 million dollars of debts being liquidated in bankruptcy in New York City in a single year, the towns in thirty counties in a single twelvemonth increased their assessment of real estate by a mere change in the rate of per cent. at which it was assessed from 380 million to 880 million dollars, while other towns and counties raised their assessment by annual leaps and bounds. According to the state assessors, the assessment was raised from 37 per cent. of the true value in 1870 to 62 per cent. of the true value in 1880. That their estimate of the true value of real estate was not too low is apparent from the fact that it quite accurately corresponds with the tenth-census estimate, which, by the way, is the only estimate of our total wealth ever made by the national government worthy of the name. The sworn statement of over three thousand assessors as to the rate at which they assessed real estate proves conclusively that the estimate of 1870 was not too high. Hence the claim is rightly made by the state assessors that 67 per cent., or more than one billion, was added to the assessed value of real estate during the decade by a mere change in the rate per cent. of assessment, or, in other words, a net increase of 800 million dollars to the assessment rolls, while the total true value as measured in an appreciating dollar had fallen 340 million dollars. In short, taking the assessed value of real estate for each assessment district in eight commonwealths in the year before the change of the per cent. of the true value at which real estate was assessed, and placing it in one column and the assessments for the next year in another column, the difference between the two columns shows that in eight states alone a mere change in the per cent. of assessment added over three billion dollars to the assessment rolls. Remember that this was the work of a twelvemonth during which, in most cases, the value of property was depreciating more rapidly than new property was being created.

Space will not permit me to quote Mr. Waite's demonstration, from six independent masses of statistics, that the true value of all property could not have been less than 25 billion dollars in 1860 and not far from 40 billion dollars in 1870. It would seem that these investigations regarding the value of property in 1850

and 1860 would have furnished more valuable matter for publication than the many pages of comparison of incomparable statistics with which the census volumes are filled.

Mr. Waite's statement in his letter to Secretary Smith explaining his retirement from the census gives an idea of the degree of accuracy attained in the present census. In this letter Mr. Waite says:

> You may not be able to understand the pressure that this man[1] will bring to bear upon my successor unless I give you one instance from my painful experience. Not long since my superior, after endeavoring in vain to persuade me to furnish final estimates of the wealth in certain states at an early day (although I had not yet received some of the indispensable data then being tabulated in the census office) said: "Mr. Waite, if you should miss the mark by a thousand millions it would be all right. What we want is figures for publication."

Replying under date of May 3, 1894, to a communication in which the writer of this article had called his attention to the manner in which the public was being misled by statistics presented in bulletins of the present census, Colonel Wright said: "You are aware of course that all of the tabulation of the eleventh census was practically completed before I took charge of it. If there are glaring errors in it, I am unable to help it because I could not retake the census. My duty is simply to bring the results out in as creditable a way as possible. I am in no way responsible for the plans of the census or the collection of statistics."

Yet Colonel Wright may after all have mistaken his duty. If it was impossible so to revise the statistics of the census that they might serve to enlighten instead of to mislead, and if he had no power to send them to the garbage heap, it was surely within his authority to make them less harmful. Instead of even warning the public as to the misleading character of the statistics of the eleventh census, Colonel Wright, not only in the article criticised in the writer's former paper, but on various occasions, notably in an article in the *Forum* (May 1895), has given to them the weight of his great reputation. In the latter article he

[1] Mr. Porter.

undertakes to demonstrate from census statistics that there has been in recent years not only increased opportunity but increased equality of opportunity. Colonel Wright says:

> I believe that economic and industrial opportunity does really underlie every sort of opportunity and that we are making real progress toward a greater equality of opportunity through the extension of opportunities themselves; and when this statement is supplemented by the single fact that the per capita wealth of the country has increased from $308 in 1850 to $1039 in 1890, the argument needs little if any further illustration. If the per capita wealth remained the same, then I should subscribe willingly to the idea that social and industrial progress and poverty grow side by side and that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer.

It is difficult to imagine anything less scientific than such use of statistics, yet Colonel Wright declares: "The statistical method of study, which is the historical and the comparative method in the highest sense, enables us to arrive at some conclusions directly opposed to those resulting from observation. One is the empirical, the other the scientific method."

Colonel Wright's remark and his use of statistics calls to mind the story of the Scotch merchant whose accountant at the close of the year had presented him a most gratifying balance indicating that his profits during the year were nearly £2000 greater than he had expected. Elated with his good fortune the merchant tells his wife, who insists that since he is so prosperous he can afford a new equipage and furniture and new dresses for herself and daughters. Finding it difficult to meet these new expenses the merchant is puzzled to understand how it is that being so prosperous he has not a larger cash balance. He cannot sleep for wonder over the matter, so he dresses himself and goes down to his store more carefully to inspect his books. This inspection revealed the fact that in footing up the column of assets his bookkeeper had included the date 1880 which stood just above. Crestfallen he calls his accountant from his bed, exclaiming, "Sandy! ye scoundrel! come down; ye've counted in the year of our Lord."

In this case the merchant's observation was right, while his bookkeeper's statistical method was necessarily incorrect because

it was unscientific. The experience of intelligent observers is contrary to Colonel Wright's conclusions. Observation is the more likely to be right because, like Sandy's figures, Colonel Wright's are necessarily wrong. True, he has not counted in "the year of our Lord," but in making his comparison he has failed to include at least one-half the property of the earlier period, and confounding value with wealth, counts as social wealth much that represents but an increase of monopoly values.

Unfortunately our census fails to segregate land values and improvements, or to show the actual cost of the construction of railroads or gas works and other properties, the value of which represents to a large extent the value of the franchise or special privilege. For instance, the capital of Chicago gas companies is given at $40,857,246, which is well understood in Chicago to be nearly if not quite three times the cost of the plant. The difference between social wealth and property values is shown by Professor Hadley in a contribution to the *Yale Review*. Professor Hadley says:

> The word wealth has two quite distinct meanings. In its broad or social sense it includes all of those objects whose possession contributes to the enjoyment or well being of society. . . . . It is impossible to obtain any accurate measure of wealth in this broad sense or even to say exactly what articles should be included in the estimate of such wealth . . . .
>
> Individual wealth is more accurately designated as property. We may illustrate the distinction between social wealth and individual property by saying that wealth is produced, while property is acquired. . . . . One or two illustrations will serve to make the distinction clear. Under the English system of enclosures, land which had formerly been free to all the public to use was made the subject of private ownership. By this practice we had an increase of property. The landlords now had valuable rights which could be bought or sold — rights of a kind that did not exist before — but the wealth of the community, for the moment, was not one whit increased. There were no more means of enjoyment in existence than there had been before. There was acquisition of property without production of wealth. On the other hand, in the abolition of slavery we sometimes see a nullification of property without a destruction of wealth.

In comparing the census valuation of 1860 with later valuations it is usual to omit slave values because it is recognized that

such values represented no social wealth. For the same reason in any fair comparison of the later valuation with that of 1850 and 1860 we must also eliminate such property values as represent only special privilege.

At the last census the value of all real and personal property in the United States amounted to $65,037,090,197.[1] Of this $39,544,544,333 was of real property exclusive of mines, quarries, telegraphs, telephones, and the exceedingly valuable land occupied by railroads. The mines were valued at $1,291,291,579, and the railroads at $8,685,407,323. Of this property probably considerably less than one-half represents the cost of improvements, or wealth created since the first white man landed on our coast. The land is the endowment of the Creator and its increase in value does not represent an increase of wealth—on the contrary, with forests and mines and the fertility of the soil to a large extent exhausted, there is a decrease instead of an increase of wealth of this character. Could the few be enabled to preëmpt the air as they have the land and compel us to pay for the privilege of breathing it, we should have an increase of property values which Colonel Wright might with equal propriety quote as conclusive proof of increased equality of opportunity.

H. L. Bliss.

Chicago.

[1] This includes property owned by foreigners. The value of such property was estimated by Giffen at one billion pounds sterling in 1880.

A PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL STUDY.

II.

FIFTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Housing of the Poor.

References:

Drage, The Labor Problem (London, Macmillan, 1896).
A careful discussion.

Gould, The Economics of Improved Housing (*Yale Review*, May 1896).
Maintains that improved housing is fairly remunerative as a business enterprise and highly economical to society as a preventive of crime and pauperism, giving statistics as proof.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Continental Europe (New York, Century Co., 1895).

Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain (New York, Century Co., 1895).
Shaw's two books are standard works on this subject. (See indexes.)

Tolman, Half a Century of Improved Housing Effort by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.
Gives the experience of this the oldest and most active of such associations, and the results attained.

United States Commissioner of Labor, The Housing of the Working Classes (8th special report).
Invaluable for a thorough study of the subject.

2. Special Report on Local Tenement Houses.

Ascertain the names and location of these houses and the number of the inhabitants. Make a special study of two or three typical houses and show plan of the same, number and size of rooms, arrangements for ventilation and light, etc., and consider the opportunities of the inmates for healthful physical, social, and family life.

3. General discussion, topic: The Tenement House Problem.

References:

Arena, The Tenement House Curse, a Symposium (*Arena*, April 1894).
Discusses the menace of the tenement house and gives facts as to Chicago, Boston, and New York; also has appended a bibliography of the subject.

Mass. Bureau of Labor Statistics, A Tenement House Census of Boston (Report of the Bureau for 1892).
A model of thoroughness, with suggestions as to remedies.

Riis, How the other Half Lives (New York, Scribners, 1892).

Riis, The Tenement the Real Problem of Society (*Forum*, March 1895).

Riis' writings give a stirring picture of the tenement-house evil in New York City with practical suggestions.

Wood and others, The Poor in Great Cities (New York, Scribners, 1895).

Two chapters devoted to the tenements of New York City.

(See also references under general topic.)

SIXTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Population, Vital Statistics.

References:

Farr, Vital Statistics. (London, Stanford, 1885.)

Compiled after Farr's death and hence fragmentary, but still one of the most important works on the subject.

George, Progress and Poverty (New York, Lovell, 1879), bk. ii.

Ably presents the argument against Malthusianism as a working principle.

Malthus, On Population.

Furnishes a background principle for all investigations on this subject.

Mayo-Smith, Statistics and Sociology (New York, Macmillan, 1895), bks. ii and iii.

Valuable for facts and also for the insight they give into the connection between vital statistics and sociology in general.

Newsholme, Vital Statistics (London, Swan, 1892).

Gives a general insight into methods, difficulties, and results of vital statistics.

2. Special Report on the Population and Vital Statistics of the District Studied.

Classify the population by nationalities and show on a map the location of each nationality. Study the part each nationality plays in the social, industrial, and political life of the community. Get marriage, death, and birth rate. Sources—reports of board of health, county agent, police department, etc.

3. General discussion, topic: The Causes Affecting the Health of this Community.

SEVENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Causes of Poverty.

References:

Booth, Labor and Life of the People (London, Williams, 1891), Vol. I, pt. i, ch. 5.

Finds physical weakness to be the most important cause of dependence. The book as a whole is an epoch-making work in this line of social investigation.

Davenport, Outlines of Economic Theory (New York, Macmillan, 1896), ch. 22.

De Laveleye, Luxury (London, Swan, 1891).

George, Progress of Poverty.

Denies Malthusianism and argues that lack of land and natural opportunities is the cause of poverty.

Goddard, Poverty, its Genesis and Exodus (London, Swan, 1892).

Goddard, Davenport and De Laveleye condemn luxury as a cause of poverty.

Graham, The Social Problem (London, Kegan Paul, 1886), bk. i and bk. iii, ch. 1.

Denies that luxury is a cause and makes the point that present wretchedness of the poor is not absolute but comparative.

Hobson, Problems of Poverty, ch. 9.

Accepts Booth's figures and concludes that lack of employment at repectable wages is the prime cause.

Malthus, On Population.

Tendency of population to increase faster than subsistence, pointed out by Malthus, is the classical theory for the cause of poverty.

2. Special reports from two or three members on the History and Conditions of Chosen Families among the Poor.

Follow the method of study suggested in this paper. For additional assistance see Dr. Henderson's *Catechism for Social Observation.*

3. General discussion.

EIGHTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Family.

References:

Brace, Gesta Christi (New York, Armstrong, 1893).

Especially valuable as showing the influence of Christianity on the family.

De Coulanges, Ancient City (Boston, Lee, 1896), bk. ii.

An interesting study of the family in Greek and Roman times.

Letourneau, Evolution of Marriage (New York, Scribners, 1895).

Comparative anthropological study, discussing more fully sexual relations in general.

McLennan, Primitive Marriage (Edinburgh, Block, 1865).

One of the most important of the original investigations as to early marriage; maintains the principle of *Mutterrecht.*

Small & Vincent, Introduction to the Study of Society (New York, American Book Co., 1894), bk. ii, ch. 1, bk. iii, ch. 2.
A good view of the family in its relation to society.

Starcke, Primitive Family (New York, Appleton, 1885).
Concise discussion from the anthropological side.

Thwing, The Family (Boston, Lee, 1887).
A good discussion of the subject as a whole.

Westermarck, History of Human Marriage (London, Macmillan, 1894).
A standard authority on marriage, especially in its biological and anthropological aspects.

2. Special Report on the Effects of Local Conditions on Family Life.

Find out as much as possible in regard to the employment of women and children in local industries. Consult the records to find out the number and causes of divorce in a given period. Give attention to the effects on the family of club and boarding-house life. Ascertain the relative number of unmarried men and women.

3. General discussion, topic: Divorce legislation.

References:

Dyke, Reports (Reports of the National Divorce Reform League); also numerous magazine articles (see Poole's Index).
These writings are the result of much thought and investigation by the corresponding secretary of the National Divorce Reform League.

Schouler, Domestic Relations (Boston, Little, 1882), pt. ix.
Full discussion of the legal aspect of divorce.

United States Labor Department, Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1876–1886 (Report, 1889).
An investigation of the divorce laws of the different states.

Woolsey, Divorce and Divorce Legislation (New York, Scribners, 1882).
An historical summary.

Wright, Marriage and Divorce (*Lend a Hand*, November and December 1891).
Discusses the movement for divorce reform and the difficulties of the question.

(See, also, references under general topic and Poole's Index.)

NINTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Problem of Domestic Service.

References:

Aberdeen, Countess, The Burning Question of Domestic Service (*Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1895).
Gives her experience in organizing a servants' club and recommends that American women coöperate in getting up such clubs.

Addams, Jane, A Belated Industry (*American Journal of Sociology*, March 1896).
Discusses the isolation of the servant girl and advocates coöperative cooking as an element in the solution of the servant-girl problem.

Campbell, Household Economics (N. Y., Putnam, 1897), ch. 11.
Valuable discussion by an authority.

Campbell, Woman Wage Earners (Boston, Roberts, 1893).
A discussion of the history and present status of female labor.

Campbell, Household Economics (N. Y. Putnam 1897), Ch. 11.
Valuable discussion by an authority.

Coit, Neighborhood Guilds (London, Swan, 1892).
Valuable suggestions for improving the condition of all classes, including domestics.

Goodman, Christina, An Appeal to Housekeepers (*Forum*, August 1895).
Sets forth the duty of employers to their servants and how they neglect it.

Salmon, Domestic Service (N. Y., Macmillan, 1897).
A thorough discussion, historical and statistical.

Stanley, Maude, Clubs for Working Girls (London, Macmillan, 1890).
A suggestive book on the subject of clubs for all classes of people.

Vrooman, Problem of Domestic Service (*Arena*, October 1895).

2. Special Report on the Condition of Servants in the District Studied.

Ascertain as nearly as possible their number, nationality, etc.; their position in the family, opportunities for friendship and recreation, their attitude toward the families they serve, their intelligence, their ideals, etc. Compare their wages and opportunities of promotion with the same in other callings.

3. General discussion.

TENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Unemployed.

References:

Drage, The Labor Problem.

Drage, The Unemployed (London, Macmillan, 1894).
Reliable discussions by the secretary of the Labour Commission.

George, The Condition of Labor, An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII (New York, United States Book Co., 1891).
Demands justice for the workman as well as clemency.

Great Britain, Labour Department, Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed, 1893.
Exhaustive and very valuable.

Hobson, Problem of the Unemployed (London, Methuen, 1896).

A most suggestive discussion of the many sides of the problem, with conclusion that the remedy lies in increased consumption which will follow a more equitable distribution.

Hobson, Problems of Poverty.

See his later work above.

Mass. House Document, No. 50, 1895, Report of Board to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed.

A most valuable investigation on the subject, giving causes of non-employment in detail.

Shaw, Relief for the Unemployed in American Cities (*Review of Reviews*, January 1894).

Shows the methods adopted for dealing with distress caused by lack of employment during the winter 1893–4.

Warner, American Charities (New York, Crowell, 1894).

Deals principally with relief problems arising from lack of employment.

2. Special Report on the Unemployed of your Community.

This report should embody the results of a concrete study of the conditions of the unemployed and the methods of their relief. Give special attention to efforts to encourage self-help. Make a special investigation of labor unions, their strength, organization, methods, rules, benefits, etc. Consider the value of employment bureaus, etc.

3. General discussion: What should be Done with the Tramp?

References:

Booth, In Darkest England and the Way out (New York, Funk, 1891), pt. i, ch. 2.

An appeal for those who tramp for lack of both home and work.

Flynt, How Men Become Tramps (*Century*, August 1895).

Gives "Wanderlust," drink, county jail, etc., as causes.

Henderson, Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents (Boston, Heath, 1893).

A short summary of the question, with references.

McCook, The Tramp Problem (*Lend a Hand*, August 1895).

Ascribes as the proximate cause of tramps, fluctuations in the labor market; as more real causes drink, laziness, failure to marry.

McCook and Flynt have written numerous magazine articles on the tramp.

Ribton-Turner, History of Vagrants and Vagrancy (London, Chapman, 1887).

A large illustrated book, devoted largely to an historical dicussion of the tramp in Europe with special attention to the queer habits and institutions of tramp life; also has a valuable appendix of laws relating to beggary.

United States Special Consular Report, 1893, Vagrancy and Public Charities in Foreign Countries.

Very valuable. Report from Germany gives account of German labor colonies.

ELEVENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Saloon Question.

References:

Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition (New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1891).

Very valuable for facts as to the history and present status of the question.

Ely, Labor Movement in America (New York, Crowell, 1886). Appendix II.

Discusses the attractions of the saloon and the lack of counter attractions.

Gould, Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic (London, Cassell, 1894).

Valuable for facts and as an exposition of the Gothenburg system of control.

Mitchell, The Drink Question (London, Swan, 1891).

Discusses the physiological side.

Peabody, Substitutes for the Saloon (*Forum*, July 1896).

Embodies results of investigations instigated by the "Committee of Fifty" as to the saloon question in Boston, and is a most valuable contribution.

Warner, American Charities, chs. 1 and 2.

Finds the drink evil a less cause of poverty than commonly supposed.

White, Problems of a Great City (London, Remington, 1895), ch. 8.

A suggestive chapter on this subject.

2. Special Reports on Local Saloons.

Ascertain their number and show their position on a map. Study their location in relation to the homes of laboring men. Examine their methods of securing trade. To what legitimate wants do they minister? Consider the standing of saloonkeepers among business men and in politics.

3. General discussion.

TWELFTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Church.

References:

Abbott, Christianity and Social Problems (Boston, Houghton, 1896).

Points out the duty of the church in regard to social problems.

Brace, Gesta Christi, or A History of Human Progress under Christianity. Shows the influence of Christianity on social institutions.

Crafts, Practical Christian Sociology (New York, Funk, 1895). Deals with practical questions in a forcible way.

Donald, The Expansion of Religion (Boston, Houghton, 1896). Defends present work of the church and points at improvements.

Ely, Social Aspects of Christianity (New York, Crowell, 1889). Points out the opportunity of the church and urges action.

Fremantle, The World as the Subject of Redemption (New York, Longmans, 1892). A most valuable discussion of the relation of the church to social problems.

Ward, The Church in Modern Society (Boston, Houghton, 1889). Pleads for church unity in the United States.

2. Special Report on Local Churches.

Prepare a map showing location of church buildings, and, if possible, that of the homes of the members of the various churches. When this can be done, it may be seen what class of people each church is reaching. Ascertain the number of members relative to the population; size, value and seating capacities of the churches, average attendance, etc. Try to estimate the value of the churches as social servants. What is the attitude of the laboring men of your community towards the church?

3. General discussion, topic: The Institutional Church.

References:

Cooke, The Institutional Church (*New England Mag.*, August 1896). A discussion of the significance of the institutional church, some leading churches and workers, finely illustrated.

Crafts, Practical Christian Sociology, ch. 1. Has some direct bearing.

Mills, The Institutional Church (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1892). Direct and suggestive; an account of the work of four large institutional churches.

Thwing, The Working Church (New York, Baker, 1888). Suggestive as to principles and methods.

Woods, English Social Movements (New York, Scribners, 1891), ch. 5. Not direct, but very suggestive.

THIRTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Public School.

References:

Boone, Education in the United States.

Rather a satisfactory summary but no special attention to the public school.

Ham, Manual Training (New York, Harpers, 1886).

An enthusistic argument for manual training as a means of solving social problems.

Hyde, The Social Mission of the Public School (*Educational Review*, October 1896).

Posits a high ideal for the common school, and condemns practice of the rich in sending children to private schools.

McArthur, Education in its Relation to Manual Training (New York, Appleton, 1890).

A good discussion of the whole question.

Mann, Life and Work (Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1891).

Should be consulted by one who wishes to understand how the foundations of our present public-school institutions were laid.

Painter, History of Education (New York, Appleton, 1892).

A good historical summary of the education of the leading nations.

Spencer, Education (New York, Appleton, 1896).

A philosophical discussion.

United States Bureau of Education, Reports.

The special report of 1892 on *Manual Training in the Public Schools* is most valuable.

2. Special Report on Our Schools.

Location, number, seating capacity, arrangement, supply of apparatus, etc., enrollment, average attendance, age at which pupils leave school, etc.; expenditure for schools, method of levying taxes for same, etc.; the school board, method of employing teachers, etc. What do the children study? Make your study an investigation of the schools as a social servant.

3. General discussion, topic: Should Education be Compulsory.

References:

James, Compulsory Education (Lalor's Cyclopedia).

Condenses into short space the history of compulsory education to date.

Mill, On Liberty (London, Longmans, 1882), ch. 5.

Mill, Principles of Political Economy, bk. v, ch. 11.

Mill is pronouncedly in favor of state regulation of education.

Shaw, Compulsory Education in the United States (*Educational Review*, August-September 1892).

A discussion of the evolution of compulsory education in Massachusetts and other states, and of its advantages and difficulties.

Spencer, Social Statics (New York, Appleton, 1892), p. 156.

Spencer is pronouncedly opposed to state regulation.

Ward, Dynamic Sociology (New York, Appleton, 1883).
Presents strong arguments for compulsory education.

U. S. Commissioner of Education, Report, 1889–89, Vol. I.
Gives a summary of state laws.

FOURTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Public Amusements.

References:

Bisland, the People's Palace in London (*Cosmopolitan*, January 1891).
An illustrated article, giving history of the Palace and description of the work and amusements.

Coit, Neighborhood Guilds.
Makes amusement a prominent feature in work of the Guilds.

Gladden, Applied Christianity, p. 284.
Recommends popular lectures.

Jevons, Methods of Social Reform (London, Macmillan, 1883), chs. 1–3.
Deplores lack of amusements, recommends music, discusses public libraries and museums.

Modjeska, Endowed Theaters and the American Stage (*Forum*, September 1892).
Argues for endowed theaters so that art may dictate the character of the plays, instead of the box office.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, ch. 7.
Discusses the activities of British cities in providing parks, playgrounds, libraries, picture galleries, and museums.

Stanley, Clubs for Working Girls.
Discusses amusements and especially argues for dancing.

2. Special Report on Local Opportunities for Popular Recreation.
What are they? To what extent are they enjoyed by the lower classes? Does the municipality provide any of these? A study of this topic ought to carry with it a reëxamination of the functions of the church and the saloon.

3. General discussion.

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(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

Dynamic Sociology, or applied social science, as based upon statical sociology, and the less complex sciences. By LESTER F. WARD. Second edition, 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co. $5.

IN 1883 men who had no use for *a priori* speculation, and were trying to get a positive system of knowledge, had, aside from Herbert Spencer's proposals, no god nor hope in the world. *Dynamic Sociology* was a startling assertion that positivism is not necessarily indifferentism, nor Manchesterism, nor fatalism. The author's positivism was so uncomprising that it was frequently construed as crass materialism. He nevertheless declared that human progress need not forever be mere mechanical gravitation, nor fortunate turning-out of unintelligent human action. Progress is the proper product of invention. The final social art is organization of knowledge into feeling, to the end that well-organized feeling may create and control rational progress and procure happiness.

The work was of the grade which has to educate its own constituency. It was not composed in a diplomatic spirit. It contained needless *obiter dicta* which distracted the attention and aroused the antagonism of cautious readers. It betrayed psychological and theological opinions which caused many to throw the volumes aside in disgust without getting at the substance of the argument. There were few who were so much interested in finding a clue to sociology that they held their judgment in abeyance long enough to take in the thought as a whole, and who were patient enough to weigh its essentials apart from its accidents. Those few have found so much in the work that some of them at least believe it will find its level among the rare monuments of human thought. It certainly anticipated all the questions of any consequence that have been discussed by sociologists since its publication, and so far as its purely sociological contents are concerned the trend of opinion has steadily accredited Ward's prescience.

I take several important exceptions to the conclusions in social pedagogy at which the work arrives. There is special need of

further statement about the automatic passage of information into action. If these exceptions should be sustained, however, it would remain true that the corrections would not have been possible if Professor Ward had not made the approximations. For ten years I have been instructing students of sociology that they must master this work in order to have the standing ground from which to consider present aspects of sociological problems. The second edition is not changed except by addition of a brief review of the development of interest in sociology since the original publication, and particularly of the career of the first edition. Its appearance gives occasion, however, for repeating the opinion which I have so often expressed. It is a serious reflection upon the quality of thought which has been given to social questions in this country that so few men have discovered Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*, and still fewer have studied it. Men who are capable of following Ward's thought may deny that he has established his positions, but they can hardly refuse to admit that he has brought the psychic factors of civilization into definiteness, prominence, and correlation which had not been evident before he wrote. ALBION W. SMALL.

The Theory of Socialization. A syllabus of sociological principles for the use of college and university classes. By PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS. The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xii+47. $0.60.

PROFESSOR GIDDINGS has done well to offer this syllabus as a guide to the larger work, *The Principles of Sociology*. A third edition of the latter has already appeared, and a French translation by Vte. Combes de Lestrade has been issued as No. VII of the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale.*

Professor Giddings is furnishing a rare illustration of what can be accomplished by first-class thought power in spite of a dangerous method. Sociology, in his conception, is primarily and chiefly concerned with those phases of social fact about which evidence is least accessible and least controllable, viz., social genesis. In default of data he is compelled to present as a system a series of dicta and deductions from premises that are utterly inadequate. The result is some splendid guesswork. As he himself insists (Preface to 3d ed., p. xvi) science cannot get on without guessing. I do not question the

scientific functions of guessing, and I cordially acknowledge the service which Professor Giddings has performed by his guesses. My contention against his method is that it conceals from himself, and necessarily therefore all the more from his less skilled readers, the hypothetical character of the support upon which the alleged principles rest. He does not satisfy his own condition (*idem*, p. xvii): "The one imperative obligation resting on the scientific writer is to use language that will clearly reveal to the reader how much of the study in hand is still in the guesswork stage, how much of it is in the deductive stage, and how much of it has arrived at verification." To be strictly perspicuous the title of his larger work should have been "Hypotheses about Socialization." The same material organized in accordance with such a title would have had scientific dignity which does not belong to it in its present form. The radical vice of the method, then, is haste to abbreviate the process of collecting, criticising, and organizing evidence, and eagerness to get conjectures accepted as principles while there is justification merely for suppositions. The whole subject of social evolution is so nebulous that I for one do not expect to be convinced that principles of social evolution, in the sense in which Professor Giddings thinks of them, will ever be made out. In the present condition of the evidence, at any rate, all that it seems reasonable to hope for with reference to the earlier modifications of associated men is clearer discrimination of social forces, their qualitative differences, and the forms in which they work. It is an orgy of the imagination to regard results of that sort as anything more than formal principles. In so much there may be no credible hint about the relative dynamic value of the forces. Professor Giddings has really raised some most searching questions which the special sciences of society must answer. Putting speculative answers to these questions in the form of a coherent system may or may not increase the probability that the answers are in accordance with reality. In any case Professor Giddings has at most marked out work for specialists who should gather and canvass more evidence. Until that work can be done, a philosophy of social evolution in its elementary stages, which is substantially what Professor Giddings is after, is mostly guesswork, and treatment which obscures this fact is a methodological mistake.

On the other hand it seems to me that Professor Giddings' propositions will do much to promote analysis of social status, of social structure and functions in general, and finally of contemporary social

forces which may be organized for progress. This by-product of his work is in my esteem its most valuable contribution to sociology. His so-called "principles" may well be tested as categories for classifying social operations, and for distinguishing elements of psychic influence in society. In this view *The Theory of Socialization* is a distinct advance upon the larger work to which it refers. The sixty-nine theses which it contains are rather in the form of statical propositions than of assertions about social genesis. As such they invite verification by evidence more easily accessible than that which would be pertinent upon a theory of social evolution. It might be said that if I admit the possible correctness of these propositions as statements of present forms of social influence, I may not dispute their correctness if applied to any stage of social evolution. But my principal objection to Professor Giddings' method is not to the content of his propositions. It is rather against change of venue to a remote region where evidence is all so hypothetical that I must take Professor Giddings' opinion for proof. When examination of social forces is brought out into the open, by theses which may be tested by concrete experience, we are on the way to knowledge. In this respect Professor Giddings' syllabus brings the matter into much better shape than it has in the *Principles.* The logical form of the propositions is more evident than when they are met in the more elaborate version. Their strategic strength or weakness is much plainer.

The recurrence of the phrase "consciousness of kind" affects me as would reiteration of the proposition "Nature abhors a vacuum" to explain physical phenomena. Consciousness of kind means so much in Professor Giddings' use that it means nothing. It amounts to a cipher sign for the general question, What influences cause social reactions? As an answer to the question it is either absolutely non-committal, or it is a sort of Polonius, meaning camel, weasel, or whale to suit occasions.

While I am unable, therefore, to take "consciousness of kind" seriously, in any other sense than as a way of expressing the problem, not the solution, and while I am obliged to regard the ambition to construct a metaphysics of socialization at this stage of investigation as an amiable extravagance, I am decidedly of the opinion that *The Theory of Socialization* presents Professor Giddings' thought in such shape that it will materially assist in completing a preliminary sociological survey.

ALBION W. SMALL.

Domestic Service. By LUCY MAYNARD SALMON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. Pp. 307. $2.

PROFESSOR SALMON has been toiling patiently for years at the problem of domestic service, and has furnished a distinct contribution to the history of the family institution in America. The first step taken was a careful investigation, by means of 5000 statistical schedules, of the conditions affecting 1025 employers and 2545 employés. The national census and many labor-bureau reports have been used for checking or extending the generalizations. Of course it was impossible to make an exhaustive inquiry, but the study of typical cases is thoroughly done and the inductive process seems to be reliable and trustworthy.

The effort is made to lift the whole inquiry above its present level of mere personal gossip, complaint, and recrimination into the clear atmosphere of history and social science.

There is a broad survey of the various phases through which household industry has passed during the colonial period and up to our own day. The redemptioners, slaves, native "help," and recent "servants," Irish, German, Chinese, negro, and all other elements are described and their place assigned.

Economic changes, new political ideals, democratic feelings have made the old methods of employment intolerable. Mere personal devices and "tipping" will not cure the deep sore. Radical changes are recommended, all of them in the direction of natural social development. The specialization and socialization of household industry is insisted upon as the central principle. Domestic service must be brought under the control of business methods. Household science and art must be lifted to their true place of social dignity by being given a position as a learned profession.

Dean Talbot's judgment is expressed in the following note:

"One of the most suggestive and admirable chapters in Miss Salmon's notable book is that entitled Education in Household Affairs. Here the keynote of the whole book is sounded as the author points out that progress in solving the problems of the household is not to be attained by instinct and blind tradition, but by study, training, and investigation. It is a mere commonplace that 'woman's sphere is the household,' and yet how many women are there who enter upon its duties with any real idea of their significance? As Miss

Salmon says, 'Few women when they assume the care of a household know the exact value of the household plant.' In this field of domestic service, for instance, how many housekeepers know, even after years of experience, what the actual cost of domestic service is beyond the mere weekly wages? The cost of the food supply of the servants, the waste of the family food supply through the negligence of servants, the breakage of china, the maintenance of servants' quarters, the price of laundry supplies for their use are among the items whose cost is not known and is consequently ignored in estimating the expenditures of a proposed household.

"It is encouraging to note the increasing signs that opportunity will eventually be afforded in this country for the investigation of household problems, and that the systematic, technical training for which Miss Salmon pleads is not long to be a mere dream. The courses offered at The University of Chicago and Leland Stanford Jr. University are tending in the direction which Miss Salmon indicates. The sad commentary upon the present situation is that there are undoubtedly more men than women in favor of systematic education in household affairs, and it would not be surprising also if the value of Miss Salmon's book should be more generally recognized by men than by women."

C. R. HENDERSON.

Problèmes Sociaux Contemporains. Par ACHILLE LORIA. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1897. Pp. 174.

THE eminent economist, author of *Analisi della Proprietà Capitalista*, publishes some lectures of a popular character on burning questions of the day: The Social Question, Liberty, Property, Population, Socialism, Social Darwinism, Evolution, Revolution. The fundamental ideas of the writer are presented in a very fascinating literary form, but without the advantage of explanation and modification possible in his more severe works addressed to specialists. A brief abstract of the lectures is here attempted.

The social question is not a religious question. That has been solved by securing freedom of worship to all; it is no longer in litigation. The social question is not a political question; all modern governments are really democratic, and the contest between prince and people is over. The social question is essentially economic. It has arisen because the actual economic state of the people is in flagrant

contrast with their legal equality. Equal before the law, the hungry proletarian and the millionaire are separated by an abyss which seems to grow wider every day. The economic problem is literally one of life and death. The rich live long and the poor die early. The former attain an average of 55 to 56 years, the latter 28 years. The mortality of infants among the noble families of Germany is 5.7 per cent., while among the poor of Berlin it is 34.5 per cent. Diseases arise from the conditions under which workingmen labor and live. Marriage is hindered and prostitution increased by poverty. The children of the poor are so stupefied by hunger that they learn nothing at school. According to Gladstone, life is a battle for mere existence for nine-tenths of men. Intemperance is a necessary product of bad feeding. Crime is a natural fruit of extreme poverty. In Italy 88 per cent. of the convicts belong to the poor classes, and only 12 per cent. to the rich, while the poor represent less than 88 per cent. of the population. "The sociological world rests entirely on the economic element, and this alone gives us the key to the immense mystery of the social universe." This is the reason that capitalists hate the political economy of this age; because it discloses the cause of social evils to be the foundation of their possessions. Liberty is a fine word. There is no real freedom without money. A poor man is a slave of those who have capital. If two men are of equal power and you leave them free the more robust will not hesitate, if he is a cannibal, to kill and eat the weaker; if he is a pagan or a planter he will make him a slave; if he is a capitalist he will make him work for him in return for a plate of beans. The new school of economists recognizes these truths, abandons *laissez faire*, and consents to government protection of the liberty of the poor.

Property is a sacred word. It is thought necessary to fortify it by appeal to ethical theory. Some writers have traced the origin of property to occupation: the man who first used the land had a right to it. But this theory is legend, not history. The stronger races have always dispossessed the weaker, and used both land and people; the Hebrews did that with Canaan, and the Puritans took New England on the same terms. If we adopt the explanation that human needs are the foundation of property, this also must be surrendered; for it is precisely those who most need property who have the least of it. Rosmini advocated the view that property is a necessary expression of personality. But then all men should be proprietors, since they are all persons. Or, if one

means that those who impress their character on things should own them, the laborer should possess and the rich parasite should have no title to lands or houses. So, if one claims that work is the origin of the right to property, by what reasoning can we defend the fortunes acquired in stock jobbing? Ordinarily labor is accompanied by poverty, while those who abstain from labor are the owners. Others affirm that property is the creation of law. But what makes law? Economic relations. The historic mission of capitalistic property is to secure a powerful method of associated labor. It is one of many historic forms of governing labor, and is destined in its turn to yield place to some kind of free coöperation. It is not a sacred and eternal institution, but simply a temporary phenomenon.

Loria touches a favorite theme when he banters Malthus. The devout pastor fancied he had discovered a divine decree; it turns out to be simply a passing phase of abnormal conditions in the England of his day. Excessive population is a consequence of low wages, hard treatment, uncertain employment, hopelessness of outlook. Well-fed people do not propagate so rapidly. Give every laborer higher wages, shorter hours, and a plot of ground and he will imitate the French peasants and bring only two children into the world. It is not moral self-control which leads to balance of outgo and income, but an improvement of material conditions, and this alone, which leads to self-restraint. The granary of the world contains more food than is necessary to nourish the whole human race; but the key to the granary is in the pocket of the rich.

Socialism is treated historically and sympathetically. The partial and fantastic forms of socialism are discussed with satirical comments. There is the socialism of the "single taxers," which fights agrarian ownership, but accepts capitalism in other property. There is the form of the theory zealously advocated by the rich German banker, Herr Samter, which attacks the iniquity of landed property, but holds bank stock to be holy and inviolable. There is the school of the Catholic socialists, "a many-colored collection of barons, tutors of noble families, and priests" who combat profits of industry and commerce and place the rents of landed proprietors under the shield of religion. Plato, Campanella, Bruno, and More are touched, and the early French writers briefly characterized. Marx is treated with great respect; he is the "greatest thinker of the social sciences since Ricardo." Loria rejects the pet notion of the disciples of Marx that value is fixed by

labor alone, but accepts the view that capitalism is a mere "historical category," a phase of evolution.

The lecture on Darwinism brings the author to the doctrine of competition. The "struggle for life" among animals is one between different species; that among men is between two classes in the same species, capitalists and proletarians. Competition among brutes tends to raise life, but among men its tendency is to transform capitalists into decaying parasitic families, and to brutalize wage-earners. Modern anthropology demonstrates that the physical and intellectual advantages of parents are discounted by their successors, and that the descendants of great men are usually idiots who roll in the abyss of folly and degeneration. The nobles of Spain are usually little pale monsters, rachitic and meanly built. English families of the peerage soon die out. Bastards are more likely to be strong than the offspring of mercantile marriages. Capitalism selects women and little children to displace husbands and fathers, because they produce at lower cost; they hire Poles and Chinese rather than men of a higher standard of life, for the same reason. To leave laboring men to "free competition" would mean to brutalize all the civilized races. The "ferocious conclusions" of Spencer, who would proscribe legislation on behalf of the poor, are not the conclusions of the new political economy.

Evolution is the word which solves all mysteries. The essence of evolution is the law of constant increase of human population. But social evolution is not merely animal evolution. "The naturalists have fulfilled their whole mission when they have lent to the social sciences the luminous idea which renews them: they pass beyond the limits imposed on the human spirit if they pretend to give the law to the economic and social sciences, and to exhibit the method by which the law of evolution is manifest in them." Mr. Spencer errs at this point; he is prone to reduce social laws to terms of biology. Loria would reject the distinction of societies as industrial and military, and would adopt a classification based on the prevalent economic forces. Thus the order of evolution of society yields the primitive collectivism, when land was possessed in common; the stage of slavery; the stage of serfdom; the economy of wage-earners. Under the increasing pressure of population each of these systems becomes antiquated in turn and yields to a higher form. We are in an age when the wage system is no longer suitable. It causes misery. It is ready to fall.

Revolution. If we are to reason from the past there is little hope

of avoiding a cruel and destructive catastrophe. The economic system of our age is unsuited to the conditions, but those who control it cannot or will not see the need of reform. History shows that the possessors of power and property become more cruel, more insensible to the sufferings of the oppressed until suddenly the pain produces revolt. The privileged classes in every historic phase have been profoundly unconscious of the nature of the social movement of their time; those who are born and grow up in the shadow of age-long rights are ignorant of the unstable foundation and transitory character of those rights; they believe them to be eternal, from the divine will, and cannot imagine themselves deprived of them by any fatal evolution of things.

But a time comes when the laborers, slaves, serfs, or wage-earners rise and sweep away the old order. The author thinks we are on the eve of such a change. The history of the past would compel us to expect a costly and bloody revolution.

But perhaps there are some forces at work which have never before been so strong. Perhaps a new and dominant sense of justice and social duty may carry us tranquilly over into the new order. At this point in the argument, almost at the end of the book, there is an appeal to a new order of forces, hardly noticed up to this time. The author had said all along that "economic" forces dominate social movement. There is no distinct definition of the word "economic," but the illustrations give the impression that it means physical appetites and needs. Good food, higher income, shorter hours, more recreation would give us a population prudent, far seeing, peaceful, moral. Improve the external environment and you assure spiritual life and social order.

But now the author closes his book with an appeal to real old-fashioned "ethical" forces, hitherto kept in the dark background. Now, in order to secure "economic" reforms, he calls upon men of good will to cure injustice, to respond to the cry of the human sufferer, to manifest pity. He declares that society "ought" to employ its governments to enrich the lives of the wage-earners, and that legislators must "change their spirit" lest they conduct the nation to an abyss. The lecturer turns preacher and addresses to his hearers a "fervent exhortation and a prayer;" he calls upon the patriot students to assist in mitigating inequalities, to wipe away tears, and prevent martyrdoms. Here is a noble inconsistency. The man breaks through

his customary mode of regarding all life from the "economic" standpoint; he sees in an inspired moment that we are no longer mere animals, and that sociology is not a branch of biology; that it takes the ideal to blow the dust off the actual and lead men even to a cleaner sty.

"The existence of specific duties and the recognition of them, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the moral law and the reverence for it in its most abstract and absolute form, all no doubt presuppose society; but society, of a kind to render them possible, is not the creature of appetite and fear, or of the most complicated and indirect results of these." To this conclusion of T. H. Green every man is forced who really makes an exhaustive analysis of social forces and seeks to change for the better the economic conditions of mankind. The "economic man" is man; not a brute all compact of appetite and fear, but an intelligence which can respond to the words justice and pity. It would have clarified Loria's argument if he had frankly made this apparent at the beginning and not dragged it in through stress of need at the end.

C. R. HENDERSON.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

CONDUCTED BY J. D. FORREST, A. T. FREEMAN, AND H. A. MILLIS.

Sociology as an Introduction to Law.—The reconcilement between the law and sociology is an accomplished fact. It is no less efficacious for having been slow and difficult, and the reciprocal use which the moral and juridical sciences, on the one hand, and the social sciences, on the other, make of one another permits a still more intimate union to be foreseen in the near future. This union will consist necessarily in a synthetic unity of their principles and a rational classification of corresponding phenomena. It will then be found that the philosophy of law will bring its data in abundance to social psychology, and the general theory of the state will constitute but an integral chapter of sociology.

These previsions perhaps appear premature. Can a science as ancient, as complete as that of the law, depend upon another science not yet formed, without precise laws, without determined classification?

We judge it superfluous to insist on the averred fact that law does not constitute the principle of social life, but one of its phenomena. But then "it is evident," as H. Spencer observes, "that a more special science cannot be perfectly comprehended as long as the more general science which includes it is not." Their coöperation is imposed then at the first onset. It is far from being premature, since the material furnished little by little by one side or the other is in waiting but too long. And it is to be noted that it is not alone sociology that attacks questions of law; juridical theory also daily meets problems insoluble in its own domain. Their case pending hinders progress and constitutes a permanent obstacle to generalizations more broad, and therefore more fruitful.

Let us cite some examples at random of investigations which are discussed helplessly in the absence of premises capable of embracing the problems in their whole extent.

(*a*) The principle of nationalities has already forced the door of public and of international law. Formulated thus by Bluntschli: "Every nation is called upon to form a state, every state ought to be a national person," it proclaims as the subject of law a social individuality whose determination pertains entirely to sociology. The consequences are grave in every case; they hold in suspense the question even of the subjects of international law. Who are they? Juridical persons, collectivities individualized by acts of positive law, or living organisms, natural persons, collective individualities, able to invoke their innate rights after simple legal proof? In this latter case there is put a question of state and capacity, a previous question of fact, the necessary criterion of which can be furnished only by a detailed sociological theory.

(*b*) A controversy forty years old has been abandoned by jurisprudence because of the lack of bases large enough to permit the problem to be faced in its entirety. The question was put by Robert von Mohl: Does a social law (*Gesellschaftsrecht*) exist distinct from public and private law? It was generally (Treitschke, van Kricken, Bluntschli, etc.) answered in the negative. But then how was the canonical law to be classed, which formerly rivaled civil legislation, and, above all, the statutes and rules of powerful associations not recognized by the state, which often make themselves obeyed more easily than the legal authorities? Then, too, what place was to be assigned to juridical science, that collective work, the incontestable source of positive law, and to custom, which is often maintained along side of, indeed even in opposition to, obligatory standards? There are thus many social phenomena which await distribution by a theory more positive than that of natural law, and more synthetic than that of positive law.

(*c*) In public law the will of the state, of the legislator, of the governmental power, etc., is constantly spoken of. Yet modern psychology refuses to volitional

facts an existence independent of intellectual and affective states. It applauds their reduction to the one and the other, sometimes to the former exclusively. However it may be, the philosophy of law cannot make abstraction from this, and in admitting a social will it is obliged to turn toward collective thought and sentiments to do the work of social psychology.

(*d*) Again, let us cite the relations of law with morality. Excepting general observations more or less vague, and the indication of very manifest points of contact, such as in the analysis of notions of justice, of responsibility, and of duty, we find in literature no solution so little precise and satisfactory. Nevertheless, "the juridical order is always not only united, but subordinated to the moral order;" there are two faces or two questions to solve with reference to every phenomenon. It is, at the same time, social and psychic, and it can be elucidated only on this common ground.

As sociology, on one side, can exert a salutary influence on the consolidation of the first principles of the law, the juridical sciences, on the other side, are called to a no less fruitful reciprocity. Sociological studies are often reproached, and not without reason, because their lack of precision, the vagueness of their terminology, constitute too loose a method. The justifiable search for a fixed basis, for a character of scientific exactitude, has led some of the most powerful minds to give sociology a shape frankly biological. These attempts have formed only the scaffolding, useful for raising a coherent body of sociological inductions. The body remains, but the scaffolding, formed of more or less arbitrary analogies, can be considered as definitely demolished; and with it have fallen the appearances of precision, in great part factitious. Here is the point on which the science of law can lend its assistance, thanks to the spirit of vigorous classification which belongs to it, in the precise definition of notions, and in a notable contingent of already systematized facts which it has embraced. Does it not constitute itself the most important client to social science?

But are not two domains and two different sciences confounded here? Yes, if we wish to make sociology conform to the point of view of law, a frequent error among theoretic jurists, or if we wish to make law conform to the point of view of sociology, a mistake often made by practical sociologists, or, in other words, if we try to drive one science into another, and thus effect a reduction of that which is irreducible. There will be no confusion if we seek in the entire domain of social phenomena the unity of the fundamental laws in order to effect, in the light of these superior abstractions, a rational classification of the particular domains and a definitive systematization of material so complicated. A conciliation attempted in a spirit of synthesis is fortified against confusion, provided that it is followed by a comprehensive analysis.

The connection of the sciences constitutes the basis of all philosophy, facilitates considerably the theoretic consolidation of particular branches, and always makes fertile the field of investigations. Thus, Descartes created analytic geometry by the collaboration of geometry and algebra; Comte foresaw the important results which the correlation of physiology and chemistry would give. Combination of the latter with physics is now the order of the day. Modern sociology has greatly advanced in relying on a biological basis. Finally, the affinity between physiology and psychology has given rise to a new branch of the latter, physiological psychology. In this latter case there is more than a simple analogy with the relation of sociology and the science of law.

Jurisprudence, that is, the art of making, interpreting, and applying the laws, is sufficient for itself, but the philosophy of law, which is called upon to clarify with its lights, suffers from its isolation. In attaching it to general philosophy, as the German school has done, it is suspended as it were in an unstable equilibrium, instead of being furnished with a support. It is only by the medium of the social life that law can be attached to a general philosophy, disengaged definitely from all speculative character belonging to abstract ideology.

The general theory of law may have two points of departure. Either it takes as a basis the faculties of the individual, his reason or his will, in order to deduce the principles of justice, of liberty, of rights and duties; or it finds in society the only source of every juridical relation, and consequently of every notion of law. Attempts of the first category have succeeded more or less in constructing systems of private

law, but they have completely failed in the domain of public law. In vain has it been attempted to widen the basis, to substitute human nature for the individual reason. It has only resulted in the theory of the state of nature and of the social contract, constructed *a priori*, fanciful and contradicted by the facts.

The place assigned to public law in relation to civil law is what characterizes the two points of departure. If the first determines the second, the institutes of private law depend upon the social and political organization. In the opposite case the contrary would be true.

The general theory of law still seeks its premises. It will find them in sociology more synthetic and more systematic than it is at present.

One of its branches, which concerns us more particularly, since it constitutes the object of the present study, having given rise to many misunderstandings on the subject of its classification, deserves special examination. We speak of the general theory of the state. Strictly it does not constitute a branch of the science of law, and its frequent confusion with public law merits removal. Thus even Bluntschli considers his work, entitled *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, as a general treatise on the state in its entirety, and in the double point of view of law and of politics, without distinguishing the two aspects of the conception. G. Waitz applies the term politics to the science of the state. We shall have occasion again to return to this point, and to the stricter delimitation of these three domains. Lorenz Stein is more precise:

"There is no system of public law in itself. It exists rather as that which we intend by it; it is the system of the organic life of the state itself. Public law constitutes the juridical expression of this system. Public law is the order, conceived and determined as right, of the organs and of their public activity, so far as these latter form the unity of the state."

We thus have on one side a particular system of organic social life, unified in the state, a system which constitutes the object of its *general theory*, on the other the juridical expression of this life, the object of *public law*. But what do we mean by the "juridical expression" of any social organization, in the double point of view of sociology and of the philosophy of law, which we claim to be the same? It is its psychic life or, more exactly, its intellectual life. Public law is nothing but a particular sphere of the social thought, of the intellectual functions of the political organization, a sphere, the physical antecedents of which constitute the functional life of the state.

It is important for us here to determine the relation between the general theory of the state and public law. In our opinion it is the same as between the study of physico-organic facts and that of psychic facts. The physical and the psychic can be brought back to a superior phenomenal unity only in the light of a general philosophy, and ought to be considered in their reciprocal relations as irreducible one to the other. The case is the same with the two sciences mentioned, the general theory of the state and public law. Their domain and their nature are different and distinct, and all confusion, all mutual encroachment would be absolutely contrary to the philosophical spirit.

Sociology classifies and explains facts by discovering their general laws; the particular social sciences set them forth by constituting simply branches of the former. In this sense the general theory of the state is only one of the great chapters of sociology. This does not hinder, from the point of view of the complete comprehension of the phenomena, sociology from being intimately connected with the theory of law, the philosophy of which ought to constitute another great chapter of this same synthesizing science. Thus the place reserved for the study of the state in the totality of juridical instruction is plainly justified. Perhaps with time this particular branch will be supplanted by a general theory of social phenomena, by sociology. The progress realized in our time by this science shows us that in the near future it will be considered as a necessary introduction to the study of law (Fernand Faure, "La Sociologie dans les facultés de droit en France," *Revue Intern. de Sociologie*, 1893, II. René Worms, "La Sociologie et le droit," *ibid.*, 1895, I. Maurice Haurion, "Les facultés de droit et la Sociologie," *Revue générale de droit*, t. XVII).—SIGISMOND BALICKI, *Thèse: L'Etat comme Organisation Cœrcitive de la Société Politique*, Paris, 1896, Introduction. Fr.

The Psychology of Social Progress.—Between psychology and sociology there is no line to be drawn. The latter science is based upon psychological analysis. In considering psychological conceptions we are considering the bases of sociological science, and those conceptions themselves can only be really understood in connection with social relations. Man is distinguished from the lower animals by his capacity for progressive wants. This capacity for always discovering new wants is a necessary condition of human progress. What is the psychological explanation for the exceptional cases of people who are absolutely free from the stimulus of progressive desires? The stream of consciousness in the individual life is a current always directed towards some end. Man, having no sufficient instincts for the purpose, must achieve his ends by way of consciously devised means. Any object of striving having once been an end in the subordinate sense of being a means is henceforward capable of becoming an end in the principal sense. Any one of the steps may achieve an independent interest and become desired for itself. What instinct does for the lower animals habit tends to do for man. In proportion as the means by which ends are reached become easy and familiar it tends to become habitual and unconscious. There is immense gain if, *after* we have developed higher interests, we can relegate lower ones to automatic action. But the danger is that the mind should never have broken through the primitive cycle, or should have been allowed to become automatic at a low level. Mental struggle, then, is the first law of progress. If any individual or class is cut off from this struggle they are cut off from the possibility of developing higher interests. Every new perception alters the whole group of ideas into which it is received. This has for result: (1) that nothing of a totally new nature *can* be received into the mind; and (2) what the mind sees depends upon what it already is. This seems to tend against the possibility of any state of society in which the individuals shall have the same views, interests, and mental experiences. Yet we do have similar views. This is due mainly to two facts: (*a*) that certain fundamental characteristics of affection and gregariousness form a common basis upon which all individual life is erected; (*b*) that we are rational beings, and therefore share in a common mental organization which is reflected into our social organization. All purposive, rational thought and action is guided by noetic synthesis; all automatic action by association alone. The higher the type of mind the more complex and complete will be its organization according to interests and purposes. A system of rewards and punishments, therefore, will develop only a quite commonplace type of character. Some *interest* and *purpose* must be introduced to develop character. We no longer need to teach self-abnegation, but the enlarging of the self, the finding it in wider interests. At this point psychology merges into sociology. What is needed in social as in individual life is the introduction of organizing and not disintegrating ideas.—HELEN BOSANQUET, *International Journal of Ethics*, April 1897. Fr.

The Evolution of Domestic Service.—In antiquity servants were slaves; in the Middle Ages, serfs. Servitude, though contrary to human dignity, had great advantages over the present condition, since it assured food and lodging in sickness and old age. Now servants, unable to count on gratitude from those they serve, judge that faithfulness and patience are folly. They are further degraded by being required to renounce their individuality. A model servant must be an admirable machine, working noiselessly and impassively at a sign. The servants' position is precarious, but isolation has prevented their union. No law of importance protects domestics. Some charitable associations place and supervise maids, but a trade union should take the place of such narrow though sincere efforts. In England this social work has begun. A league of women's trades unions, founded in 1874, tries to group women workers who cannot enter men's unions. There is also a syndicate of domestic servants which publishes the *Domestic Servants' Gazette*. Its objects are to protect servants' certificates against unjust masters, to limit hours of work, especially for servants under eighteen, to make employers responsible for accidents not caused by negligence, to found employment offices and servants' homes. What will be the results of such unions? Servants will develop a new sense of their dignity and rights. They will cease to be servants,

and will become employés with clearly defined hours and duties. Servants will learn their business like other workers. The common complaints against servants are often well founded, but good work cannot be expected from untaught workers nor good feeling from those whose future is uncertain, and whose present means exhausting labor, lack of freedom, the worst room in the house, loneliness and lack of innocent pleasures. A servant in Russia is worse off than when he was a slave; in Austria, little better. In Germany the position is less humiliating, but pay very low. In cities of France servants are in revolt, but in a helpless way, that leads to nothing but perpetual change of mistresses. In England they have won some privileges. In the United States wages are high, and, with no board to pay, there is every advantage in taking service. Nevertheless few do, except immigrants, who have not had time to develop a spirit of independence. A young woman prefers freedom and superior social position to material advantages. She dreads the loneliness of the country or of a house where she is the only servant. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, attributes to the cutting off from their own family life the refusal of the better class of workers to enter service. She foresees the formation of clubs to furnish social life, the ending of regular hours at seven P. M., later service to have extra pay, and the lessening of work done within the home. Mrs. Stuckert, of Illinois, proposes many homes grouped about a common central building, in which washing and cooking shall be done for all, which shall lodge the servants, and contain library, reading rooms, assembly hall, kindergartens, and dining hall. A family may have its meals sent to its own house. This plan does not interfere with family life; at the same time it secures expert service under conditions pleasant for the servants.—HUDRY-MENOS, *La Revue Socialiste*, May 1897. Fr.

The Social Question in the East.—Economic and social conditions are the real cause of the Eastern question. The Ottoman Empire is inhabited by many petty peoples, differing in origin, dialects, customs, religion, held together by political bonds and even by their mutual hatred of which their ruler takes advantage. The economic situation is precarious. A rude agriculture and the raising of animals are almost the only forms of labor. Manufacture scarcely exists. Imports pay a duty of 8 or 10 per cent. There is a tax on salt, on fish, on animals killed at the abattoirs, etc. All agricultural products, except potatoes, are taxed 10 per cent. As the collection of this tax is farmed out 30 or even 50 per cent. is often seized instead of the nominal 10 per cent. The peasant pays many other taxes. Christians pay a tax in lieu of military service, as Mussulmans will not serve with them; besides the government does not wish Christians to be familiar with arms. The tax on domestic animals is 18 cents a head, while a sheep or goat in Asia Minor may be bought for 12 cents. There is a tax on the laborer's hut and on his bit of land. The tax on crops is the only one collected regularly. The others are allowed to accumulate till some public event when money is needed, then all arrears are called for at once. The peasant must then go to the usurers or to the large landholders, who furnish him money at high rates, taking a mortgage on his land. To obtain seed and the use of farming implements his crops are mortgaged in advance. He is never able to pay the interest, and his land is seized. Thus the land, not the property of sultan or church, is largely coming into the hands of a few officials. Those dispossessed of land are moving to the centers of population, forming a vast proletariat. Lack of transportation brings famine in case of a poor harvest. Corruption in government, and a more picturesque brigandage among the mountains help to depopulate whole sections. Almost all industries are disappearing under competition with Austro-Hungary and Germany. Mining is almost the only modern industry. There are rich mines of copper, chrome, manganese, borax, and coal. The work is nearly all done by women and young girls. The workers sleep in the open air, the masters providing nothing but two dirty mats for each person. The day's work is thirteen hours. The pay ranges from 10 to 20 cents. Only the overseers, who are men, receive the latter sum. The proletariat is as yet helpless because ignorant, unorganized, divided by religion and race hatred. No reforms will remedy the ill. There must be a complete change of social régime.—HUGUES ROSALT in *Revue Socialiste*, November 1896. Fr.

Market Wrecking.—During the years 1895–6–7 the world's production of wheat has been considerably below the consumption for the same period. Yet the price of wheat has been steadily falling. This anomalous state of affairs can only be accounted for by the success of the trickery of market wreckers. Under the old system of trading the bare possibility of a deficiency would have sent the price up to a high rate. Wheat for nominal delivery in June is being sold in New York at nine cents a bushel. This is fictitious wheat sold without intention to deliver actual grain. Yet the fictitious price regulates the price at which real grain is sold. The markets of the United States are being wrecked for the benefit of gamblers. Essentially, an option is a bet upon the price of a certain commodity at a given date. This gambling system completely rules the markets of the civilized world. The option sales in a year in the American wheat markets amount to ten times the total quantity of wheat grown in the United States. The results of the system are: (1) Profuse offerings of fictitious wheat have a lowering effect upon market prices; (2) the maintenance of the option system involves the active operation of men who are professional market wreckers, who gain more by a fall than by a rise in prices; (3) the "bears" have a more powerful influence upon market prices than the "bulls;" (4) the fixing of low prices for distant months reduces the prices of spot wheat and tends to stereotype the prices of distant months at low rates; (5) the gambling and trickery of professional "bears" and "bulls," and their frequent defalcations create a constant feeling of insecurity among capitalists, and thus exercise a generally depressing effect upon the markets. This growing system is thus a gross wrong to producers of wheat and some other commodities. The objections to anti-option legislation are no more valid than to the existing law against the sale of bank shares not in actual possession. No one should be allowed to sell produce which he does not possess, or will not obtain and deliver. The anti-option bill which failed in effect proposed this.—WILLIAM E. BEAR, *Fortnightly Review*, April 1897. Fr.

The Genesis of the Ethical Self.—The child's thought of self is at any time a self of habit or a self of accommodation. But the only adequate expression of him is that which acquaints us with the self of all the rich social relationships, or the "socius." The question of the further development of the sense of self, based on the conflicts of the two earlier partial selves, is really one of vital social meaning, and that, too, in the ethical sense. Historical doctrines of the rise of the ethical sense are of two classes: those basing the ethical sentiments on sympathy, and those basing them on custom or habit. They represent constructions based on the partial selves—the "accommodating" and the "habitual." The child begins to be aware in his contact with others of such a presence as the socius. By his actions through obedience he learns that there is something always present, a circle of common interest, a family propriety, a mass of accepted tradition. As he understands the meaning of obedience better, the socius becomes more and more intimate as a law-abiding self of his own. It becomes the germ of the ideals of life. (1) The ethical self is a slow attainment of the child. The developed ethical sense needs less and less to appeal to an *alter* self, an authority. (2) As the socius in the mind of the child expands, there is the constant tendency to make it real in some concrete form in the social group. (3) The law, which this self embodies, is in one sense always the realized self of somebody. But further, the law is a function of the socius—consciousness in each of its two aspects—"projective" and "ejective." (4) The social attitude in favor of law becomes to a degree habit, but a habit of *acting*, not a habit of *action*. It is frequently a habit of violating habits.—J. MARK BALDWIN, *Philosophical Review*, May 1897. Fr.

The Grievance of the West.—During his campaign work in Ohio and Indiana last fall, Professor Hyslop found that when he told farmers that "free silver" would lower salaries and wages, they said that was just what they wanted. Upon investigating the conditions he found that while prices of farm products had fallen, money wages had remained stationary. The farmers could not afford to pay high wages, and as a rule laborers would not work for less than they had been receiving. The cause of this astonishing fact Mr. Hyslop finds in the system of out-door relief,

a "system of poor-relief as bad as any that existed in the worst days of charity in Europe." He states that "this relief, coupled with the philanthropic tendencies of the community, will secure relief equal to the standard of living," and that while assurance of this relief exists, the laborer "is not likely to work unless his wages give him a profit over the standard of living," unless he gets more for his work than poor-law relief will give him."

But not only does this system of relief keep up wages, it also worse than needlessly burdens the farmer with taxes. The heavy taxes also tend to destroy the value of his land. While this problem of out-door relief is not the only problem, it is one of the most important problems affecting the western farmer, and, while its solution will not solve all his problems, it will afford him great relief. The "remedy" is to abolish absolutely all out-door relief."—JAMES H. HYSLOP, in *Forum*, June 1897. M.

The Pauper Problem in America.—"Our social structure is ablaze with pauperism." If asked the cause of this, "I should say that it is the natural, logical, and philosophical outcome of the unwise handling of the problem of the poor by a policy which, in seeking to obliterate the disease, has only driven it into the vitals of society, thereby aggravating the evil and endangering the very existence of the body politic." " . . . . nine-tenths of the present strained relations between the classes and the masses . . . . are due to the unwise and unphilosophical handling of the problem."

But while this is true, it is also true that the *origin* of the evil is in the depopulation of the country districts. The "natural and self-evident" remedy "is a restoration of the balance of population from the city to the country." This is practicable and sufficient. The Salvation Army scheme for accomplishing this includes: (1) large western settlements, (2) farm colonies, (3) Pingree "potato patches," and (4) city colonies with cheap shelters, temporary workyards, labor bureaus, and homes for the fallen.—F. DE LATOUR BOOTH-TUCKER, in *Charities Review*, April 1897. M.

Municipal Conditions in California.—A new charter is being pressed for San Francisco. The city has suffered from divided powers and responsibility. Recently the legislature has given the veto power to the mayor, to be overcome only by a three-fourths vote of the council. The early indifference to the city government which is gradually giving place to a sense of civic pride, has produced two curious results: (1) The city has created no public debt and is without bonds, an experience not paralleled by any city of equal size, importance, and rapid growth. (2) The same short-sighted thrift has prevented the city from owning any public utilities, all of which are owned by private corporations. The result has been the creation of powerful monopolies, the imposition of high rates, and suspected corruption of public bodies, all of which practically amounts to the imposition by private companies of a higher taxation of citizens than that of the city itself.—HON. JAMES D. PHELAN, *Arena*, June 1897. Fr.

Arraignment of Organized Charities.—The two principal objections to charity organizations are: (1) as to their methods. Organized charity has almost become a fad. Indiscriminate giving is generally discouraged by students of the subject. The mode of labor or partial payment is only an evasion and exerts the same degrading influence on the standard of living as does indiscriminate giving, besides instituting unfair competition with legitimate business enterprises. It is the systematic and permanent character of organized charity that makes it the most dangerous form of relief distribution. (2) Charity organizations by enlisting the sympathy and contributions of the rich toward charity relief divert their attention from the means of poverty-prevention by social improvements. The evils of poverty arise from our social conditions. The remedy cannot be found in any system of private charity, but in some means of making the care of the dislocated an involuntary and inseparable part of the productive system itself — by some system of industrial insurance. —*Gunton's Magazine*, June 1897. Fr.

A Defense of Organized Charities.—The only assumption of organized charity workers is the recognition of the patent fact of actual suffering. They have no disposition to retard social reform. Organized charity deals with the causes of poverty and has a splendid record in making dependents self-supporting. It recognizes not only the social, but the personal causes of poverty. The mistaken methods of almsgiving criticised are the *raison d'être* of organized charities. The charge of bad methods of charity organizations should not be laid against organized charity as such. Organized charity, instead of taking the soul out of charity, puts a soul into it through the sympathetic study and personal attention given to every case.—FREDERICK WILLIAM HAMILTON, *Gunton's Magazine*, April 1897. Fr.

The Development of American Cities.—Our municipal government is in theory more democratic than that of Europe. But when results are compared we find that the European cities do far more than ours for "the people," so that we have much to learn from them.

Good government is largely a question of good administration. This can be had in a large city only by intrusting to some one man the full power of executive direction. Civil service must be vigorously applied.

Municipal functions are of three kinds: (1) Those of primar necessity, such as police and fire protection (2) others now looked upon as necessary, such as food inspection, and the regulation of the liquor traffic; and (3) those affording opportunities for higher education, recreation, and comfort, as libraries, parks, play grounds, and public baths. In this third class, although our conception of the functions of government is widening, we have much to learn. Our cities should do everything promotive of the well-being of the people.— JOSIAH QUINCY, Mayor of Boston, in *Arena*, March, 1897. M.

Democratic Tendencies.—Democracy is an old idea, but is now working under new conditions. There were democracies in Greece. But there ability was recognized. Here the dogma of equality instead of meaning equality of political rights and burdens has gone farther and belittled "special ability" and "capacity." Then, too, the functions of government, just as our whole life, have broadened, demanding an ever more complex machinery and more highly skilled administration. While we have recognized "fitness" in some of our minor offices, our larger ones have become political "spoils," and as a result we have really less, instead of greater, ability to correspond to the greater needs. That we are not securing increased "intellectual equipment" corresponding to the greater need for it is our most serious problem. —E. L. GODKIN in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1897. M.

The Problem of Municipal Government.—"Municipal government is doing certain lines of work for a city for the least sum of expense. . . . . Contracts are the center and almost the entire circumference of municipal government," and therefore "furnish the chief municipal problem." It is impossible to find any one thing which will solve the problem for all time. Minimizing the number of contracts by an extension of municipal ownership and of the "day wages" system can do much. The most effective way of then dealing with contracts is to refer them to the people by means of the *referendum*.—HAZEN S. PINGREE in *Arena*, April, 1897. M.

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A legal view of women's suffrage in America, J. A. Webb, ALR., My.-Je.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Places of Publication: B., Boston; Br., Berlin; C., Chicago; L., London; Lp., Leipzig; N. Y., New York; P., Paris; Ph., Philadelphia. *Prices:* F., franc; L., lira; M., mark; S., shilling. *Months:* Ja. F. Mr. Ap. My. Je. Jl. Ag. S. O. N. D. *Periodicals:*

A. Arena.
AA. American Anthropologist.
AAC. Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle.
AAE. Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia.
AAP. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
AC. L'Association Catholique.
ACQ. American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AE. Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen.
AGP. Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR. American Historical Review.
AIS. Annals de l'Institute de Science Sociale.
AJP. American Journal of Psychology.
AJS. American Journal of Sociology.
AJT. American Journal of Theology.
ALR. American Law Review.
ALRR. American Law Register and Review.
AMC. American Magazine of Civics.
AMP. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Séances.
AN. American Naturalist.
Ant. L'Anthropologie.
AOR. Archiv für öffentliches Recht.
ASA. American Statistical Association, Publications.
ASAr. Allgemeine Statistisches Archiv.
ASG. Archive für Sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.
ASP. Archiv für Systematische Philosophie.
BDL. Bulletin of the Department of Labor.
BG. Blätter für Gefängnisskunde.
BML. Banker's Magazine, London.
BMN. Banker's Magazine, New York.
BOT. Bulletin de l'Office du Travail.
BS. Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt. Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée.
BUI. Bulletin de l'Union Internationale de Droit Penale.
ChOR. Charity Organization Review.
ChR. Charities Review.
CoR. Contemporary Review.
DR. Deutsche Revue.
DRu. Deutsche Rundschau.
DS. Devenir Social.
DZG. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
EcJ. Economic Journal.
EcR. Economic Review.
EdR. Educational Review.
EHR. English Historical Review.
EM. Engineering Magazine.
F. Forum.
FR. Fortnightly Review.
GEc. Giornale degli Economisti.
GM. Gunton's Magazine.
HLR. Harvard Law Review.
HZ. Historische Zeitschrift.
IAE. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
IJE. International Journal of Ethics.
IR. Investor's Review.
JAI. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JEc. Journal des Economistes.
JFI. Journal of the Franklin Institute.
JGV. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft.
JHS. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.
JMS. Journal of Mental Science.
JNS. Jahrbücher für National-Oekonomie und Statistik.
JPE. Journal of Political Economy.
L. Literarisches Centralblatt.
LG. Labor Gazette.
LoQR. London Quarterly Review.
LQR. Law Quarterly Review.
M. Monist.
MHM. Mansfield House Magazine.
Mi. Mind.
MIM. Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
N. Nature.
NA. Nuova Antologia.
NAR. North American Review.
NC. Nineteenth Century.
NS. Natural Science.
NW. New World.
NZ. Neue Zeit.
PhR. Philosophical Review.
PSM. Popular Science Monthly.
PSQ. Political Science Quarterly.
PsR. Psychological Review.
QJE. Quarterly Journal of Economics.
QR. Quarterly Review.
RCS. Revue Christianisme sociale.
RDI. Revue de Droit internationale.
RDM. Revue des deux Mondes.
REA. Revue mensuelle l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.
Ref.S. Réforme sociale.
ReS. Revue Socialiste.
RH. Revue historique.
RHD. Revue d'Histoire diplomatique.
RIF. Rivista italiana di Filosofia.
RiS. Rivista di Sociologia.
RIS. Revue internationale de Sociologie.
RISS. Rivista internazionale di Scienze Sociali.
RMM. Revue Metaphysique et de Morale.
RPe. Revue pénitentiaire.
RPh. Revue philosophique.
RPP. Revue politique et parliamentaire.
RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
RRN. Review of Reviews, New York.
RSI. Revisita Storica italiana.
RSP. Revue sociale et politique.
RT. Revue du Travail.
S. Sanitarian.
Sc. Science.
SP. Science Progress.
SR. School Review.
SS. Science Sociale.
VSV. Vierteljahrschrift für Staats- und Volkswirthschaft.
VWP. Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
YR. Yale Review.
ZE. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZGS. Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatsw ssenschaften.
ZPK. Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik.
ZPO. Zeitschrift für das private und öffentliche Recht.
ZPP. Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane.
ZVR. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZVS. Zeitschrift für Volkswirthschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung.

[The titles of articles selected from periodicals not in this list will be followed by name of periodical in full.]

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COMPILED BY MADELEINE W. MILNER.

WOMAN AND CHILD LABOR.

Child labor has been the cause of much discussion and legislation abroad, but it was not until the census of 1870 called attention to its existence in the United States that any public notice was given to the subject in our own country.

This bibliography is confined to the United States to aid the investigator by separating the very meager American literature of the subject from the large mass of English and foreign publications.

The compiler soon discovered that the larger and by far the most valuable part of the material was contained in the reports of the labor bureaus and factory inspectors of the different states.

In addition to these, references found in periodicals and in a few books have been given.

No attempt has been made to refer to the brief mention of the subject found in the general books on the labor question.

The references found in the Analysis and index of all reports issued by bureaus of labor in the United States prior to November 1892, the third special report of the United States department of labor, were taken as a basis for the work, and brought down to date whenever practicable.

The list cannot claim to be complete, even in its very limited range, as it was impossible to obtain access to some of the most valuable reports.

The mine inspectors' reports and the State Census would, doubtless, contain material, but they were not accessible.

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Colorado, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Connecticut, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Idaho, Bureau of Immigration, Labor, and Statistics.
Illinois, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Indiana, Bureau of Statistics.
Iowa, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Kansas, Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.
Maine, Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics.
Maryland, Bureau of Industrial Statistics and Information.
Massachusetts, Bureau of Statistics of Labor.
Michigan, Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.
Minnesota, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Missouri, Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection.
Nebraska, Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.
North Carolina, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
North Dakota, Department of Agriculture and Labor.
New Jersey, Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries.
New York, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Ohio, Bureau of Statistics of Labor.
Pennsylvania, Bureau of Industrial Statistics.
Rhode Island, Bureau of Industrial Statistics.
South Dakota, Department of Labor and Statistics.
Tennessee, Bureau of Labor, Statistics, and Mines.
Texas, Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History.
Utah, Bureau of Statistics.
Wisconsin, Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.
United States, Bureau of Labor.
United States, Department of Labor.

States Having Factory Inspectors.

Connecticut,	Michigan,	New York,
Illinois,	Minnesota,	Ohio,
Maine,	Missouri,	Pennsylvania,
Massachusetts,	New Jersey,	Rhode Island.

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III SEPTEMBER, 1897 NUMBER 2

THE SOCIOLOGISTS' POINT OF VIEW.

THE fact which has begotten sociology is a dawning social consciousness. As in no previous age of the world's history men are with one voice inquiring "What are the facts and the forces that make or mar social life?" Sociology is not, like many of the systems of thought that have attracted men before, the amusement of recluse philosophers. Sociology is a frank attempt to assist in supplying a real popular demand. It springs from the people's thought, not alone from the lucubrations of closet speculators.[1] At the same time sociology attempts to inform and control the very popular thought by which it has been inspired. The concrete popular demand is for specifics Sociology is devoted to showing that specifics, if they could be invented, would not long satisfy the demand, and it is further bent on showing that something may presently be had better than specifics.

Practical men of all sorts and conditions are beginning to inquire whether social conditions may not, to a thus far unsuspected degree, be like our food, our clothes, and our shelter — something to be thought out, and planned, and systematically constructed. More men than ever before are at least dimly aware that it is needful to give deliberate thought to social

[1] *Vide* JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, July 1895, "The Era of Sociology."

arrangements, instead of allowing society to happen into shape. This more general perception is spurring the sociologists to perfect their methods. Popular unrest and scientific curiosity are together asking the question "What are the inside facts about human society?" The first division of the work which the sociologists are undertaking is the task of making clear to the different kinds of people who are trying to solve social problems what division and organization of labor is necessary in order to progress as fast as possible in answering this general question, with all the minor questions which it involves and implies.

This paper is addressed, not to specialists, but to the many thoughtful students of social questions who are anxious to know whether there is some best way of thinking about social relations. Nor is it my purpose to glorify sociology and sociologists. Only a very small fraction of the people who are doing the work which is necessary before searching questions about society can be answered are now or are likely to be called sociologists. The sociologists are one class among many workers in a common field. The whole field, not a narrow portion of it claimed by particular specialists, interests members of society in general. Yet in some respects the sociologists have more in common with the non-professional many than have any other group of technical students of society. The point of view of the sociologists is that of the social person of every sort, rather than that of the specialist. For this reason it is worth while to explain with the least possible technicality, not what the sociologists claim as their peculiar province or mission, but rather the point of view which the sociologists think everybody should occupy who ventures to hold or to seek opinions about any kind of social relations.

The starting point of the sociologists, then, is frank belief that the best of us are as yet comparatively ignorant about the inside facts of society, and that thoroughgoing study of society is necessary. The majority of the people in the world have yet to be convinced that study of society is important. I might

discuss those scholars who more or less directly contend that all necessary study of society is sufficiently provided for. I am just now more concerned with those unscholarly persons who either tacitly or expressly set themselves against the necessity of any study of society at all. "Why need we study society?"

The first answer to this inept question would seem to be on the face of the fact that nature is one factor and society another with which every human being has to deal. If it is profitable to study nature, it surely is to study society. Society is simply all the people together in any part of the world which may be thought of by itself. "Society" is our town. It is the United States. It is the group of civilized nations with which Americans have intercourse. It is again the whole human family. If we do not use the word in the remote sense that places "society" beyond the range of ordinary interest, it seems that the word means only something so very commonplace that study of it is rather beneath what we suppose to be our dignity. We have "society," like the poor, always with us. It is perfectly familiar. Why study it?

People have asked the same question about all familiar things when it was first proposed to study them, and build up scientific knowledge about them. People had breathed air, for example, thousands of years before it occurred to anybody to study air. When scholars began to talk about studying air ordinary people laughed at them. "The idea of studying air! Why not study something worth while? Everybody knows all about air." It proved, however, that nobody really knew much of anything precisely about air. People did not so much as know that air is heavy, that it is elastic, that it is a mixture of gases, etc. People said the same thing when scholars talked of studying water, either physically or chemically. They said the same thing about the beginnings of the study of plant and animal life—biology. President G. Stanley Hall is fond of recalling the farmer to whom some students of biology had applied for help to find frogs for study. "What is there to study about frogs? I know all about frogs myself. I've got a whole pond full of

them down there." So our very familiarity with society has kept us from stopping to think about society in a way to make us understand society.

Possibly this needs to be illustrated. We of course get sophisticated in society so that we know how to carry ourselves in a certain customary fashion. We know where to get ordinary wants supplied. We go to butcher, and baker, and candlestick-maker, and tailor, and seamstress, and doctor, and lawyer, and printer, and actor for their different sorts of service; and we seldom call upon one of these for work that belongs to another. If we do blunder and confuse these different people we make ourselves ridiculous. I was in a confectioner's on State street the other day when a young women came in with a bottle and asked the soda-fountain attendant for some cough medicine. The saleswomen all giggled and the customers arched their eyebrows with most superior airs. The young woman did not show ordinary practical acquaintance with society. But suppose one of those clerks or customers had been asked to explain how it comes about that there is a confectioner on one corner and a druggist on the opposite corner; how it is possible for either to pursue his occupation year after year without closing his shop periodically and wandering far afield to gather the stuffs from which his goods are made; how each can foresee what sort and amount of his wares will be called for, and how he can have them in stock waiting for buyers. In all probability not one of those people who laughed at the unsophisticated girl could take many steps in precise explanation without betraying essentially equal ignorance. In our thought about society most of us are much like the English country gentleman who divided the animal kingdom into "game," "vermin," and "stock." Such a classification serves the country gentleman's purpose well enough, but how about the naturalist? Plover and wild boars are alike "game," but in anatomical structure they hardly belong together. Geese and oxen are alike "stock," but the uses to man which justify this common designation do not correspond with the sort of resemblances that mark members of the same zoölogical species.

Dividing animals according to whether our habit is to shoot, or poison, or work them is not going very far toward understanding them.

Some of our customary divisions of men are quite as unintelligent. When we talk of the "professional classes" and the "politicians," and the "business men," and the "working men," and the "capitalists," our distinctions are possibly of the "game, vermin, and stock" variety. We are probably dealing in superficialities. We are postponing good knowledge of the part played and the merit earned by different sorts of people.

From the sociologists' point of view, then, we need to study society because it is the surrounding, the "environment," as the biologists say, in which all of us live and move and have our being. It is stupid and costly to let our thoughts about society be vague or wrong or partial. To live well we need to understand the circumstances that surround our attempts to live. The sociologists propose systematic study of society in order to develop the power and the habit of seeing society, and seeing into society, and seeing through and around society, for the sake of power to see beyond society as it exists today and into social conditions that may be desirable and possible tomorrow.

Most people never see what they see. A parlor game sometimes called "Observation" makes amusement out of this fact. A score or more of small objects are scattered upon a tray, and the players are instructed to file by the table and notice the objects. Then, upon pain of forfeit for each omission, the players are called upon to write a list of the articles on the tray. The results always illustrate the fact that we seldom see all that we see. This is notoriously true of social relations. Only a few exceptional people have seen, for example, that a part of our own life is lived by people miles away, whose names we have never heard. Because certain men in Montana or the Argentine or Australia have raised a particular breed of sheep, we are able to wear some parts of the clothing at this moment on our bodies. Those distant people have been dressing us for years, while we have given scarce a thought to their existence. Who puts fork

and spoon in our mouth at today's dinner? Not our hand alone. Some men have been raising wheat in Dakota, and potatoes in Michigan; others have been boiling salt in New York, others picking coffee in Java, and drying tea in Japan, and gathering spices in the isles of the sea; and porters have carried on their backs, and loaded on drays, and sails have strained, and boilers have steamed, and officials have inspected, and merchants have sworn, and traders have broken bulk, and factory hands have labored—all in the course of setting our table. If the family next door to some of us in the city should move away or die, nothing worth noticing might be subtracted from our life. If those thousands of people in distant parts of our own land or beyond seas should stop living and working, great sections of our own life would cease. This is merely a specification under the well-known and ill-known formula, "None of us liveth to himself." The monster known to theory as "the individual" does not exist except in theorists' speculations. The man who thinks himself an independent individual has put an optical illusion in place of himself. We human beings are what we are because we are parts of society. What society is decides what we are and what we may be.

Again, very few people have ever seen that a part of their life was lived a decade, a century, a millennium ago. Our life is not all today and tomorrow. Its yesterdays are just as really parts of it as any of its present moments. Society is like Tennyson's brook, as of course the poet meant for his lines to say. Society, too, goes on forever. Persons are bubbles on the surface of the brook, but each bubble is a part of the brook. Each bubble is what it is because of the bed which the brook has worn for ages; because of the course of the brook from the source to the spot where the bubble forms; because of the soil on the banks, the life in the stream, the sunshine or cloud in the sky. In plain prose, our lives, ourselves, are atoms of the life of humanity that has been working to form us through all the ages.

Suppose one of us at five years of age were thrown on Robinson Crusoe's island. Suppose the waif were naked, without

tools, without provisions. He would not even then be utterly uncultured or absolutely unskilled. He would carry rudimentary civilized tastes and the beginnings of social tradition. Cut off from the body of that tradition, however, he would not come into his inheritance as an heir of the ages. He would have to begin where primitive men began, and live the fragmentary life that all men had to lead before life upon life had accumulated facilities and capacities for living. He would have to learn all the things about the resources of nature, their uses, the ways of extracting and transforming and applying them that have been discovered in the course of human experience. He would have to acquire all the arts and crafts and mysteries by which the world's workers have wrought over raw material for human use. Thrown back upon the necessity of doing all his living for himself, he would need thousands of years to acquire the tastes, develop the wants, and learn the skill to provide for himself the food, clothes, tools and trinkets that the ordinary civilized man requires. In our actual brief term of life we have much life by being sharers of all past life.

There are still further reasons for the study of society. Sooner or later thoughtful people discover that society is a collection of problems; people have to tackle these problems. Improvement of life means solution of these problems. In order to render any intelligent assistance in solving these problems we must study society sufficiently to make the problems real to our own mind.

These social problems, as proposed by complainers, and agitators, and "reformers," and seers of every sort, prove upon inspection to be larger or smaller parts of certain greater problems like these: What are we human beings actually living for? What are we trying to bring about, on the whole, as the outcome of living? Are we making the best use of our resources to reach these ends that we have in view? What is the best that we might live for, if we took a little wiser look into the situation, and calculated the possibilities of life a little more broadly and deeply? We cannot dissolve this social partnership if we would.

How may we make it closer, and better adapted to secure these better results? All the questions about wealth, labor, monopolies, trusts, forms of government, administrative policies, class relationships; all questions of justice aud morality between man and man, are parts and details and variations of the great problem of knowing society as the real fact, the largest, most meaning reality that we touch in actual life.

One of the reasons why we have to put up with social disturbance in the place of social progress today, why we have such strifes of tongues and opinions instead of instruction fit to improve life, is another version of the answer to our question, viz., men are so anxious to solve social problems that they have no time to study society. The consequence is that their solutions do not solve. Worse than this, their agitations create more problems. The shortest way to reach ability to solve social problems is not to try to solve them at all for a long time, but to learn how to state them. To most of those who share the feverishness of our day to extemporize social solutions this programme seems to demand waste of too much valuable time. On the contrary, the men who are intelligently following this programme, by studying partially understood factors in society instead of trying to cipher out social problems whose terms cannot yet be definitely expressed, are making haste slowly, to be sure, but they are making haste.

These propositions are so commonplace that serious difference about them might seem impossible among intelligent people. The fact is, however, that the people who are concerned about social questions are separated into the scientific and the unscientific class by divergence at this very outset. The men of scientific temper and the men of business methods maintain that realistic study of social facts simply as facts, without any interposition of our opinions and feelings, is the only credible guarantee of the respectability of subsequent conclusions. Facts alone can be a reliable source of opinions. Men of the opposite type not only skip the work of getting evidence and sifting it; they even deny that such unemotional examination of facts is possible, and

they ridicule and denounce the men who attempt it. They have no tolerance for the men who want to analyze social facts without prejudice, just as the anatomist would examine impartially the tissues and secretions and excretions of the human body. They have no conception of any service that may be rendered to truth by calmly inspecting family, shop, school, church, state, club, trade, saloon, brothel, bank and mill just as the microscopist examines alike, without fear or favor, healthy and diseased animal tissue. They think they have said something wise when they point out that a student of society has merely made a diagnosis of a social condition, but has proposed no specific for correcting the condition. They cannot understand the scientific separation of processes which compels the geologist, for example, first to distinguish gravel from loam and from clay, then to inquire how each was deposited, and last of all to indulge the expression of individual or of collective interest in feelings of approval or disapproval toward either. It is no more true of the geologist than of the sociologist that his first duty is to understand his facts. It is neither his duty nor his right to approve or disapprove them until he understand them.

With all this in view from his outlook, the sociologist naturally differs in judgment from those people who claim superior merit as humanitarians and moralists for refusing to acquire the necessary knowledge about society, who prefer instead to scourge the air with exhortations to reform institutions they do not understand. Specific doctrines and policies about "living issues" are by no means the only nor the surest reliance for improving the world. The sociologist would be the last man to approve the policy of folding the hands and waiting until we are omniscient before trying to help ourselves. As public-spirited citizens sociologists would coöperate with all other good citizens in doing the best things in sight to make life more satisfactory. The sociologist would have men face the social duties of every day just as the merchant faces the questions which he has to decide. He acts on the basis of the best evidence he can get. He does not wait till he can solve all the problems of the universe; or even all

the immediately pressing questions of national finance. As scholars, on the other hand, students of society, whatever their special name, are bound to see and to show that these best things are of limited avail, and that in the long run the kind of intelligence which can bring about wise adjustments to new conditions is more serviceable and reliable than mere zeal for expedients, for these may serve at best only a temporary purpose. Every person who in the slightest degree shares the privilege and the responsibility of forming public opinion ought to feel bound to have beliefs on all the subjects upon which public opinion must pass. He ought to use every available means to provide himself with respectable beliefs, and he ought to exert himself to make them influential. At the same time, if the good citizen happens to be a scholar, he will satisfy the sociologists' ideas of scholarly balance only when he holds these beliefs at a true proportional valuation in the scale of knowledge. The student of society ought to have enough decision of character to commit himself both in thought and action on such subjects as the tariff, the currency, internal taxation, public policy towards monopolies, and the demands of the numberless "interests" that seek legislative help. The wise student of society will at the same time, even in his most sanguine moods, steady himself with the reflection that the best of his beliefs and programmes about current "issues" are of subordinate importance after all. It makes relatively little difference what we think about specific cases. They may be exceptional and temporary. Our views about them may become obsolete at any moment through change of circumstances. It makes a great deal of difference whether we are intelligent about abiding relationships. Very much depends upon our general outlook upon society; upon our spirit about life, upon insight into permanent elements of human character and conditions. Our personal equation in these respects will make us forces for evil or good, for progress or regress, in spite of changed circumstances. Ralph Waldo Emerson was far from ideal success in combining these two elements of social fitness. He was so much a citizen of the timeless world that he seemed

to thousands of his neighbors worse than useless as a New Englander as the "irrepressible conflict" approached. He was so broadly human that he was a tardy partisan. The things that he thought and said seemed to the majority mystical and impertinent. Men whose narrowness was their virtue denounced his breadth as vice. Yet some of these same men lived to acknowledge that, at the supreme moment, Emerson was in the conflict with ten thousand disciples whom he had formed into large true men.

The sociologist who has exerted more influence than any other in France during the last thirty years got his influence by predicting just what befell France in the war with Prussia. He studied social conditions in France and pointed out the direction in which they afterward proved to be tending.[1] Ability to make similar forecasts is the end at which the sociologists aim. They believe it possible so to organize and improve methods of inquiry about society that great gain may be made in our ability not only to foresee but to foreordain. To further fix the sociologists' point of view, I pass then to some of their more general ideas about methods of studying society.

To illustrate the sociologists' view of the ways in which we must learn to study society, in order to get what we can discover into truthful shape, let us imagine that we are for the first time confronting the question, What are the inside facts of society?

Let us suppose that this question had never been asked before. Suppose that we had meanwhile acquired all the ideas of logic, and of science, and of the laws of scientific evidence which we now possess. How would we go to work to discover the inside facts of society?

If we had no well-established sciences of human life, or sciences dealing with men in society, to embarrass us in marking out a method appropriate to our task, men of modern scientific temper, trained under the rules which modern science has tested by experience, would doubtless proceed somewhat in this way: They would begin by taking a fair, full, clear view of the whole

[1] *Vide* JOUR. OF SOC., March 1897, "The Le Play Method of Social Observation."

range of facts with which their question deals. They would say to themselves: The thing that we want to understand is this immemorial complex of coöperating men in which we find ourselves forming a part during our passing day. The fact that greets our eyes is that men fill the world; they crowd upon each other; they express in outward action their inward thought. This expression of thought brings things to pass. It makes and remakes the mold of institutions within which individual careers are pursued. It modifies people. It transforms all the human elements in the world. This human action and reaction is, on the one hand, never the same in two successive years. On the other hand, it is all one endless, incessant, indivisible process from beginning to end. The men on the stage of action never change all together and at once. They relieve each other in relays or shifts. There is total substitution of actors after a while, but by such means that unbroken continuity of action is preserved. It is all one long, mixed, mysterious commingling process. To our first view it is simply continuance. We cannot find its beginning; we cannot find its end. Men have lived together and rubbed against each other, and so have produced all our ways of life, such as they are.

Can we grasp all this in a single view that will help us hold it before the mind's eye for inspection? Yes, we can sum it up in one word—*association* or *society*—always meaning by it *human* association or society. That word gives us a unified object of thought. It does not explain anything that we want to know, but it presents the thing to be explained as a single concept. The implications of this concept are to be discovered, and we have only put the stupendously complex question in more convenient shape when we reduce it to the easy form. What are the facts about association or society? The term society stands for all the people whose presence within the world-making process, at any time, earlier or later, has in any degree affected the process. Society, then, means the total of effective human beings working in their various ways within the bounds of time and space which our human career has occupied. It is reason-

able to assume that this time and space-filling reality—society—has exhibited some regularities and irregularities capable of formulation in general propositions. It is probable that human associations, closely scrutinized, will demonstrate qualities of the human factors concerned. It is likely that there are general principles of action and effect illustrated in all this mass and variety of association. It is to be assumed that if our minds could take in all that has occurred among men we should have a systematized body of knowledge about the operative forces wherever men are in association. It is probable that this body of knowledge would serve to make men more intelligent in the future than they have been in the past about social conduct. Let us, therefore, set ourselves to know this reality, society. Surely by such knowledge alone may we wisely order our lives.

We are supposing in all this, *first*, that our hypothetical students of society have all the intellectual tools now at our disposal; *second*, that they are entirely unhampered by conventional scientific divisions of territory with their traditions. Under that supposition the first thing which such men would plan would be methodical collection of facts bearing upon social reality. From time to time they would adopt theories about the facts, and use them as tools of search. For simplicity we may neglect this element in the process. Whether as products of pure speculation about the facts, or as generalizations of things really observed, students would be obliged to adopt provisional groupings of facts as means of covering the ground most carefully. We need not attempt to prove that there is but one possible system of groupings adequate to organize the facts. It is by no means sure what will finally seem to be the best classification of social facts, or whether any single classification will prove the best. Our present outlook makes desirable, in the first place, a classification of facts, as, *first*, those that pertain primarily to the individual in all his characteristics, physical and psychical; *second*, those that pertain primarily to associated individuals, in all associated characteristics, whether physical or psychical.

Proceeding along this line we should discover before long that the above distinction is not matched by a corresponding separation in fact between the human individual and the associated individual. We should find that all persons are associated persons. This discovery brings with it two results: first, to know the individual we shall have to follow him out of himself into his correlations with others; second, to know the correlations which are constituted by associations of men we must know their elements, as these are located in the make-up of the individuals who produce the associations. That is, while we may distinguish the phases of knowledge needed by the standpoint—whether individual or collective—from which we begin a particular research, the knowledges always run into each other, and find themselves, at last, either as like parts of larger wholes, or as respectively less and more inclusive portions of the same whole. For instance, if we are studying the life of a town, we may deal in turn with its physiography, natural and artificial; its industries; its government; its educational, charitable, artistic, social, or devotional institutions. Each of these portions of the whole called "the town" is meaningless or deceptive if held separate from the other parts. Then there may be more minute analysis of each of these segments or systems within the town, as, for example, the school system, the things so discovered being subordinate parts in one of the many large divisions of the group.

In pursuing this way of approach to the inside facts of society we should presently find ourselves asking in turn all the questions which the biologist asks about life in general, and which the physiologist and the physical anthropologist ask about human life in particular. We should also find ourselves asking all the questions which the psychologist asks about the mental facts of individual action. In other words, we should encounter the need of developing the same sciences of individual life which have already started into existence without any help from sociology. Keeping up our artificial assumption of entirely unconventional study, we should very likely act like an

army overrunning a hostile country. As fast as we reached these strategic positions we should detail garrisons to hold the territories thus occupied, *i. e.*, we should detach from the main body of men in pursuit of the inside facts of society special bodies to pursue special phases of facts as parts of the whole body of knowledge which we are seeking.

Suppose still that the army of students, marching and skirmishing under a clear-headed leader, should keep asking, What are the inside facts of society? They would presently hit on the discovery that there are a great many facts which manifest themselves only in individuals, but they are parts of a physical or a psychical process which can be understood only by knowing about reactions with other individuals. Here we should be on the borderland in which individual facts merge into social facts. In other words, we should be asking the questions which prompt men to develop the sciences of ethnology and folk psychology, or social psychology, and history. Again we should discover that there are other facts or realities which do not in like fashion come to light merely in individuals. They have their incorporation in symbols or institutions by which men are controlled. Such realities are language, literature, religions, philosophies, sciences, arts, legal, economic, and governmental systems. In view of these latter realities we should be prompted to ask the questions which have been making the sciences of comparative philology, comparative literature, comparative religion, comparative philosophy (or history of philosophy) and which are likely to make sciences or systems of comparative science, art, jurisprudence, economics, and administration.

A moment's inspection will discover that in all this we should be asking in the first instance historical questions merely, *i. e.*, What have been the facts in these different subdivisions of human reality? We should not long be content with questions of this sort. In so far as the realities are still vital we should want to make examinations of them also at right angles, so to speak, with the historical way of looking at them. We should want cross sections of these various groups of facts—philosophies of

them. Thus we should ask the same manner of questions that have produced, besides logic and rhetoric and psychology, political and juridical and economic and ethical science.

If we review this hypothetical course of study we see that we have thus started without conventional restrictions, but led on by discoveries in the facts themselves we have gradually separated the things worth knowing about the facts into divisions closely corresponding with the departments of knowledge that have come into existence experimentally.

Not referring at present to any further divisions of knowledge, but supposing for the sake of argument that the above named cover the whole territory, would the examination thus outlined finish up the list of questions which our minds would propose? As a matter of fact very few persons have ever felt the need of going beyond some one or two of these divisions of inquiry. In pursuing knowledge within one of these territories most men find occupation difficult enough, and so, either from lack of curiosity or from inability to satisfy curiosity within their special field, they never feel impelled to pursue inquiries further. Occasionally a man has placed himself outside the group of facts which he knew best, and has tried to put them into intelligible relation with other facts which he knew. Cases in point are the so-called philosophies of history. From various theological, philosophical, or scientific grounds their authors have tried to find a nexus between seemingly chaotic events.

Let us suppose ourselves to have reached the point in social inquiry where we are eager to combine the results of historical research about many different kinds of facts into a clear revelation about general social influences. We have not thereby created a demand for knowledge of distinctively new subject-matter. We have discovered our need of further organization of what is known about the old subject-matter. This demand will surely call for additions to the things known, and also for new processes in organizing this increasing knowledge. In these new processes new questions will be proposed, and they will reach out after entirely new answers.

For instance, suppose we have been asking some historical questions about a given period, say the beginning of the French Revolution. Let us suppose that we have asked and answered the question, What caused the French Revolution? Now the question arises, What causes revolutions? Here is a new problem, and the previous inquiry does little to solve it. In the first place we find ourselves bound to search for a clew to the character of revolutions. What is a revolution? In one case it is a change from pastoral industry and nomadic habits to agriculture and fixed settlements. In another case it is a change from patriarchal to kingly government. In another the displacement of one religion by another. Again it is the overthrow of a dynasty, or of a theology, or of an economic theory, or once more it is the enlargement of the sphere of social operations, as by the discoveries of the fifteenth century, or it is the displacement of mechanical agencies by others, as in the industrial revolution of the present century. What is a revolution? It is a change within society, profoundly agitating and reordering the members of society. It is as manifold as the possible ways in which society may be changed. What causes revolutions? Our few and meager studies in history furnish us here and there a single case in point, but no sufficient basis of induction. In one case it is intolerable oppression. In another it is successful war. In another, famine. In another, fanaticism. In another, dogmatism. In another, decay of faith. In others, greed, love of adventure, race jealousy, dynastic pride, political expediency, commercial ambition, or an outbreak of sheer social madness. The historian of a certain type fulfills his mission if in one case he fully makes out the actual cause or causes of a single revolution; say the oligarchic revolution of the Thirty in Athens, the Gracchian revolution in Rome, the successive revolutions under the Cæsarian empire, the deposition of the Merovingians, the ecclesiastical revolution under Hildebrand, the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, the revolution of the continental state system at the close of the eighteenth century, the social revolutions in

England, Russia, and America, enfranchising artisans, serfs, and slaves.

Surveying such a group of realities we come to see that among associated men there are innumerable changes similar in form, dissimilar in substance, and as yet unaccounted for in cause and operation. We simply suspect at the outset that there are certain kinds and numbers of influences operating in all associations to bring about these like, yet unlike, results. It may seem rash and utopian to propose an effort to make these forces intelligible, yet this is precisely what the sociologists demand. They claim that knowledge about society is merely stray glimpses shot into scattering incidents of human life, it is abortive pedantry, it is dallying with stray fragments of information, unless it is so organized that the largest truth present in the incidents is evident. This enlightening organization of knowledge is not history, at least in the primary sense, but it is dependent on history. The process which the sociologist calls for at this point is to the historian's task somewhat as the public prosecutor's is to that of the various detectives who work up evidence on a case. One man traces out a series of facts about the personal habits of the accused; another follows out his business transactions; another his private speculations; another his political schemes; another certain exceptional and special acts which have a possible connection with the case. All this detective work may have been guided by a theory about the case, but at last, at any rate, the attorney takes these different sorts of evidence and weaves them into a coherent, self-consistent setting for the particular act in question. This combining work is a process quite distinct from that of collecting and sifting the evidence.

So with the explanation of social phenomena. They are the point of intersection of many factors which we need to know, first, in general, as typical and constant social forces. Then they must be known in particular, as they emerge in the special case under consideration. The process of deriving these insights into social forces in general is so independent and peculiar that its

distinctness from the process of getting less generalized results should be beyond question.

With the case of revolutions as a sample it would not take long to make a catalogue of like questions which present a whole schedule of new scientific problems. These are not ingenious riddles, of no value except for amusement. They are inquiries after constant and general modes of social influence. We shall not understand inside social facts until we have asked all possible questions, and have made out the truth about these social forces. For instance, we are concerned to generalize knowledge on such fundamental questions as these: What are the laws of the interplay of influences that produce different types of society, such as the militant, the industrial, the individualistic, the collectivistic? What influences make stationary and what fluctuating social conditions? What conditions tend to perpetuate dominant industrialism, what to foster idealism? What social conditions tend to make the type of persons comprising the society more complete and symmetrical? What tends to the contrary result? According to what principles do the different classes of human desires come to have varying proportions of influence in society? What are the forms in which human associations arrange themselves, and what are the laws of reaction between these mere forms and the psychical forces which produce them? Are there discoverable principles that express the laws of the influence of individuals upon institutions, and, conversely, of institutions upon individuals?

These are not questions which seem to be connected with living human interests. Answers to them seem, moreover, beyond the reach of the human mind. Certain people find it hard to believe that if answers could be found they would have any bearing upon human pursuits. To the sociologist, however, these questions have an importance like that which the physicist finds in primary problems of mechanical action. Men first laboriously invented the lever, the wedge, the wheel and axle, the pulley, the screw, and the inclined plane. For centuries they used them without thinking much beyond or about them.

Then a few people began to be more comprehensive in their thinking. They tried to detect and define the elements of force that operated in these primitive machines. They tried to make general formulas of their actions, and gradually there evolved from simple practical mechanics the modern type of physicists, who in turn make possible the development of more skilled and resourceful mechanics. Precisely parallel is the programme of the sociologists. Men have been going through the motions of association for untold centuries, but have thought comparatively little about those motions, the forces that sustain them, or the results that they produce. The type of thinkers has now appeared that will try to define and generalize these social forces, their forms of actions, and their products. Their purpose is to make society so intelligent about itself that it can presently direct its acts toward more rational aims, and can organize individual effort for more effective coöperation.

It has no doubt appeared in the foregoing that two general questions about the facts of society are inextricably involved with each other, viz.: first, how did social arrangements come to be as they are? Second, how does it come about that social arrangements stay as they are? The latter question seems to assume what is not true, but there is a phase of reality corresponding with the assumption. The former question sums up all the inquiries that belong to history in the broadest sense, as Herbert Spencer has outlined the business of history. Dr. Lester F. Ward has supplied a better phrase, when he groups all these facts and interpretations under the head "social genesis." The latter question sets in motion all the investigations which the sociologist would group under the general title of "social statics." Professor Ward has also clearly shown that the general truths formulated by genetic and statical interpretation of social facts may be grouped together under the term "social mechanics." Each of these groups of inquiries casts light on the other, and it is probable that progress toward final results will be by means of parallel advances toward settlement of the two sorts of questions. Thus each manifestation of a social

force, as in "imitation," "social supremacy," "consciousness of kind," raises first the question, What is the force behind the manifestation? and then the question, What rôle has this force played in the past, and what rôle does it play in the present? All study of what has been and of what now is in society falls within one or the other of these divisions of inquiry, or it is a combination of them.

What inferences should be drawn from this survey of social study, as the field would present itself to a naïve mind equipped with right methodological principles, and unspoiled by conventions and prejudice? In the first place, the inference that pretentious generalizations about laws of social progress or social order must be regarded with grave suspicion, until the facts of human experience have been much more thoroughly canvassed than they are likely to be for generations to come. In the second place, that in preparation either for practical judgments upon immediate social conditions, or for larger philosophical generalizations of more typical conditions, it is worth while to acquire breadth and poise of judgment by the largest possible familiarity with what is known about social cause and effect in the past, and about reciprocal social influences in the present. In the third place, there is no likelihood that anybody will reach any central fact from which by deduction we can answer in detail, from general to special, the questions involved in the inquiry, What are the inside facts of society? There is accordingly no short cut or royal road to a comprehensive sociology. The sociological problem is in the first stage a collection of minor problems, either historical or contemporary. The people who will make permanent contributions to the development of social philosophy are those who will have patience to select distinct problems, and work upon them until the last available evidence is collected, and the results are in shape to be organized into the whole body of social explanation. There is no special kind of fact which deserves to be called sociological *par excellence* in distinction from historical, or ethnological, or economic, or political, or demographic facts. There are uses of the facts, correlations of

them, which take them out of the range of the special sciences. There are other facts which, when collected, may become the material of coördinate sciences not yet developed. There are also kinds of facts which are needed to fill out a complete schedule of social knowledge, but might not become the recognized preserve of any special science. Such, *e. g.*, are facts which are likely to constitute sanitary science; facts foreshadowing sciences or departments of knowledge about dependents, defectives, and delinquents; facts about the conditions of labor; facts about the effect of physical and moral conditions of labor upon all the other elements of life; facts about the reactions between all the other institutions of society, from the family to the government; and last, but not least, facts about the judgments and standards of judgment that prevail in the living generation. In these last are the springs of social action.

It may be said that every kind of fact thus referred to falls within the province of some science other than sociology. Even if this were true, the like might be said of every fact with which the science of medicine has to deal; yet the professor of the theory and practice of medicine has distinctly different problems from those of anatomist, physiologist, morphologist, chemist, etc. The like is also true of geology, whose facts are the proper material of physics, chemistry, palæontology, mineralogy, petrography, etc. The room for sociology is found in the need of making larger combinations of social facts than are proper in sciences which necessarily proceed by abstraction.

It is not true, therefore, that problems of sociology fall within the province of other sciences. Sociology attempts to do what the more special sciences of society have very properly refused to do, viz., it confronts real conditions, while the other sciences deal with abstractions. But while abstraction is a necessary step to knowledge, it is not the final step. So soon as economist, political scientist, moralist, statistician, demographer, or sanitarian undertakes to explain, or in any way to deal with a whole social condition as it is encountered in reality —for instance, the relation of a school, a saloon, a trust, a

political boss to the whole plexus of social relations—he steps out of his special province to tread a different soil, talk a different language, use different tools, and work at different tasks from those of his specialty, and then his abstraction will lead to perversion unless it is harmonized with other abstractions. This harmonizing, or synthesizing, or integrating process has not yet been sufficiently provided for in social science. In other words, the sociologist maintains that specialism is partialism unless it is organized into realism. The sociologist demands, therefore, that the light of all special social knowledge shall be thrown upon the actual activities of living men. He is trying to organize attempts to achieve perfectly adequate social self-consciousness. If he actually proceeds with this end in view, a sociological scholar may choose between several sorts of alternative. He may devote himself exclusively to problems of a very special nature—like the relation of various types of liquor legislation to the morale of citizens; or the social influences peculiar to rural settlements; or the positive and negative factors apparent in the process of adjustment between whites and blacks in a given community; or he may devote himself to the quite different task of organizing and formulating various kinds of results from such special researches, or from more general investigation. There is no basis for sociology in addition to the collection and interpretation of the general or the special facts, historical and contemporary, thus referred to, and the organization of those facts, first, into a vast system of evolutionary interpretation, like that of which Spencer has proposed a scheme, and, second, into a vast chart of social correlations, like that of Schaeffle's *Bau und Leben.* For an indefinite time to come sociology as a set of "principles" will exist only in the visions of speculators.

With reference to all these questions of fact about society, and so far as the kinds of explanation are concerned which this paper has discussed, the sociologists are contending for a programme, a perspective, and a method. They ask for correlation and coöperation of sciences, not for liberty to substitute a new science. The purpose of integrating social investigation so that,

taken altogether, it will report the social reality, instead of dissecting lifeless parts abstracted from the reality, may produce many new subdivisions of social science. In this connection, however, the sociologists are merely trying to think out methodically a correlation of labor which the problems for investigation must sooner or later compel scholars to adopt. They are calling upon the scattered forces of social scholarship to multiply their effectiveness by recognizing the economy of appropriate method. The valid methodology of all the independent social sciences, organized from the point of view here outlined, and reinforced by the study of every actual concrete condition that contains any exhibit of permanent social forms and forces, must constitute that method. In conformity with this method each of the older divisions of research into facts about society not only retains its importance but greatly increases its importance. In isolation, sciences, or divisions of knowledge, or groups of investigations and conclusions, are meaningless. Organized so that each complements the rest they become eloquent. The point of view of the sociologists focalizes all possible researches about social facts into a composite picture of the whole reality.

As was said at the beginning, it is not the purpose of this paper to explain the distinctive work of sociologists. We have been dealing with the demands of correct method upon all kinds of scholars who have a part in explaining society. It must not be inferred that the sociologists thus read themselves out of the list of needed students of society, or that they merely give themselves a new name, but are only duplicating the work carried on under other names. On the contrary, they insist upon the need of correlating positive investigation of social facts because the problems which they want to study must remain insoluble enigmas until more positive evidence is gathered and organized. From the sociologists' point of view the hardest problems, and the ones closest to human interests, will remain to be solved after all that has been outlined above is realized.

In sociology, as in all the physical sciences, there are

scholars who think that learning loses caste if it lends itself to any human use. These worthies should be humored as patiently as may be, and not taken too seriously. They do not materially weaken the general truth that present sociology frankly proposes the improvement of society as its final purpose. It would not require much argument to show that this purpose must evidently encounter distinct problems after all questions of fact have been answered. The great service and merit of the sociologists thus far has been in contending for correlation and integration of knowledge, and in pointing out that time will be saved in the end by making sure of our evidence. This is, however, a matter of method. After all available knowledge of society shall have been set in order the real task of the sociologists will begin. In addition to the genetic and the static interpretation of ascertained facts, there is another division of inquiry hinted at above, which had hardly been entered until certain sociologists began to explore it. Of all the facts with which social science has to do the most significant and potential are the facts about the feelings and judgments that actuate living men. Stripped of all conventionality, and reduced to most simple expression, the most practical question for students of society today is: What do living people think good for themselves, and what justification is there in the nature of things for these judgments? The power that estops or enforces all other social influence is the judgment that living men have accepted about what is desirable. Whatever may have been the prevalent form of moral philosophy, effective moral standards have always been the algebraic sum of concrete judgments about the things convenient for the persons judging. Not only this, but the nature of moral mechanics is such that when action is necessary no other test of what is good for men is possible. No effort for human improvement is rational which aims to effect improvement in human action of a sort not recognizable as good by the persons concerned. In so far, then, as we regard human conditions as dependent upon the volitions of the persons within these conditions, we are forced back to the judgments of those persons respecting desirable

conditions, as the standing ground of social influence—the starting point, the foundation, the fulcrum of progress. The necessary working basis of social improvement today is accordingly the body of judgments lodged in the minds of living men about the things that are essentially desirable. If it should be found that men today believe some things desirable which are demonstrably impossible, an obvious task of social education must be to chase from the popular mind all speculations after these impossibilities. If the things judged desirable are demonstrably self-contradictory, then a social and a sociological problem is to discover means of proving this incompatibility. If, however, the things deemed desirable are not opposed to known human uses, and are not prohibited by the facts of human conditions, the desire for them must be regarded as a veracious self-expression. It then becomes a social and a sociological task to interpret the desires so expressed, to find appropriate objects for them, and to correlate those objects into a coherent system of social aims. This, in brief, is the problem of social teleology. No one has yet fully stated the problems to be solved in this division of social inquiry. They are the key to all constructive thinking about human improvement. There can be no very stable theories of social action until there are convincing standards of social aim.

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SCIENTIFIC VALUE OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.

No present-day effort for the elevation of society has attracted more attention, or been less understood, than what is known as the social-settlement movement. Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement, was founded about fifteen years ago. Since then the movement has spread, and there are now some seventy-five of these social clearing houses, of which forty-five are in American cities. Eleven of these are in Chicago. The Chicago settlements have formed themselves into a settlement federation that meets quarterly to discuss problems of city life.

It is difficult accurately to define a social settlement, as the work is so unique, differing according to the problems of the community. The Chicago federation spent several of its meetings in trying to formulate an adequate definition, but finally concluded not to be too hasty in the matter. So they left the forming of a definition to some future time when the settlement movement will have more history behind it. As what can be accepted as an adequate definition cannot therefore be given, a brief description of the events that led to the founding of Toynbee Hall will perhaps best introduce the subject.

The university-extension movement may be said to have opened the way; or, to be more accurate, the university-extension idea took root in the English universities at the same time that the social-settlement movement began; and both were the result of a dawning democratic spirit in the social evolution of England. It took the form of a generous sentiment in the English universities which demanded that wealth and culture should give the best it had to those who needed it most. Ruskin, Maurice, and Professor Green were among the personalities who heralded this sentiment. The large-hearted English character could not rest until this new idea was thoroughly explored. On the one hand Cambridge opened the mysteries of its lecture

rooms to the masses and the university-extension method was born; on the other hand graduate students from Oxford were soon in the Whitechapel district among the social exiles of East London, and laid the foundation of the settlement movement by sharing the culture of university life with those who needed it most.

Edward Denison led the way in 1867, the same year that the university-extension movement began in Cambridge. Many students followed Denison's example, and the work went on quietly for eight years. It was then taken up by a young economist of unusual promise. Arnold Toynbee recognized the debt of education to labor, and consecrated his life to the "social self-expression of culture."

Toynbee aimed to raise the standard of life in the Whitechapel district by discussing the problems of the day with the laboring men and teaching them the principles of political economy. In his lectures much of the material of his admirable history of the English industrial revolution was given to the workingmen at first hand. He believed that the best he could give was none too good for the "sons of toil." He expected to learn much from their criticisms, and in testing the learning of the economist by the inside facts of their lives, rich in economic experience, he opened many avenues of social investigation. The workingmen hated political economy. They called it the tool of the factory system. Toynbee hoped to help remove this prejudice by living out the principles of his science among them, and showing them by social experimentation and judicious teaching how the wise application of economic knowledge could raise their standard of living and begin to solve the problems that stared them in the face. He really builded better than he knew. The experiment proved a success. Although the laboring men refused to open their arms to political economy, as it then appeared, they accepted the man. The work Toynbee hoped to establish about economic theories was established about a personality. He gave what he was as well as what he had. Labor recognized the ring of truth in the gift and

accepted it with honest hearts. This sharing of himself, of his personality, of his life, was the true test of Toynbee's work, and underlies the value of the social-settlement movement.

Toynbee spent several years lecturing on political economy, and meeting the leaders of the workingmen socially to discuss problems of social and economic life. In these conferences Toynbee saw the great value of testing economic theories by the experimental logic of these muscular-brained workingmen, and admired their keen criticisms. One thing that impressed him deeply was the neighborliness of the poor, and that amidst all of this poverty were to be found personalities and organizations that, if rightly directed, could be utilized for the salvation of the community. With these natural agencies, by wisely studying and directing them, he hoped to do his principal work.

Toynbee did not live to see the result of his labors, but there were plenty of young lives at Oxford that have been touched by his consecration who were ready to take up the work where he laid it down. His death seemed to be a special stimulus. A large sum of money was raised to carry on a permanent work in memory of his noble life. A colony of university students was planned, splendid buildings were erected, and soon, with Canon Barnett as warden, Toynbee Hall began its work.

The settlement idea has taken firm hold of the universities, and, to some extent, of the churches, during these first fifteen years of its history, and the residents of the different settlements, while they do not claim to rank among the prominent thinkers of the day, are widely recognized as those whose studies of social conditions, and experience in trying to find the most scientific method of accelerating social progress are of no small value. Their knowledge of what is actually occurring within society makes their conclusions as to the most natural methods of reform important. This knowledge is of double value because it comes from within the social stream itself, and because every community has its own individual problems, which differ more or less from the problems of every other community.

The experiments of the different settlements will accordingly be modified by the problems of their neighborhoods, as will also their aims and methods. This may be shown by the following expressions from resident and non-resident workers of some of the important settlements.

Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, London.

The settlement as a whole takes no attitude on religion or national politics. Most of the men are political radicals. The position of nearly all on economic and social questions is somewhat more conservative than one might expect. As to religious preferences, there have been among the residents churchmen, nonconformists, Roman Catholics, Jews and unsectarians.—MR. R. A. WOODS, in *English Social Movements*.

Hull House, 19th Ward, Chicago.

Hull House is neither a university settlement nor a college settlement; it calls itself a social settlement, and attempts to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an attempt to add the social function to democracy.—MISS JANE ADDAMS, in the *Forum*, November 1892.

Chicago Commons, 17th Ward, Chicago.

The settlement is as little of an organization and as much of a personal relationship as it can be made. It seeks to unify and help all other organizations and people in the neighborhood that make for righteousness and brotherhood. It is not a church, but hopes to be a helper of all the churches. It is not a charity, but expects to aid in the organization and coöperation of all existing charities. It is not an exclusive social circle, but aspires to be a center of the best social life and interests of the people. It is not a school, but purposes to be a source and agency of educational effort and culture. It is non-political, yet has begun to be a rallying point and moral force for civic patriotism. It is non-sectarian, but avowedly Christian, and openly coöperative with the churches.—PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR, circular.

University of Chicago Settlement, Stock Yards District, Chicago.

The settlement work is not the presentation of an ism or theory, but of life. It is carried on on the principle that what men want primarily in the struggle for life is life itself and not theories about life.—MISS MARY MCDOWELL.

University Settlement, New York.

Unlike the many utopian dreams of the earlier communism, the scheme I have been proposing does not seek to isolate a group of families from contact

with their surrounding society, or to disregard the present conditions and motives of life. On the contrary, it plants itself in the midst of the modern city.—DR. STANTON COIT, in *Neighborhood Guilds.*

East Side House, New York.

The settlement is not a machine; its education must be empirical and reciprocal, its ruling principle closer mutual understanding and sympathy; it stands for the giving of life by life. All men of every class have something to give and something to get. Everyone should be eager to share his own and take his meed. Let the disposition to do good through others' agency be supplanted as far as possible by the desire to know and to do at first hand. —*Second Annual Report.*

Philadelphia College Settlement.

The best thing that a settlement offers its residents is not experience, but sincerity of life. . . . . In a settlement one knows that, whether one achieves much or little, one has at least placed one's life at the point of greatest need in the modern world, between those alienated classes which cry out for a mediator.—MISS VIDA D. SCUDDER, in *Wellesley Magazine*, February 1893.

This language, from the deep experience of the most thoughtful and hard-working residents, expresses what the work that has grown up in their neighborhood means to them; and when we have summed up these expressions into a general statement, we have the following idea of the present status of this movement, which might almost serve as a definition:

The social settlement, being in nowise utopian or institutional in its aims, but empirical, reciprocal, and broadly religious in its method, plants itself at the point of greatest need in the modern city to make life more wholesome and sincere, the environment more elevating, and to mediate between the alienated classes by making a sincere effort toward adding the social function to democracy.

The method of this work, as I shall now attempt to explain, is scientific in that it is empirical, reciprocal, mediatory, and positive along the lines of social evolution. It takes society as it finds it, and

1. *It tries to understand it*, (*a*) by studying the real facts of the lives of the people, sympathetically and helpfully, (*b*) by studying the social forces of the community.

2. It attempts to improve the social environment by accelerating the process of social evolution.

3. It tries to test economic and social laws by actual experimentation in turning the lives and forces of the community into channels that the students of social science have discovered to be socially ethical.

The ideal toward which society is moving is a perfect life. No one can adequately define this goal, because ethical standards are continually changing. The best that the scientific method can do is to interpret existing social tendencies and forces, and suggest methods and principles of amelioration and acceleration. But these principles and methods cannot be accepted until they have been thoroughly tested. Utopianism, for example, is not ordinarily scientific, because it is not the logical result of existing laws. The only scientific method of helping the process of social evolution is by working from *within* the social structure. This principle holds in all departments of human activity. The scientific breeder of fine stock, for example, cannot adequately define his goal. He simply tries to discover the traits of character he wishes to perpetuate in his stock, and studies nature's method of reaching this end. He keeps on experimenting, modifying, and perfecting his theories as new facts are brought to light.

Likewise the resident of a social settlement, wishing to preserve and strengthen certain good traits of character in a neighborhood, and to rid the neighborhood of others that are bad, looks to the social sciences for suggestions that will help him discover the forces that have worked in the lives of his neighbors. He then tries to apply these suggestions so as to perpetuate the traits that will raise the standard of life and morals in the neighborhood. Then as he gathers new facts and experiences he modifies his methods accordingly. Miss Jane Addams, in an address at the opening reception of Chicago Commons, warned us not to be alarmed if we found our ethical standards broadening as we became better acquainted with the real facts of the lives of our neighbors. This warning was true prophecy.

When we remember what we thought about things then, and what we know about them now, we realize that our ethical standards and methods have indeed broadened. A good illustration of this is our attitude toward the saloon. We looked upon the saloon keeper as the agent of immorality and crime in the neighborhood, and would have nothing to do with him. But many facts came to our attention that gave us a great deal of thinking to do. We found two kinds of saloons, the neighborhood and the concert type. Most of the keepers of these neighborhood saloons were foreigners who respected their families and business, and looked upon themselves as good citizens. They allowed no immorality or disorder in their saloons. Many of these men were loud in denouncing corrupt politics, and wanted honest aldermen elected.

The concert saloons were centers of immorality and crime. Lewdness, profanity, and drunkenness were here opened up to the public. Women who passed these places were insulted. Corrupt politicians made these dens their headquarters, and things were generally bad.

When the residents of Chicago Commons took steps to organize a council of the Civic Federation some of the better class of saloon keepers asked to be admitted as members, and an ethical question arose. Should we reject them because they kept saloons when otherwise they were the type of men we wanted in our federation? Accepting them might mean joining hands with part of the liquor element. We all feel now that the broader ethics was good common sense. It split the saloon vote, closed up every concert saloon in the ward, and finally sent an independent alderman to the city council. We recognized a common ground on which both could stand. The position of the settlement was a protest against the spirit that masses the saloon element on one side and says that everyone connected with it must be entirely ostracized. Other cases could be cited where fuller knowledge of facts modified our ideas of the ethics of our neighbors. This continual modification, brought about by more intimate knowledge of the real lives and condition of

the people, accounts largely for two striking characteristics of social settlements:

1. The residents who remain any length of time generally change their social point of view.

2. There is a remarkable difference in the character of the work and life of the different settlements.

In connection with the point of view from which those who come into residence look at the work, we have found at Chicago Commons what is probably true of most settlements, that each newcomer has a different way of looking at his relation to things.

1. There is the sentimentalist, who has heard what terrible sufferings the poor are obliged to endure, and hopes to sate his sentimentalism on heartbreaking scenes of misery. But he soon realizes that suffering is only a relative thing, and that he knew nothing about the real misery of the poor.

2. There is the wealthy son of fortune, who feels a prick of conscience at his extravagant way of living, and hopes to satisfy this by living in the slums for a time. Many of these, after living in the settlement, have felt that they could never return to their old ways of life again, and have become thoughtful and efficient residents.

3. There is the methodical student of economics and statistics, who cares for the poor only so far as they are able to furnish facts for his science. These remind us of Professor Peabody's remark, that "science without sentiment is like an engine without steam. It is a beautiful piece of mechanism, but cannot do anything." The settlement should never be looked upon as a statistical laboratory. The poor rarely give their confidence to anyone except a friend. Privacy is as sacred to them as it is to us, and we have no right to go to them in any other capacity than that of a friendly visitor.

4. There is the young clergyman whose heart aches at the ignorance and destitution all about him, but despairs of bringing a personal knowledge of Christ to the multitude. In him the process of changing the point of view is most painful and bewildering.

But in all of these cases, sooner or later, there comes a change of point of view, and the resident becomes a student of the facts of the life of his neighborhood, and begins to study the social forces as they are, not as he pictured them from the outside. A scientific way of viewing facts has unconsciously taken possession of him, because he is viewing them from the inside. He has put himself in the social stream, and if he is a student at all must be scientific.

On the other hand, this method of viewing facts and working from the inside with a neighborhood to discover the best way of improving its standard of life is a prime source of difference between settlements. The Hull House, for example, in a community of Italians and Russian Jews, where less than 10 per cent. of the population are Protestant, and where the sweating system seems to center, differs widely from Chicago Commons, where the Italians are mostly fruit peddlers and where the Scandinavians, a Protestant people, have a decided sentiment for independent citizenship.

The residents of a settlement have two methods of carrying on this work—the organized and the unorganized. There is a feeling, especially among those who have been the longest in residence at the settlements, that the unorganized work is the most valuable and vital, and where organization is necessary it should simply supplement the unorganized or personal work. Those who believe that the settlement movement is opening up the correct method of social service are fearful of any tendency to institutionalize the work. The organized work is made the servant of the unorganized work. It is far better, we say, to study the organizations already in the community and develop their social possibilities than to think out some new form of organization and force it upon the people. The organizations already here have grown out of the natural needs of the people. No matter how much evil has crept into them, they began and have developed along the lines of social evolution, and have the principles of nature underlying them. The settlement residents study to find a way to turn existing organizations into the chan-

nels of social progress. To do this they join these organizations and are generally elected to offices, where they can study and execute with the greatest advantage. "Make haste slowly" is the watchword. Join the neighborhood organization. Trace its history, growth, and possibilities. Then, little by little, point its policy. When all of the social forces already in a community are studied and understood, and not till then, is it safe to attempt many new organizations. When an important experiment in turning some social force into its proper channel needs an organization at the settlement, the character of this new work should be simply to meet some need of the community and to unify the social forces that can supply this need.

Of this nature is the educational work of Chicago Commons and other settlements. It is more an educational clearing house than an institution of learning. It aims to awaken among the people a larger interest in educational advantages. So the branches taught in the night classes touch every side of life not already provided for by other institutions in the community. There are classes in

Domestic economy.—Sewing, cooking, dressmaking, embroidery, and lace making.

Art.—Lectures with stereopticon, children s and adult classes in drawing and painting, sketching classes in the parks, picture loans and exhibitions, class visits to the art galleries—each of these occasions aiming to help generate a broad art spirit in the community.

Music.—Choruses for children and adults, musical evenings, vocal and instrumental group classes, concerts for Italians—the very best music being brought to those who need it the most.

Social education.—The social clubs aim to teach methods of social enjoyment that are healthful and can take the place of the dance hall and cheap theater. They also unify and supplement the culture studies, and supply the need of a higher grade of sociability.

Industrial classes.—Basket weaving, wood carving, chair caning, and manual training. This work is beginning to solve the

boy problem. It appeals to the toughest gamin, and for the time being makes him quite tractable.

Night school and academy studies.—In these classes study is conducted in the spirit of the family group, with the instructor in the social relation of an elder brother or sister. They supply the need of those whose long hours of labor in the shops and factories have robbed their lives of the intellectual and social element. So instruction is made as pleasant and sociable as possible. A valuable test of the efficacy of the principles underlying the new education is here being made. No more suggestive field of experimental pedagogy can be found than that opened up by the educational work of the social settlements.

The same idea of experimental unification forms the nucleus of the industrial meeting at Chicago Commons. It is not a fixed organization, with complicated machinery of officers and committees to furnish the necessary friction to generate heat. On the contrary, it is an open clearing house for the fair exchange of thought. "All Welcome—Free floor—No favors!" is the watchword. One of the most radical of the radicals pronounced it "the freest floor in America." Here the single taxer, the socialist, the anarchist, the proportional representationist, the communist, the Christian socialist, the clergyman, the economist, the sociologist, and the capitalist meet on a common floor, and have the extremes rubbed from their theories. No one speaker ever has his own way about it, for he is opposed by strong arguments from five or six different schools of opponents. These meetings usually take an ethical turn before the close of the evening. Although the debates seem very shocking to those who hear them for the first time, we who have observed them longest, and know them best, have noticed a hopeful spirit of toleration come, even to the most radical thinkers, after taking part in some of these meetings. Such a result as this certainly has in it a suggestion for the future safety of society.

This function of the settlement as a social clearing house, where rich and poor, learned and ignorant, Catholic and Protestant, capitalist and laborer, can meet on common ground and find

that they are all brothers after all, is the ideal for which the settlement stands. To discover the inside facts of a community, so as to coördinate and direct its social forces, is a work that gives satisfactory results and answers the demand for a scientific method. The settlement resident believes that the evolution of society is as much a process of nature as is organic evolution, and that a broad principle underlies all social processes. The practical and experimental development of this principle, in the spirit of humanity, will perhaps be the most valuable contribution of the settlement movement to the science of sociology.

CHICAGO COMMONS. HERMAN F. HEGNER.

FACTORY LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

OUTLINE.

I. Historical development of the factory system in the United States.
   a) Causes which led to the employment of women.
   b) Extent of their employment.
II. Beginning of the labor legislation in this country.
   a) What led to it.
   b) Classes first affected thereby.
   c) Course of earliest legislation for women.
   d) General trend of legislation for them in the various states.
III. Résumé and discussion of laws in all the states.
IV. Tabulated statements.
V. General results and needs of the future.

In order to understand the meaning of protective legislation it is necessary to look for a little at the beginnings of the factory system, the causes leading to the employment of women, and the conditions which brought about remedial enactments. In America the factory is essentially a product of the present century, although closely following in the wake of the Revolution, we see the first indications of the system. Previous to this time all industries except those purely domestic had been discouraged by the mother country. But for some time after the new nation commenced to think of entering into manufactures the people were at a decided disadvantage. They had no machinery, nor had they the means of making any. The English patents were carefully protected, and it was not until Samuel Slater came to America that fully equipped buildings were made possible here. He had been a worker for years and finally overseer in an English factory, and so knew the machinery thoroughly, plans of which he brought to this country in his head.[1] It was owing to this

[1] "The English law forbade the carrying of plans, models, or machinery to America."—Wright, *Industrial Evolution in the United States*, p. 126.

that the process of manufacture was started in this country. A little later, about 1780, Tench Coxe, known as the "father of American industries," incorporated the "United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting Manufactures," and secured the first spinning jenny seen in America. In a short time he had four hundred women employed.

From the very beginnings of the factories we find women employed. In the colonial days they were hardly an economic factor at all. Their labor was chiefly confined to the house and farm. In addition to mere household duties they found time for much spinning and weaving. But near the close of this period they came to be employed in setting wire teeth in the cards used in preparing cotton for the wheel. This industry grew so rapidly that by 1784 one factory alone employed about 1200 hands, mostly women and children. In many cases the women worked at setting teeth at home. From the earliest times the manufacture of clothing and household stuffs was carried on by the women in the homes, but not as a wage-earning business, however, as the materials produced were used largely in their own families. With the establishment of the cotton factories—the industry which developed first here—it is not strange that the work of the women should be in demand. Their home training had already made them adepts in the domestic arts of spinning and weaving, and so naturally they found their way from the kitchen wheel and loom to the large manufactories. Then, too, they were better fitted than men to do a great deal of the work connected with the new industry. Where deftness of fingers was required, men were certainly less skillful. Later, economic reasons crept in and influenced the employer in his choice of sex, and caused the continually increasing number of women who are employed outside of the home.

Chiefly on account of the conditions surrounding women workers in England, there was strong opposition to their employment in America, but the inventions[1] of the age opened the door, and the women were glad to enter in, as the money earned

[1] "The inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright practically inaugurated the factory

gave them added independence. From the first their work has been supplemental to, rather than competitive with, that of man.

Between the years 1815–1830 we may date the establishment of women wage-earners as a definite economic factor. And as the years have gone on the number of women workers has increased.

The building of factories once commenced, the work continued at a rapid rate. The first[1] large factory with improved machinery was built at Pawtucket, R. I., in 1790. Another mill was erected in the same state in 1795, and two more in Massachusetts in 1802 and 1803. In the next three years ten were built in Rhode Island, and one in Connecticut. By the end of 1809 eighty-seven additional mills had been put up so that a great many were in operation in the opening years of the present century. From that time on the spread of the factory system has been abnormally rapid. It has gone hand in hand with the development of the country's great resources. As early as 1813 we find in Waltham, Mass., the first factory in the world that combined under one roof every process of converting raw cotton into finished cloth. It will be noticed that here we have the birth of the great manufactories about the same time that agitation for remedial legislation[2] was sweeping over England; an agitation which half a century later was to stir this country to the depths.

With the growth of the factory system came conditions[3] which were a menace to the well being of the nation, but it was long before intelligent citizens could be led to see that brutal treatment of women and children together with long hours in unsanitary mills was a danger to the country. In the decade between 1830–1840 we have accounts of vile sanitary conditions,

system in the United States."—WRIGHT, *Industrial Evolution in the United States*, p. 119.

[1] "The first place that can be called a factory was erected at Beverly, Mass., in 1787. It was driven by horse power."—*Ibid.*, p. 124.

[2] First law proposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1802.

[3] Stories of the almost idyllic condition of the women working in the Lowell factories can hardly be regarded as descriptive of typical factory life at that time.

but the women themselves were powerless to effect changes for the better. Partly in consequence[1] of this the mills began to be filled with a poorer order of workers. In three decades marked degeneration had taken place in the condition of the life of the operatives. At last public sympathy was aroused in their behalf, and efforts were made to make the life more endurable for women, as it is around them and the children that sympathy and legislation have always centered. But notwithstanding the increased hardships, the number of women operatives grew greatly. The industrial system drew them in. The increase of women and the relative proportion of the sexes may be seen from the following table:[2]

Year	Number employed		Relative proportion
	Males over 16	Females over 15	
1850	731,137	225,922	1 female to 3.23 males
1860	1,040,349	270,897	1 " " 3.8 "
1870	1,615,598	323,770	1 " " 4.9 "
1880	2,019,035	531,639	1 " " 3.8 "
1890	3,745,123	846,619	1 " " 4.4 "

The above statistics are for the whole country. The actual increase has been steady, but relatively there has been a decrease since 1850 as will be seen. The number of women employed in factories is much greater in the New England and Middle States than in the rest of the country. In 1890 they formed 69 per cent. of the women so employed in the United States. The following table for Massachusetts is interesting as showing the increase:

Year	Number of women	Percentage
1865	32,239	19 per cent. of men
1875	83,207	25 per cent. of men
1890	Women and children $= \frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{5}{6}$ of all employed	

In connection with factory laws, it is instructive to note the states employing the greatest number of women in manufacture.

[1] The opening of other occupations to women must be considered too.

[2] The figures in columns 2 and 3 may be found as follows: 1850–1880, *Tenth*

The following seven are selected as being far ahead of the others in this respect, and we can see from these the great need of good legislation and watchful inspection of so large and important a class.

States	Number employed			Per cent. of total, females form
	Males	Females	Total	
New York	492,679	137,190	629,869	22 per cent
Massachusetts	272,246	98,019	370,265	24 " "
Pennsylvania	451,417	76,860	528,277	14 " "
Ohio	410,362	31,932	242,294	13 " "
New Jersey	131,647	28,914	160.561	18 " "
Delaware	177,471	28,099	205,570	14 " "
Connecticut	89,192	26,899	116,091	23 " "

This host of women engaged in manufactures opens up a great social and economic problem. Why are they so engaged? The answer is self-evident. Their work is necessary under existing arrangements. In Europe, four millions of women are engaged in factory labor, and economists say they could not possibly do without them. Whether this should be so or not is an open question, but the fact remains that in this country many thousands of women are slaving away at body-destroying work and oftentimes for soul-destroying wages.

Before passing on to the beginning of legislation, let us look for a little at the accompanying table showing the number of manufacturing and mechanical industries in which women are engaged, and the actual number of women employed according to the census of 1890, so that we may see the great variety and hardship of their work.

Census, volume on "Statistics of Manufacture," etc., pp. 5, 6, 7, 8; 1890, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, C. D. WRIGHT, p. 206.

N. B. In the figures for 1850 I have adhered to those found in the original census report, and copied into the report of 1880 as above (p. 8). The figures used by MR. WRIGHT in the *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 204, are taken from volume on "Industry and Wealth," *Ninth Census* (1870), p. 406. (See footnote.) Attempts to reconcile the two sets of figures seem to have been unsuccessful. The author writes me that he for some reason preferred those he has used.

Industry	Number of women	Industry	Number of women
Ale and malt	61	Fur workers	616
Agricultural implements	12	Galloon, gimp, and tassel makers	1,542
Artificial flowers	2,887	Glass	564
Bags	739	Glove	1,953
Baskets	1,596	Gold and silver works	1,967
Bakers	1,063	Hair workers	999
Bleachers, dyers, and scourers	649	Harness and saddle makers	1,551
Bone and ivory makers	171	Hat and caps	3,856
Books, etc.	5,191	Hosiery and knitting	7,860
Bottles and mineral waters	69	Iron and steel works	402
Boxes	7,130	Lace makers	1,454
Brass workers	737	Leather case and pocket book	324
Bricks and tiles	68	Other leather works	200
Britannia and japanned ware	114	Preserving meat and fruit	832
Brooms and brushes	642	Mill and factory operatives (not specified)	8,186
Button	2,392	Meat packers	325
Cabinet	480	Oil-mill and refinery operatives	32
Candles, soap and tallow	205	Paper mill	6,179
Carpet	7,106	Print works	1,101
Carriages and wagons	138	Rubber factory	2,058
Cheese	340	Sewing-machine factory operatives	61
In chemical works	414	Sewing-machine operatives	5,805
Cigar makers	5,332	Shirt, collar, and cuff makers	8,660
Clock and watch makers	1,818	Silk-mill operatives	9,211
Confectionery	1,800	Straw workers	2,698
Copper workers	16	Tobacco-factory operatives	5,536
In cotton mills	91,479	Woolen-mill operatives	35,506
In distilleries	8		
In manufactures (not specified)	8,651		
In fertilizer works	12		
Making files, cutters, grinders	22		
Flax dressers	990		

It will be noticed that by far the greatest number of women are employed in the cotton and woolen factories, and the majority of these are in the eastern states.

The struggle for remedial legislation was a long one, and it was fought out first in Massachusetts, which seems natural as it was there that the American factory system had its birth. We may well study the history of the reform movement there.

As early as 1831–2 we find slight agitation, but no definite action in respect to women was taken until 1874, when the "ten-hour law" was passed. By this the work of children under eighteen years, and of women was limited to sixty hours per week. Over thirty years prior (1842) the work of children under

twelve years had been limited to ten hours per day, but it was not until 1874 that the state interfered with the work of adult women. The history of that enactment is suggestive and seems to throw light on subsequent legislation.

The year 1845 was marked by more vehement agitation than had before characterized the reformers. The legislature was flooded with petitions praying for a reduction of the eleven-hour day, which was the rule with corporations. But the legislators met this request with the same vapid arguments in use ever since. Nothing more was done until 1850, when a bill came before the house only to be defeated. Another attempt in 1852 was likewise unsuccessful.

In 1865 we find the appointment of an unpaid commission of five men to investigate in regard to the hours of labor in the factories. This marks the birth of bureaus of labor statistics now found in nearly all civilized countries. A few years later the Massachusetts bureau was formally established. The labor bureaus[1] of this country rank high among the world's statisticians and have been a great benefit to the laborers. The facts laid before the public have assisted in securing good legislation

[1] The following table shows the states having labor bureaus and the year in which such bureaus were founded.

States	Year established	Headquarters	States	Year established	Headquarters
Arkansas	1887	Little Rock	Nebraska	1887	Lincoln
California	1883	San Francisco	New Hampshire	1893	Concord
Colorado	1887	Denver	New Jersey	1878	Trenton
Connecticut	1873	Hartford	New Mexico	1891	Santa Fé
Illinois	1879	Springfield	New York	1883	Albany
Indiana	1879	Indianapolis	North Carolina	1887	Raleigh
Iowa	1884	Des Moines	Ohio	1877	Columbus
Kansas	1885	Topeka	Pennsylvania	1872	Harrisburg
Kentucky	1892	Frankfort	Rhode Island	1887	Providence
Maine	1887	Augusta	South Dakota	1890	Minnesela
Maryland	1884	Baltimore	Tennessee	1891	Nashville
Massachusetts	1869	Boston	Texas	1887	Austin
Michigan	1883	Lansing	United States	1885	Washington, D.C.
Minnesota	1887	St. Paul	Utah	1890	Salt Lake City
Missouri	1876	Jefferson City	West Virginia	1889	Charleston
Montana	1893	Helena	Wisconsin	1883	Madison

on the one hand, and preventing bad legislation on the other. Thirty-one of the states of the Union have well-equipped labor bureaus at the present time besides the national bureau.

In 1865 the Massachusetts legislature deemed it expedient to take action in the matter of child labor, and prohibited the employment of those under ten years and limited the hours of labor of those from ten to fourteen years to eight per day. This was improved by later acts (1867).

In 1870 the war for the reduction of hours of labor began again, and was continued until the reform forces came off victorious in 1874. But the concessions of this year did not entirely quiet the agitation, and the good movement went on until we now have the very good code of laws summarized elsewhere.

The history of the Massachusetts efforts is in a measure the history of all the states. In the matter of legislation, the more helpless classes have first come under jurisdiction, and later those next dependent. Naturally the children received attention first, and then we find special interest aroused in the work of women. Evil conditions yet prevail, but much has been done to mitigate the miseries of the factory women.

In many of the states the first factory acts were sanitary measures, while others secured a shorter working day. Long hours of toil in unsanitary factories are known to be detrimental to both health and morals, and lack of care for either fills the country with a worse than useless working population.

Having viewed the rise of the movement, we are now in a position to study the detailed legislation of the various states. This is taken up under the following heads:

1. Inspection. 2. Hours of labor. 3. Sanitary regulations. 4. Seats provided.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1877.

Hours of labor.—1. No children under eighteen years of age and no women may be employed more than ten hours per day or sixty hours per week, except when necessary to make repairs

to prevent stoppage of ordinary running of machinery. (Law of 1874, amended, 1895.)

2. The same classes may not be employed more than ten hours per day or fifty-eight hours per week. (Law of 1895, chap. 508, sec. 11.)

3. No women or children are to be employed more than six hours without an interval of half an hour, with the proviso that they may work six and one-half hours if the place closes at one o'clock or seven and one-half hours if they have a chance to eat lunch while working and the place closes not later than two P. M. (Law of 1887.)

4. Minors or women shall not be employed in any capacity for purposes of manufacture between the hours of 10 P. M. and 6 A. M. (Law of 1893.)

Sanitary regulations.—All factories must be kept clean and well ventilated.

Seats provided.—All employers are compelled to furnish suitable seats for females in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments to be used when said females are not necessarily engaged in the active duties for which they are employed. (Law of 1882.)

The above was taken from the *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, pp. 1–112.

NEW YORK.[1]

Inspection.—This was provided in 1886.

Hours of labor.—1. Children under eighteen and women under twenty-one years of age shall not be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than sixty hours per week or ten per day unless to make a shorter working day on Saturday. (Law of 1886, chap. 409, amended in 1892, chap. 409, sec. 1.)

2. The employment of the same classes is prohibited between the hours of 9 P. M. and 6 A. M. (Law as above, sec. 1.)

3. The number of working hours per day of each day in the

[1] Factory Inspection Law passed May 18, 1887, amended May 25, 1888, June 15, 1889, May 21, 1890, May 18, 1892.

week required of minors under eighteen and women under twenty-one years must be kept posted in places where they work. (Law as above, sec. 1.)

Sanitary regulations.—Provision is made for separate closets and dressing rooms for women in establishments where they are employed. (Law as above, sec. 9.)

Seats provided.—Employers in mercantile or manufacturing houses shall provide suitable seats for the use of female employés, and permit their reasonable use. (Laws of 1881, chap. 298, sec. 1.)

NEW JERSEY.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1882.

Hours of labor.—1. Fifty-five hours shall constitute a week's work in any factory, workshop, or establishment where the manufacture of any kind of goods is carried on. (Acts of 1892, chap. 92, sec. 1.)

2. The periods of employment shall be from 7 A. M. to 12 M., from 1 P. M. to 6 P. M., except on Saturday when the period shall be from 7 A. M. to 12 M. (As above, sec. 2.)

The above applies to all persons under eighteen years and to women, but shall not apply to persons engaged in preserving perishable fruit; nor to persons engaged in the manufacture of glass.

Sanitary regulations.—1. No minor under eighteen years or woman shall be required to clean machinery while in motion, or work between the fixed or traversing parts of any machine while in motion by action of steam, water, or other mechanical power.

2. Suitable wash and dressing rooms shall be provided in all factories in which girls or women are employed where unclean work has to be performed.

3. Separate closets must be provided for each sex (as above).

4. Factories and workshops in which women and children are employed and where dusty work is carried on, shall be lime-washed or painted at least once a year. (Laws of April 7, 1885, Gen. Fact. Act.)

PENNSYLVANIA.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1889 in all factories where women are employed. One-half of the deputies must be women. (Laws of 1889, Act No. 235, sec. 5.)

Hours of labor.—1. Sixty hours per week shall form the maximum time of labor for males under eighteen years, and all females. (Laws of 1893.)

2. Every person, firm, or corporation employing women or children is required to post and keep posted in a conspicuous place in every room in which such help is employed, a printed notice stating the number of hours per day for each day in the week required of them. (Laws of 1893, sec. 3.)

Sanitary regulations.—Suitable and proper wash and dressing rooms and closets must be provided where women are employed. These must be properly screened and ventilated and kept in a clean condition. (Laws of 1893, Act No. 235, sec. 10.)

Seats provided.—Seats shall be provided for female workers to be used when not actually engaged in work. (Laws of 1887, Act 7, sec. 1.)

MINNESOTA.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1893. Inspectors to be appointed by the commissioners of labor. (General Laws of 1893, chap. 6.)

Hours of labor.—In all manufactories, workshops, and other places used for mechanical and other purposes where children under eighteen years and women are employed, the time of labor for these persons shall not exceed ten hours per day, and anyone who compels children under eighteen years or women to work a longer time shall be liable to prosecution, and upon conviction to a fine of not less than $10 or more than $100. (Original law of 1858 embodied in the General Laws of 1878, chap. 24, sec. 1.)

Sanitary regulations.—Properly screened and ventilated dressing rooms and closets shall be provided in all factories, mills,

and other buildings in which both sexes are employed. (General Laws of 1893, chap. 7.)

RHODE ISLAND.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1894. (Acts of 1894, chap. 1278, sec. 3.)

Hours of labor.—Ten hours shall constitute a legal day's work, except where longer time may be required on a certain day, but in no case shall the time be more than sixty hours per week. (This covers factory women, but does not properly belong to the Factory Acts.)

Sanitary regulations.—Proper closets shall be provided in all places where women and girls work. (Laws of 1894, chap. 1278, sec. 8.)

CONNECTICUT.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1889. The governor shall, with the consent of the senate, appoint an inspector of factories who shall hold office for a term of two years and until his successor is qualified. (Gen. Stat. of 1889, chap. 145, sec. 2263.)

Hours of labor.—No minors under sixteen years and no women shall be employed more than ten hours per day or sixty hours per week. (Gen. Stat. of 1888, chap. 106, sec. 1745.)

Sanitary regulations.[1]—Factories must be kept in good sanitary conditions, and suitable closets must be provided where five or more people are at work. (Gen. Stat., chap. 145, sec. 2267.)

Seats provided.—1. Every person, partnership, or corporation employing females in any mercantile, mechanical, or manufacturing establishment shall furnish suitable seats for their use when not necessarily engaged in the active duties for which they are employed. (Acts of 1893, chap. 77, sec. 1.)

2. Violation of this law shall be punishable by a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars. (Sec. 2, as above.)

[1] These were not designed especially for women, but for operatives, regardless of sex.

MICHIGAN.

Inspection.—This was not provided until 1895.

Hours of labor.—In all places where men and women are employed ten hours shall constitute a legal day's work. All employers who require a longer day shall be compelled to pay their employés for all overtime or extra hours at the regular *per diem* rate, unless there be an agreement to the contrary. (Act No. 137, Pub. Acts of 1885.) A much better law was passed ten years later, as follows:

No females shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment in the state more than sixty hours in one week, unless for the purpose of making necessary repairs, provided that no more than ten hours per day shall be exacted for the purpose of making a shorter day on Saturday. (Act No. 184, sec. 1, Session Laws of 1895.)

Sanitary regulations.—1. No females under twenty-one years shall be allowed to clean machinery in motion. (Sec. 3, as from above.)

2. Every factory in which two or more children, young persons, or women are employed shall be kept in a cleanly state and free from effluvia and a sufficient number of closets for the use of each sex shall be provided. (Sec. 10, as from above.)

Seats provided.—1. All persons who employ females in stores, shops, or manufactories shall furnish such female clerks, assistants, operatives or helpers seats to be used when not actively engaged in their duties.

2. Violation of this law is punishable by a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars. (Secs. 1 and 2, Act No. 91, Pub. Acts of 1893.)

ILLINOIS.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1893.

Hours of labor.—"No female shall be employed in any factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day, or forty-eight hours in any one week."[1] (Fact. Act, 1893, sec. 5.)

[1] This was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois, March 15, 1895, on the ground that it was a violation of freedom to contract for work.

OHIO.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1892.

Hours of labor.—1. No persons under the age of eighteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than ten hours in any one day, or sixty hours per week.

2. Notices to this effect must be posted where such persons are at work. (Laws of 1891, Title 1, sec. 6986.)

Sanitary regulations.—1. The inspector shall have full charge of heating, lighting, and other sanitary requirements in factories, and may destroy property to meet the desired ends.

2. He can also demand suitable closet arrangements for the sexes, with toilet and dressing rooms for females on the floors on which they work.

Seats provided.—The inspector may order seats for the use of females when not actively engaged in work. (Laws of 1891, chap. 20, sec. 8767.)

MAINE.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1893. Official name of deputy of commissioner of labor changed to factory inspector. (Laws of 1893, chap. 220, sec. 1.)

Hours of labor.—1. No male under eighteen years and no woman shall work more than ten hours per day, or sixty hours per week. (Acts of 1887, chap. 139, sec. 1.)

2. The same rule applies to women over eighteen years, with the proviso that the limit of overtime in their case shall not exceed six hours in any one week, or sixty hours per year.

3. Employers must post the time required of minors and women in rooms where they work.

Sanitary regulations.—Inspectors must report bad cases to local boards of health, which said boards must investigate.

MISSOURI.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1891. "The duty of public authorities of Missouri's cities containing 5000 or more inhabitants to appoint factory inspectors who shall inspect all

factories employing more than ten persons and report twice a year to the commissioner of labor." (Laws of 1891, p. 160, sec. 1.)

Hours of labor.—No special regulation for women.

Sanitary regulations.—1. Establishments where dusty work is carried on shall be lime washed or painted at least once a year if women or children be employed. (Laws of 1891, p. 161, sec. 8.)

2. Establishments where women or girls are employed must contain suitable places for them to wash and dress if unclean work has been performed. (Same as above, sec. 19.)

3. Stairs used by females must be properly screened. (Same as above.)

4. Establishments employing both sexes must provide suitable and separate closets for their use. (Same as above, sec. 11.)

Seats provided.—Seats must be provided for women and girls to be used when their duties do not require them to be on their feet. (Same as above, sec. 13.)

CALIFORNIA.

Inspection.—This was provided in 1889. The commissioner of labor is to enforce the factory acts. (Acts of 1889, chap. 5, sec. 7.)

Hours of labor.—No minor under eighteen years of age shall work more than ten hours per day, or sixty hours per week (Acts of 1889, chap. 7, sec. 1.)

Sanitary regulations.—Factories must have (1) cleanliness, (2) proper ventilation, (3) separate closets for the sexes where both are employed. (Acts of 1889, chap. 5, secs. 1 and 2.)

Seats provided.—Seats must be furnished females to be used when their work permits. (Same as above, sec. 5.)

We have now before us a synopsis of the factory laws for women in the various states. Such measures as the guarding of machinery and other allied ones have not been considered in this discussion, as they do not apply more directly to women

than to children and men. Women, of course, derive benefits therefrom, but they were not class enactments. The importance of inspection is recognized by all, but the importance of *women inspectors* is acknowledged by only six states. Mrs. Kelley, of Illinois, an authority on such matters, holds that there should be one woman inspector for every one thousand women and children employed.[1] This claim bears its justness on its face.

Legislation prevails in many of the manufacturing states, and right-thinking people everywhere cannot much longer refuse to hear the cry of woe coming up from the female workers who form so large and important a factor in the industrial world. Their very ignorance of their own danger should be an added incentive to action. While some states are wrangling over the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of protecting women workers from long and dreary hours of drudgery, those same workers, who know not how to protect themselves, are being rendered unfit for anything by excessive toil. The question as to why they are not able to protect themselves is not a very deep one. Its answer lies chiefly in the reason that they do not understand the meaning of organized effort. Until lately they have not been taught how to organize and it is little wonder that they themselves have not taken initiatory measures in that direction. After a hard day's work they are too weary of body and dull of mind to do aught but rest or under the influence of stimulating excitement engage in some frivolous entertainment. Is it surprising that they have not risen to see the needs of organization, the lurking dangers of non-organization?

Many of the laws are yet crude and unsatisfactory. In some cases, the mere changing of a word would render good a useless law. Take for example that of Minnesota. The law reads: "Employers shall not be permitted to *compel* any woman under eighteen years to work more than ten hours a day." Here the one word *compel* renders the law of little practical use, for it is easy to evade the matter of compulsion. The law of Illinois is a disgrace to the state. There is no check whatever upon

[1] Taken from HELEN CAMPBELL'S *Women Wage Earners*, p. 264.

the greed of employers in enforcing long hours upon women. Though the manufacturer is not always an esurient being ready to feast upon the state's inactivity, yet he is likely to push his claim to the utmost limit. The one section of real importance in this law was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of the state on March 15, 1895. It was as follows: "No female shall be employed in any factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day or forty-eight hours in any one week." But the law was pronounced invalid. Why? Some force induced the supreme court to decide that the reduction of the hours of labor of adult women is an interference with freedom of contract between employer and employed. It was but another evidence of the way in which justice may be perverted when in the hands of unprincipled agents. So long as women are wards of the state and not citizens they should be protected by the state whose wards they are.[1] If women cannot legislate they must be legislated for.

Important as is factory legislation, it is practically useless without the enforcing power of conscientious inspectors. But the number is wholly inadequate, and this renders violation of laws comparatively easy in all the states.

The following table shows the number of employers and the number of inspectors in the seven states before mentioned as having the largest number of women operatives:

State	Total employés	Number of inspectors
New York,	629,269	32
Massachusetts,	370,265	32
Pennsylvania,	528,277	21
Ohio,	528,277	15
New Jersey,	160,561	7
Illinois,	205,570	11
Connecticut,	116,091	4

Or from the same seven states we may present the following luminous figures, which when read in connection with Mrs. Kelley's rational requirement[2] show a very poor condition in regard to inspection.

[1] STIMSON, *Labor and Law of Today.*

[2] One woman inspector for every 1000 women and children.

State	Women operatives	Women inspectors	Number of women to one inspector
New York	137,190	7	19,598.5
Massachusetts	98,019	2	49,009.5
Pennsylvania	76,860	5	15,372
Ohio	31,932	0	.....
New Jersey	28,914	0	.....
Illinois	28,009	7	4,001.2
Connecticut	26,899	0	.....

For purposes of clearness it was thought best to restate in tabulated form the foregoing discussion of the laws of the various states, and the following explanation of these four tables to come seems necessary.

TABLE I:

The twelve states here given are those having regular and well-defined factory laws providing inspection. Other states, as will be noted later, have made provision in a more or less careless way for some kind of oversight of factories, but they have no regular staff of inspectors. It was thought well to give prominence to the number of women inspectors as they are acknowledged by all to be a necessity where those of their own sex are employed.

TABLE II:

Those states which have no factory laws, but in some way regulate the hours of women's labor, are here included.

TABLE III:

This table aims to show those states which make any provision at all for the health and well being of the women operatives, hence the formula of tabulation adopted. In this, as in Table II, the states enumerated have not been confined to those having recognized factory laws. In some of the far western and southern states the number of women workers is so small that legal enactments are scarcely necessary.

TABLE IV:

This is simply a summary of the preceding ones.

TABLE I.

States	Inspection law passed	No. o men inspectors	No. of women inspectors	Total	Remarks
Connecticut...	1886	4	..	4	
Illinois	1893	4	7	11	A woman is chief inspector.
Maine.....	1893	2	..	2	
Massachusetts.	1877	30	2	32	
Michigan	1893	8	1	9	The one woman is a stenographer.
Minnesota.....	1893	5	..	5	
Missouri.....	1891	..	..	..	Inspection provided by all cities over 5000.
New Jersey....	1882	7	..	7	
New York.....	1885	25	7	32	
Ohio	1883	16	5	15	Two of these are bakery inspectors and one a chief clerk.
Pennsylvania..	1887	16	5	21	20 inspectors and one chief clerk, a woman.
Rhode Island..	1894	1	1	2	The two have equal authority.

TABLE II.[1]

State	Hours per day	Hours per week	Remarks
Alabama	8	48	Repealed in 1895.
Connecticut	10	60	There may be cases where work may be required more than 10 hours per day, but not more than 60 per week.
Florida	10		
Georgia.....	11	66	For women under 21 years, in cotton and woolen factories only.
Illinois	8	48	Repealed in 1895.
Indiana	10		This applies to all under 19 years in cotton and woolen mills.
Louisiana.....	10	60	The meal hour does not come out of this.
Maine.....	10	60	May be more than 10 hours per day for purposes of repair.
Maryland	10	60	For all under 21 years, in cotton and woolen mills.
Massachusetts	10	58	
Michigan.....	10	60	One hour for dinner included.
Minnesota.....	10	60	Women may not be "compelled" to work more.
Missouri	8	48	A legal day, but longer time may be contracted for.
North Dakota.....	10	60	Employers may not "compel" longer hours.
New Hampshire..	10	60	May work more than 10 hours per day to make up for lost time and to make repairs.
New Jersey.....	10	60	For males under 18 years and all females.
New York.....	10	60	For women under 21 years.
Ohio	10	60	No minor may work more.

[1] Culled from *Second Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, 1896; *Labor Laws*, revised edition.

TABLE II—*continued.*

State	Hours per day	Hours per week	Remarks
Oklahoma	10		May not be "compelled" to work more.
Pennsylvania	12	60	
South Carolina	11	66	For women under 21 years in cotton and woolen factories.
South Dakota	10		May not be compelled to work more.
Virginia	10	60	
Rhode Island	10	60	
Wisconsin	8	48	Employers may not "compel" more.

TABLE III.

States	Regulating			Providing	
	Hours of labor	Sanitation	Seats for women	Inspection	Women inspectors
Alabama	+	—	+	+	—
California	+	+	+	+	—
Colorado	+		+	—	—
Connecticut	+	+	+	+	—
Delaware	—	—	+	—	—
District of Columbia	+	—	—	—	—
Florida	+	—	—	—	—
Georgia	+		+	—	—
Illinois	+[1]	—	—	+	+
Indiana	+	—	+	—	—
Iowa	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	+	+	+	+[2]	—
Maine	+	—	—	+	—
Maryland	+	—	+	—	—
Massachusetts	+	+	+	+	+
Minnesota	+	+	+	+	—
Michigan	+	+	+	+	—
Missouri	+	—	+	+	—
Nebraska	+	+	+	+[3]	—
North Dakota	+	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire	+	—	+	+	—
New Jersey	+	—	+	+	—
New York	+	+	+	+	+
Ohio	+	+	+	+	+
Oklahoma	+	—	+	—	—
Pennsylvania	+	+	+	+	+
Rhode Island	+	—		+	+
South Carolina	+	—	—	—	—
South Dakota	+	—	—	—	—
Virginia	+	—		—	—
Wisconsin	+	—	—	+	—
West Virginia	—	—	—	+	—

+ = states making provision. — = states not making provision.
[1] Not since 1895. [2] By Police. [3] By Labor Commission.

TABLE IV.

States having inspection laws,	12
States having women inspectors,	6
States regulating hours of labor,	32[1]
States having sanitary laws,	12
States providing seats for women employés,	22

After the preceding tabulated statements, it may be well to look in a general way at the results of legislation and the probabilities for the future. That the results of factory legislation have been uniformly good is not a question for discussion. It is an acknowledged fact everywhere. Factory inspectors, and those who have studied the question carefully, are unanimous in saying that the regulation of the hours of labor of women and children is productive of great good.

One result has been a more enlightened body of working women. This has its salutary effect on the home, though as a rule it is the single women who are fighting the industrial battle. The number of married women in factories in this country is not so great as is generally supposed. They form only about 10 per cent.[2] of all women employed. The employment of mothers of young children is undoubtedly fruitful of much evil, and if possible it would be well that it should cease, but according to Taylor[3] "it is not feasible by any isolated statutory order."

However, it is only a matter of time when all the manufacturing states will protect the health and morals of their operatives irrespective of sex. This may not come about by direct legislation, but improved public conscience will make it possible for the workers to refuse to work amid inhumane conditions. This is the end to be sought. The trades unions must be fostered; those must be taught the power of their united efforts.

Some points[4] that will well bear enforcement upon the minds of women disposed to be helpful are as follows:

[1] Only seven regulate hours of women over 18 years, and only five of these hours of women over 21 years.

[2] WRIGHT, *Industrial Evolution of U. S.*, p. 212.

[3] *Modern Factory System*, p. 426.

[4] MRS. HELEN CAMPBELL, *Women Wage Earners*, p. 264.

1. To encourage women in the various trades to protect their mutual interests by organization.

2. To use all possible means to enforce the existing laws relating to the protection of women and children in factories or shops, investigating all reported violations of such laws, and to promote by all suitable means further legislation in this direction.

In addition to the above may be cited as a basis[1] for every society of working women the following principles formulated by Mrs. Florence Kelley, of Illinois, whose name has been mentioned several times before:

I. To bring out of the chaos of competition the order of coöperation.

II. To organize all wage-earning women.

III. To disseminate the literature of labor and coöperation.

IV. To institute a label which shall enable the purchaser to discriminate in favor of goods produced under healthful conditions.

V. 1. Abolition of child labor to the age of 16 years. 2. Compulsory education to the age of 16 years. 3. Prohibition of employment of minors more than eight hours a day. 4. Prohibition of employment of minors in dangerous occupations. 5. Appointment of women inspectors. 6. Healthful conditions of work for women and children.

All of the foregoing to be secured by legislation, while the two following points could be obtained by organized effort:

1. Equal pay for equal work with men.

2. A minimal rate which will enable the least paid to live upon her earnings.

Uniform legislation should be secured, particularly in regard to hours of labor, as then all states would be under the same conditions in respect to the amount of product. This point cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor reiterated too often.

But notwithstanding all drawbacks the condition of female operatives has improved greatly since protective legislation became an actual fact. However, it is as yet far from what it should be, and we are confronted by serious difficulties when

making suggestions for improvement. The cry to "legislate," "legislate," is useless unless the public mind be saturated with the necessity of remedial action.

Reform of some kind is certainly feasible, though not through such schemes—as impossible as irrational—as are suggested by various sentimental philanthropists.

When one reads of factories like that in Ohio which paid women thirty-six cents per dozen shirts, and opened and closed the day with thanksgiving and prayer, one is tempted to give up striving and patiently await the millennium. We need a moral regeneration, not only of the employers, but of the employés as well. Justice should be the watchword of all. But good legislation, backed by intelligent administration, is the power we must look to to change the mere machine life of the average factory woman to that of an intelligent worker; and faith in the United States and her institutions leads us to believe that an era of good is at hand when

> "All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist,
> Not its semblance but itself."

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SOCIOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION AT PARIS.

THE American student who intends to undertake advanced work in political economy will find little to attract him in the curricula of the French universities, especially if he happens to be familiar with the varied and enticing lists of lectures and seminaries contained in the catalogues of almost any of the German universities. Interested chiefly in economic theory, or in economic institutions, or in that variety of state intervention commonly called social legislation, he will naturally turn his eyes toward the country which has contributed so largely to the rehabilitation of economic science, and which has realized to so considerable an extent the idea of the public regulation of industrial life in the interest of social peace. The preponderance of Germany over France in this respect is all the more evident when we actually compare the numerous courses offered by the University of Berlin with the lamentable paucity of the curricula of the Collège de France and the University of Paris.

The latest Berlin catalogues accessible to me—those for the scholastic year 1895–6—give the following results. The number of hours assigned per week to lectures on political economy and finance was, for the winter semester twenty, and for the summer semester twenty-four. To these figures there should be added seven hours of seminary work in the winter, and five and one-half hours in the summer; and it should further be borne in mind that they include only time devoted exclusively to the treatment of questions of economic and financial theory and practice, neither taking any account whatever of lectures and seminaries specially concerned with economic history, nor of courses on the systems of agricultural exploitation, nor, finally, of eight hours in the winter semester, and seven in the summer semester occupied with statistics and questions of method. The attractiveness of this list, moreover, is heightened by its variety.

Turning to the two Parisian public higher academic institutions, we find that but four hours weekly are devoted in the Collège de France to economic topics, and eleven hours in the Université de Paris. Most of the courses in political economy offered by the University form part of the curriculum of the Faculty of Law. It is necessary, furthermore, to add a word in explanation of the character of these courses. One of them on "Financial Legislation" occupying three hours weekly is in the main purely legal in character, treating of financial laws in themselves, of their interpretation rather than of their effects on the economic life of the nation. Another course, that on "Industrial Legislation and Economy," occupying two hours weekly, is likewise partly legal in its nature. The courses, however, which I have added to give a total of eleven hours include these five hours about which it is very questionable whether they should have been counted at all.

In this comparison I have purposely left out of consideration the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, which, though it offers a number of courses on subjects falling within the domain of political economy and finance, aims chiefly at the preparation of young men for the French administrative and diplomatic service.

The result, so disadvantageous for France, of the comparison I have carried out above is further fortified by the fact that French economic instruction is as a rule elementary, not to say rudimentary, in character, and incontestably inferior in scientific spirit to what the Germans offer. Moreover, the teaching of the universities too frequently deserves the name "official" so contemptuously applied to it. It too rarely avoids the tone of polemic. Many of the lectures are in form and contents more like the argument of an advocate hired to defend a client or prove a prisoner guilty than like the fair dispassionate summing up of the case by a judge whose sole desire it is to ascertain the truth. Right here lies the reason for the utter contempt with which economic theory, or, at all events, the official economic theory, is generally regarded in France. French profes-

sors of economics have long since ceased to speak with authority, though perhaps their opinions never enjoyed that respect on the part of the community at large to which their German compeers are today accustomed.

The so-called historical school of economists, founded almost fifty years ago by the works of Hildebrand, Roscher, and Kines, and which spread from Germany to the other western nations, has left but a feeble impress upon French political economy. Indeed, France seems to have escaped in some strange manner almost all of those new influences of the last half century which elsewhere have molded economic thought. It was not many years ago that Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent economist of the Collège de France, published the outlines of a philosophy of law in which he maintained that the laws of the state are of organic growth, the expression of the needs of the people, and consequently that the business of the legislators is really the formulation (and not the creation) of laws which already exist in the consciousness of the nation. This entire "discovery" was nothing more or less than the fundamental thesis of the German "historische Rechtschule"—the doctrine so warmly defended in the first half of this century by Lavigny and his partisans.

Of course there are some happy exceptions to the general truths which I have tried to indicate. Such rare men as Paul Canwès, professor of political economy in the Paris Faculty of Law, and Charles Gide, who occupies a chair of economics at the University of Montpellier, have performed work which is marked by a profound appreciation of modern methods as well as a thorough knowledge of what is being done outside of France; but they are yet like "voices in the desert."

So much for the study of the purely economic aspect of social life—for political economy in its commonly accepted circumscription. What about the other diverse aspects of human cohabitation,—what about the study of sociology in France as compared to Germany? A close comparison of the opportunities offered obliges one to give to this question an

answer almost as unfavorable to Germany as our first investigation was unfavorable to France.

The German universities have from the very start adopted an indifferent, not to say inimical, attitude toward what might be called the sociological movement, *i. e.*, the tendency to study separately and scientifically the laws of the growth and structure of societies. Thus the author of the article on sociology ("Gesellschaftswissenschaft") in Conrad's *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*[1] is in the main disposed to deny the necessity of, as well as a place for, the newly proposed study. Of the twenty-one universities in the German Empire only three offer any courses whatsoever in sociology, and but two of these employ the name as a title for them. Even at Berlin, where better opportunities in this field are offered than elsewhere, the number of courses which might attract the sociological student is most insignificant. Most of them, besides, are merely courses in ethnography, ethnology, and anthropology; indeed, they do not pretend to be aught else, being classified under those sections, and not considered as helps to sociological study.

Paris, on the other hand, has long been a center for investigations in social science, and its claims to this title have been steadily growing stronger. It is quite customary for the scientific societies which here abound to arrange public courses of lectures, generally popular in character, but often rigorously scientific and specially intended for advanced students. This custom has been observed by a number of societies whose fields of research embrace different phases of social life.

Each of the two societies or groups into which the disciples of Le Play were divided in 1885 has its own "organ," in the shape of a monthly periodical, and has organized its own public courses in social science. Public courses, too, have been arranged by the "Comité de Défense et de Progrès Social," but they so evidently serve the purpose of political propaganda and polemic that they should not be mentioned in an account of scientific instruction. Beside the above courses, and those offered by the

[1] Jena, 1892, Band III, p. 838.

Collège de France, the Université de Paris, and the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, a free course in sociology is usually offered in one of the schools of Paris. Last year this course was given by Dr. René Worms, editor of the *Revue internationale de Sociologie*.

More important than these scattered courses of sociological instruction are the lectures given in the School of Anthropology. Since its foundation by Broca in 1875 courses have been organized in not only increased numbers, but in such diversity that the sociological student will find much that strongly appeals to him in the instruction offered by the occupants of the eleven permanent chairs thus far established. These chairs, in charge of such well-known authorities as Letourneau, Manouvrier, and Lefèvre, were founded for the following subjects:

Anthropologie pathologique, anthropogénie et embryolo gie, ethnologie, anthropologie biologique, linguistique et ethnographie, sociologie (histoire des civilisations), anthropologie zoologique, anthropologie physiologique, ethnographie comparée, anthropologie préhistorique, anthropologie géographique.

In spite, however, of the unquestionable utility of all these opportunities there undoubtedly was still room left for a remarkable and original undertaking which first was proposed less than two years ago, and which now may be said to have proved itself a glorious success. I refer to the *Collège libre des Sciences Sociales*. Its fundamental idea is exceedingly simple, and has been thus far realized to a remarkably large degree, though many were the critics who at the outset saw fit to call it daring and dangerous, if not impossible and absurd.

The process of thought which led to the foundation of the new school was, in short, the following:

Never before the triumph of the modern democratic idea, and the simultaneous spread of the modern system of economic production commonly designated as capitalistic, was there such a diversity of opinion about the direction in which social development is tending, or should be turned. There is a difference.

of opinion concerning the bare *existence* of so-called social problems; there is a greater difference of opinion concerning their *nature*, their *importance*, and their *causes;* there are innumerable different opinions concerning the method of their *solution* and the final outcome. Now, these opinions, however diversified, are all of them manifestations of our social life—they are social phenomena, many of which have attained historical importance. The diverse social doctrines deserve to be studied scientifically, if studied at all, and will undoubtedly be best presented by their avowed partisans. Nothing is more difficult than to detect the real nature and the veritable purpose of a social doctrine through the negative and often distortive criticism of an adversary. The various schools of theory and of method should therefore be represented by their respective members.

"Far from us," says M. Funck-Brentano, one of the founders of the school, "was the thought of proposing a conciliation of these diverse theories; this could lead only to confusion or to eclecticism. But as each of these doctrines has its roots in our social condition and in our actual social state of mind, it is our duty to know them and to study them. To declare the difficulties insurmountable before having made a serious study of them is as presumptuous as it is unjust to stamp the search for a solution as a rash act. A naturalist who should exclude tigers and serpents from the field of his investigations under the pretext that they are dangerous animals would make us smile. Would we possess the discoveries of Pasteur and his disciples if they had refused to study the ferments of hydrophobia and croup? If, then, we, in turn, want to deepen the science of men, let us be men ourselves, and not permit the fear of an imaginary danger to arrest us in the fruitful study of social crises. For they are like the diseases of the body; science cannot combat them until it has determined their causes. Empiricism is just as insufficient in sociology as in medicine."

It must be confessed that the concept "social science" was not very clearly outlined, and questions naturally arose as to the limits and number of disciplines to be taught. But in

whatever sense these questions might be answered there was no doubt that the general public applies the term "social science" to all sorts of research and exposition concerning in one way or another the study of societies—including the exposition of doctrine, which is not pure science, as well as the work of application, which falls within the domain of art and practice.

At first the field was provisionally divided into two sections, the one treating of "methods," and the other of "doctrines." Under the first title courses were included on the logic of social sciences, on the preparation of descriptive monographs, on the collection aud interpretation of statistics, and lastly on the criticism and use of historical documents. The doctrinal section embraced the presentation of the most important social theories and plans for social reform—theories as opposed to one another as revolutionary socialism on the one hand and classical political economy on the other—as diverse as Catholic sociology and the sociology of Auguste Comte.

The history of social movements, and the exposition of social legislation, subjects which should have formed two sections distinct and separate from the others, were at first classified under the section on doctrines. This classification, hastily conceived as it was, served well enough for the original programme, the most urgent task being to apply, and not to perfect, the scheme. The courses were not well under way until late in the scholastic year (January 1896), and continued less than three months.

The second year of the school, to the contrary, would be mapped out with deliberation and begun in good time. The experience of the first tentative session served partly as a guide, showing what mistakes should be avoided and what deficiencies ought to be remedied. There was soon no doubt left in the public mind as to the earnestness of the attempt to offer distinctively scientific instruction—instruction detached from all degrees, from all lucrative diplomas, and from all promise of a subsequent career. The prime difficulty—the choice of suitable instructors—was resolved with surprising ease, and with a suc-

cess that would have been unattainable elsewhere. The next difficulty, or rather another phase of the first, was to make the programme as complete and as well balanced as possible. To what extent this difficulty, too, was overcome, the programme for the year just ended will best show, and is therefore here given. The names of the two sections, it will be noticed, are made more complete and consequently more exact.

FIRST SECTION.

RESEARCH, STATISTICS, AND HISTORY.

1. Wealth and labor statistics. M. Arthur Fontaine, mining engineer.
2. Demography. Dr. J. Bertillon, chief of the Paris Statistical Bureau.
3. Monographic processes of investigation. P. du Marrousem.
4. Methods of ethnical study. M. Louis Marin, secretary of the Society of Commercial Geography.
5. The historical method applied to the social sciences. M. Seignobos, of the Faculty of Letters (Sorbornne).
6. History of modern law. M. Tarbouriech, LL.D.
7. History of social doctrines and legislation since the Revolution. M. F. de Pressensé, editor of *Le Temps*.
8. History of revolutionary doctrines. M. Albert Métin.
9. The geographical method applied to some problems of social economy. M. J. Brunhes, professor at the University of Fribourg.

SECOND SECTION.

SOCIAL DOCTRINES AND APPLICATIONS.

10. The doctrine of Comte. M. Dr. Delbet, deputy.
11. The doctrine of Le Play. M. A. Delaire, general secretary of the Society of Social Economy.
12. The doctrine of Marx. M. Révelin, professor at the Collège Sainte Barbe.
13. German social doctrines. M. Dr. Audler, of the École Normale Supérieure.
14. English social doctrines. M. Lichtenberger.
15. Political economy. M. Yves Guyot, ex-minister.
16. Theoretical socialism. M. Gustave Rouanet, deputy.
17. Catholic sociology. M. l'abbé de Pascal, doctor of theology.
18. The social effect of art: I. The plastic arts, M. E. Muntz, of the Institute; II. Musical art. M. L. Dauriac, professor at the University of Montpellier.

19. Social hygiene. M. Dr. du Mesuil, physician at the Asylum of Vincennes.

20. Social assistance and prevention. M. P. Strauss, member of the Paris Municipal Council.

21. The principles of colonization. M. de Lanessau, ex-governor-general of Indo-China.

22. The bourses. M. Thaller, professor at the Faculty of Law.

23. Comparative industrial and labor legislation. M. Dufourmantelle, advocate.

24. Labor questions: I. The organization of labor in France. M. Keufer; II. Productive labor associations. M. Vila.

Beside these courses some lectures were delivered on "Labor Insurance" and laborers' budgets, by MM. Weber and Prunget, of the *office du Travail;* on "Social Idealism," by M. Fournière, of the Paris Municipal Council; on the "General Principles of Sociology," by the eminent sociologist, Gabriel Tarde; on "Criminology," by M. de Mailly, advocate; and a number of visits of inspection were conducted by MM. du Mesuil, du Maroussem and Barrat.

Of the ninety-eight names inscribed at the opening of the college (for a merely nominal fee) over ninety were students in the higher educational institutions of Paris. This number was greatly increased in the lists for the second scholastic year, just concluded. But the college aims, after all, at more than the sociological education of students preparing for a professional career. It aims at what the secretary of the college aptly terms "social education," *i. e.*, the creation of a general education at the side of the special education which all of us now receive. It aims at systematic preparation for social duties and for an intelligent grasp of social arrangements and problems, as well as the systematic preparation for one's special occupation which is now alone attended to. There is need of this broad synthetic union of our diverse special trainings in a common preparation for social labor.

How far the aims of the *Collège libre des Sciences Sociales* will be realized, experience alone can demonstrate. This experience will itself point out the needs for alteration. But even now

there can be no doubt that the attempt made is decidedly worthy of notice and of admiration; nor can there be any doubt that the college offers the American student superb opportunities for sociological study, and greatly heightens the attractiveness of Paris for the young man or woman who seeks instruction along that line.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

PARIS, July 1897.

THE MORTALITY STATISTICS OF THE CENSUS IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONS.

For the first time the census report on mortality and vital statistics furnishes data showing the influence of occupation upon the death rate, and some of the principal features of this part of the report are outlined below. This report has been delayed a long time owing to the necessity of waiting for the completion of the population data relative to occupations for the computation of the death rates in necessary details.

The record of deaths for the United States, as a whole, and consequently the data concerning occupations for the whole country are incomplete and unsatisfactory, because of the impossibility of securing an accurate return of all deaths occurring in localities where such returns depended upon a canvass made by the enumerators; but for about one-third of the population the data concerning deaths were secured by transcribing local registration records, based upon physicians' certificates, and for this proportion of the population, and for such areas, the data are fairly accurate.

The area covered by this class of returns, and designated as the "registration area," consists of the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, the District of Columbia, and eighty-three cities in other states, which are enumerated in an appended list.

The total population of this registration area was 19,659,440 of whom about 7,837,000 were males ten years of age and over, 5,809,803, or 74.13 per cent. being reported as engaged in occupations included in the classification adopted for the mortality statistics. The total number of deaths of males at ten years of age and over, in this area, was 124,591, and of these 71,346, or 57.26 per cent., were reported as engaged in the des-

ignated occupations. These numbers are large enough to afford some reliable results.

Generally speaking the classification of occupations adopted for the population is too extended and minute to be followed in classifying the occupations of decedents, as the subdivision of deaths by ages and causes results, in many cases, in too small numbers for the computation of reliable death rates for such details.

The general occupation tables compiled for the population of the whole country cover 218 titles, giving the occupation of 18,821,090 males of which number 17,765,270 are included in the 102 titles embraced in the tables showing the deaths in relation to occupation. The difference, which is but 1,055,820, is less than 6 per cent. of the whole number, and is distributed among 116 occupations.

The general distinction of what a person does, and the conditions surrounding his employment, rather than technical skill, proprietary interest, or character of products, being most important in studying the effect of occupation upon the mortality at different ages, or from different causes, many minor occupations prosecuted under generally similar conditions may properly be grouped and considered together.

The following figures and remarks relate to occupations of males only.

The aggregate number of occupied males in the registration area and its subdivisions, with the number in each class of occupations and the proportion in each class per 1000 of the total, is shown in Table I.

Table II. shows the proportion and distribution of the population in the various classes of occupations in the several areas and the corresponding figures for the deaths follow.

The death rates per 1000 of male population are shown in Table III.

Tables I, II, and III show the aggregate number and proportion of the population and decedents in each class of occupations in the several areas, with the corresponding death rates, but the

TABLE I.

Population in each class, and proportion per 1000	Registration area	Registration states			Registration cities in other states
		Total	Cities	Rural	
Population, all classes	5,809,803	3,491,407	2,043,724	1,447,683	2,318,396
Professional	207,268	116,873	80,552	36,321	90,395
Clerical and official	624,126	324,032	261,706	62,326	300,094
Mercantile and trading	528,225	290,951	223,218	67,733	237,274
Entertainment	102,623	54,771	40,802	13,969	47,852
Personal service, police, and military	149,834	78,243	63,815	14,428	71,591
Laboring and servant	947,088	468,721	311,092	157,629	478,367
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1,975,937	1,167,886	827,998	339,888	808,051
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	1,274,702	989,930	234,541	755,389	284,772
Proportion in each class per 1000					
Professional	35.68	33.47	39.41	25.09	38.99
Clerical and official	107.43	92.81	128.05	43.05	129.44
Mercantile and trading	90.92	83.33	109.22	46.79	102.34
Entertainment	17.66	15.69	19.96	9.65	20.64
Personal service, police, and military	25.79	22.41	31.22	9.97	30.88
Laboring and servant	163.02	134.25	152.22	108.88	206.34
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	340.10	334.50	405.14	234.78	348.54
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	219.41	283.53	114.76	521.79	122.83

TABLE II.

Classes of occupations	Registration area	Registration states			Registration cities in other states
		Total	Cities	Rural	
All classes	12.28	13.84	15.69	11.21	9.94
Professional	13.50	15.70	16.04	14.95	10.66
Clerical and official	7.69	9.80	10.26	7.91	5.41
Mercantile and trading	10.54	12.25	12.87	10.22	8.43
Entertainment	13.08	14.53	15.86	10.67	11.41
Personal service, police, and military	12.49	15.39	16.52	10.40	9.32
Laboring and servant	18.24	22.58	25.15	17.52	13.99
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	11.38	12.96	14.03	10.36	9.10
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	11.92	12.13	17.39	10.49	11.20

TABLE III.

Deaths in each class, and proportion per 1000	Registration area	Registration states			Registration cities in other states
		Total	Cities	Rural	
Deaths, all classes	71,346	48,306	32,071	16,235	23,040
Professional	2,799	1,835	1,292	543	964
Clerical and official	4,802	3,177	2,684	493	1,625
Mercantile and trading	5,566	3,565	2,873	692	2,001
Entertainment	1,342	796	647	149	546
Personal service, police, and military	1,871	1,204	1,054	150	667
Laboring and servant	17,278	10,586	7,824	2,762	6,692
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	22,493	15,138	11,618	3,520	7,355
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	15,195	12,005	4,079	7,926	3,190
Proportion in each class per 1000					
Professional	39.23	37.99	40.29	33.45	41.83
Clerical and official	67.31	65.77	83.69	30.37	70.53
Mercantile and trading	78.01	73.80	89.58	42.62	86.85
Entertainment	18.81	16.48	20.17	9.18	23.70
Personal service, police, and military	26.22	24.92	32.86	9.24	28.95
Laboring and servant	242.17	219.14	243.96	170.13	290.45
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	315.26	313.38	362.26	216.82	319.23
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	212.98	248.52	127.19	488.20	138.45

variations in the gross death rates of the different classes are due to differences in the age distribution of the population engaged, as well as in the varying conditions under which the occupations are pursued.

The importance of taking into consideration the age distribution of the population contributing the deaths in comparing the death rates of persons engaged in different occupations will be seen from the following table which shows, for the registration states, the number of males reported as engaged in each class of occupations, in the aggregate, and in each of four age groups; the number of deaths among the same during the census year, and the percentage of the population and deaths in each age group.

TABLE IV.

Population, deaths, and percentages in each class	Age groups				
	All ages	15 to 25 years	25 to 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over
Population	3,491,407	853,690	1,587,177	800,280	197,284
Professional	116,873	16,049	61,623	30,613	8,085
Clerical and official	324,032	111,162	138,947	59,327	10,197
Mercantile and trading	290,951	53,428	149,154	73,652	12,393
Entertainment	54,771	8,879	30,655	13,403	1,658
Personal service, police, and military	78,243	13,555	42,000	19,094	3,025
Laboring and servant	468,721	121,874	210,222	101,623	20,710
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1,167,886	309,904	546,934	247,479	45,554
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	989,930	218,839	407,342	255,089	95,662
Per cent. in each class		24.45	45.45	22.92	5.65
Professional		13.73	52.72	26.19	6.92
Clerical and official		34.36	42.88	18.31	3.15
Mercantile and trading		18.36	51.37	25.31	4.27
Entertainment		16.21	55.97	24.47	3.03
Personal service, police, and military		17.32	53.68	24.40	3.87
Laboring and servant		26.00	44.85	21.68	4.42
Manufacturing and mechanical industries		26.54	46.83	21.19	3.90
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor		22.11	41.15	25.77	9.66
Deaths	48,306	4,762	14,748	14,728	13,827
Professional	1,835	81	522	585	641
Clerical and official	3,177	685	1,271	810	393
Mercantile and trading	3,565	188	1,110	1,350	912
Entertainment	796	76	392	244	84
Personal service, police, and military	1,204	88	471	439	206
Laboring and servant	10,586	1,186	3,566	3,374	2,379
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	15,138	1,555	5,021	4,982	3,538
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	12,005	903	2,395	2,944	5,674
Per cent. in each class		9.86	30.51	30.49	28.62
Professional		4.41	28.45	31.88	34.93
Clerical and official		21.56	40.01	25.50	12.37
Mercantile and trading		5.27	31.14	22.72	11.02
Entertainment		9.55	49.25	30.65	10.55
Personal service, police, and military		7.31	39.12	36.46	17.11
Laboring and servant		11.20	33.69	31.87	22.47
Manufacturing and mechanical industries		10.27	33.17	32.91	23.37
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor		7.52	19.95	24.52	47.26

These figures show that 28.57 per cent. of the males engaged in the specified occupations were 45 years of age and over, and that these furnish 59.11 per cent. of the deaths reported. Nearly one-third of the whole number of deaths occurred at 65 years or over, and in less than 6 per cent. of the population.

In the age group 15 to 25 years the greatest proportions of population occurred in the clerical and official class (34.36 per cent.), the class engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries (26.54 per cent.) and the laboring and servant class 26 per cent. It is in this age group that the death rate is lowest.

In the age group 65 years and over, in which the death rate is highest, the greatest proportions of population are found in the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits (9.66 per cent.) and the professional class (6.92 per cent.).

The death rates at all ages and in each age group, corresponding with the two preceding tables, are shown below.

TABLE V.

All males, and males in specified occupations and classes of occupations	All ages	15 to 25 years	25 to 45 years	45 to 65 years	65 years and over
All males	21.54	7.16	11.59	23.04	78.30
Males in specified occupations	13.84	5.58	9.29	18.43	70.09
Professional	15.70	5.05	8.47	19.11	79.28
Clerical and official	9.80	6.16	9.15	13.65	38.54
Mercantile and trading	12.25	3.52	7.43	17.11	73.59
Entertainment	14.53	8.56	12.79	18.20	50.66
Personal service, police, and military	15.39	6.49	11.21	22.99	68.10
Laboring and servant	22.58	9.73	16.96	33.20	114.87
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	12.96	5.02	9.18	20.13	77.67
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	12.13	4.13	5.88	11.54	59.31

The first line in the preceding table gives the death rate of all males, without regard to occupation, for comparative purposes. The gross death rate of all males (21.54 per 1000) and that of

males engaged in the specified occupations (13.84 per 1000) are not comparable, as the former is based upon deaths occurring at all ages, and includes a large proportion of children not found in the latter. Above the age of 15 years it will be seen that the death rates of males in the designated occupations are uniformly lower.

In order to obtain an adequate basis for comparing the death rates of persons engaged in different occupations which will show the relative healthfulness of such occupations, it is necessary to eliminate the disproportions in numbers and the inequalities in the age distribution, and get results which will represent an equal number of persons in each occupation, distributed equally as to ages.

This has been done in the reports of the registrar-general of England for males between 25 and 65 years of age, by using the average death rate of all males between 25 and 65 years to determine the number of males necessary to produce 1000 deaths at a given rate, and the number so found is divided into the age groups 25 to 45, and 45 to 65 years upon the same proportion as that existing in the number furnishing the original rate.

Pursuing this plan for the registration states we find that there were 2,711,129 males in this area between 25 and 65 years of age, 1,788,854 being between 25 and 45, and 922,275 between 45 and 65 years. At the average death rate of all males between these ages there were 1000 deaths to each 64,558 males between 25 and 65 years of age. Subdividing this number in the proportions indicated for the population stated above gives 42,597 between 25 and 45, and 21,961 between 45 and 65. These numbers correspond very closely with those in the English report, namely, 64,641 between 25 and 65 years, with 41,920 under, and 22,721 over 45 years.

The 1000 deaths among the 64,558 males of the stated ages is used as the standard, and the comparative number is found for each occupation by multiplying 42,597 by the death rate in that occupation at 25 to 45 years, and 21,961 by the correspond-

ing death rate at 45 to 65 years, and adding together the numbers so found. For instance, 42,597 lawyers between 25 and 45 years at the death rate of 8.50 per 1000 would give 362 deaths; and 21,961 between 45 and 65 years at the death rate of 21.68 per 1000 would give 476 deaths, making a total of 838, which represents the mortality of lawyers between 25 and 65 years as compared with the standard mortality of all males of the same ages, which is stated as 1000.

The table given below shows the death rates, at these ages, of all males, of occupied males, and of males in certain occupations in the registration states, with the mortality of those in each class or occupation, computed as above, in comparison with the corresponding results in England.

TABLE VI.

Occupations	Death rates				Comparative mortality based on an equal number in each occupation, divided equally as to ages.	
	England, 1880–1882		Registration states, 1890			
	25 to 45 years	45 to 65 years	25 to 45 years	45 to 65 years	England	Registration states
All males	10.16	25.27	11.59	23.04	1,000	1,000
Occupied males	9.71	24.63	9.29	18.43	967	800
Clergymen	4.64	15.93	5.88	14.72	556	574
Lawyers	7.54	23.13	8.50	21.68	842	838
Physicians and surgeons	11.57	28.03	9.52	21.15	1,122	870
Teachers	6.41	19.84	6.18	14.35	719	578
Musicians and teachers of music	13.78	32.39	10.59	25.65	1,314	1,014
Commercial travelers and salesmen	9.04	25.03	5.78	12.97	948	531
Apothecaries, pharmacists, etc.	10.58	25.16	11.47	27.79	1,015	1,099
Butchers	12.16	29.08	11.83	26.24	1,170	1,080
Bakers and confectioners	8.70	26.12	11.19	28.45	958	1,101
Barbers and hairdressers	13.64	33.25	11.80	24.89	1,327	1,049
Tailors	10.73	26.47	8.57	28.17	1,051	984
Boot and shoe makers	9.31	23.36	8.65	21.26	921	835
Bookbinders	11.73	29.72	16.67	13.76	1,167	1,012
Plasterers and whitewashers	7.79	25.07	13.20	25.56	896	1,124
Cabinetmakers and upholsterers	9.55	24.77	9.31	21.90	963	878
Carpenters and joiners	7.77	21.74	7.11	16.60	820	667
Blacksmiths	9.29	25.67	9.02	18.56	973	792

It will be seen that the death rate of all males in the age group 25 to 45 years in the registration states (11.59) was somewhat higher than the English rate at this age (10.16), but in the age group 45 to 65 years it was lower in the registration states (23.04) than in England.

In the lower age group the death rates were higher in the registration states than in England among clergymen (registration states 5.88, England 4.64), lawyers (registration states 8.50, England 7.54), apothecaries (registration states 11.47, England 10.58), bakers and confectioners (registration states 11.19, England 8.70), bookbinders (registration states 16.67, England 11.73), and plasterers and whitewashers (registration states 13.20, England 7.79), but were lower in all other occupations specified.

In the higher age group the rates were higher in the registration states among apothecaries (registration states 27.79, England 25.16), bakers and confectioners (registration states 28.45, England 26.12), tailors (registration states 28.17, England 26.47), and plasterers and whitewashers (registration states 25.56, England 25.07), and were lower in all other occupations specified.

The comparative mortality figures, computed as described above, are shown in the last two columns. From these it appears that in the registration states the mortality was higher than the standard figure for all males (1000), for musicians and teachers of music (1014), apothecaries (1099), butchers (1080), bakers and confectioners (1101), barbers (1049), bookbinders (1012), and plasterers and whitewashers (1124), and lower than the standard for all other occupations, the rate for those in all occupations being represented by 800.

The comparative mortality was also higher in the registration states than in England among clergymen (registration states 574, England 556), apothecaries (registration states 1099, England 1015), and bakers and confectioners (registration states 1101, England 958), but was lower than in England among those in all other occupations specified.

TABLE VII.

Occupations	Mortality at 25 to 65 years on basis of 1000 deaths among	
	All males	Occupied males
All males, and males in specified occupations	1000	1249
Total in selected occupations	800	1000
Professional:		
Architects, artists, and teachers of art, etc.	805	1007
Clergymen	574	716
Journalists	1085	1355
Lawyers	838	1046
Musicians and teachers of music	1014	1266
Physicians and surgeons	870	1086
Professors, teachers, literary and scientific persons	771	964
Others of this class	573	716
Clerical and official:		
Stenographers and typewriters	563	704
Accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, and copyists	995	1244
Bankers, brokers, and officials of companies	222	277
Collectors, auctioneers, and agents	576	719
Mercantile and trading:		
Apothecaries, pharmacists, etc.	1099	1371
Commercial travelers and salesmen	531	663
Merchants and dealers	711	887
Hucksters and peddlers	956	1194
Entertainment:		
Hotel and boarding-house keepers	730	913
Saloon keepers, wine and liquor dealers, etc.	1055	1320
Personal service, police and military:		
Barbers and hairdressers	1049	1311
Janitors and sextons	954	1193
Launderers	1119	1395
Policemen, watchmen, and detectives	864	1081
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (United States)	1915	2380
Others of this class	919	1148
Laboring and servant:		
Laborers	1501	1875
Messengers and newsboys	918	1147
Servants	1132	1414
Manufacturing and mechanical industries:		
Bakers and confectioners	1101	1374
Blacksmiths	792	989
Bleachers, dyers, and scourers	807	1008
Bookbinders	1012	1271
Boot and shoe makers	835	1042
Brassfounders and coppersmiths	676	845
Brewers, distillers, and rectifiers	1030	1283
Butchers	1080	1349
Cabinetmakers and upholsterers	878	1095
Carpenters and joiners	667	833

While the figures in Table VI show the relative mortality of males in each specified occupation in comparison with the average mortality of all males, and indicate the relative mortality in each occupation in comparison with the others, the latter is better shown by taking the mortality of the total occupied males, computed in the same way, as the standard of comparison, and this is done in Table VII for the registration states which gives results for males between 25 and 65 years of age according to both standards, and for a more extended list of occupations.

TABLE VIII.

Occupations	Mortality at 25 to 65 years on basis of 1000 deaths among	
	All males	Occupied males
Cigar makers and tobacco workers	1301	1624
Compositors, printers, and pressmen	963	1204
Coopers	1033	1290
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	858	1072
Glass blowers and glass workers	828	1035
Harness and saddle makers, trunk makers, etc.	818	1022
Hat and cap makers	1490	1864
Iron and steel workers	708	883
Leather curriers, dressers, finishers, and tanners.	664	829
Machinists	761	950
Marble and stone cutters	974	1218
Masons (brick and stone)	807	1008
Mill and factory operatives (textiles)	614	768
Millers (flour and grist)	619	774
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers	934	1167
Plasterers and whitewashers	1124	1404
Plumbers, and gas and steam fitters	1021	1275
Tailors	984	1226
Tinners and tinware makers	960	1200
Others of this class	795	994
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor		
Boatmen and canal men	1324	1654
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, drivers, etc.	897	1122
Farmers, farm laborers, gardeners, etc	358	446
Livery-stable keepers and hostlers	851	1063
Lumbermen and raftsmen	721	900
Miners and quarrymen	546	682
Sailors, fishermen, and pilots	1071	1338
Steam-railroad employés	559	700
Telegraph and telephone operators, electric-light men, etc	600	750

The mortality figures given in the last column of Table VIII are apparently higher than those in the first column, but this is only relatively so, the comparative mortality of all males being 1249, or 25 per cent. higher than that of occupied males.

At the average death rate of males between 25 and 65 years in the specified occupations there would be 1000 deaths to each 80,972 males, instead of 1000 deaths to each 64,558 males when the unoccupied are included.

Comparing the mortality of males in the different occupations, it will be seen that it was highest among soldiers, sailors, and marines (United States service, 2380), laborers (1875), hat and cap makers (1864), boatmen and canal men (1654), cigar makers and tobacco workers (1624), servants (1414), plasterers and whitewashers (1404), launderers (1395), bakers and confectioners (1374), apothecaries, pharmacists, etc. (1371), journalists (1355), butchers (1349), sailors, fishermen, and pilots (1338), saloon keepers, wine and liquor dealers, etc. (1320), barbers (1311), coopers (1290), brewers, distillers, and rectifiers (1283), plumbers (1275), and bookbinders (1271).

The occupations for which the mortality was most below the average are bankers, brokers, and officials of companies (277), farmers and farm laborers, etc. (446), commercial travelers (663), miners and quarrymen (682), steam-railroad employés (700), clergymen (716), and collectors, auctioneers, and agents (719).

The mortality, or death rate, from some of the principal causes and classes of causes in the whole registration area per 100,000 males engaged in each occupation is shown in Table IX.

Considering the causes of death specified in Table X, it will be seen that the average death rate from heart disease was 112.55 per 100,000, being highest in the professional class (156.32), the laboring and servant class (144.91), and the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits (121.52), and lowest in the clerical and official class (63.03).

TABLE IX.

	Death rates, due to					
	Heart disease	Consumption	Diseases of the nervous system	Diseases of the respir't'y system	Suicide	Accidents and injuries
Total selected occupations	112.55	249.65	132.72	203.09	16.92	97.54
Professional class	156.32	197.81	202.64	211.80	21.71	55.97
Architects, artists	102.83	233.71	121.53	140.23	42.07	28.05
Clergymen	229.36	185.10	293.74	313.86	4.02	56.33
Journalists	193.89	369.31	120.03	166.19	9.23	55.40
Lawyers	154.82	173.83	255.32	220.01	27.16	84.20
Musicians and teachers of music	155.93	284.98	166.68	204.32	32.26	53.77
Physicians and surgeons	221.67	181.36	328.18	342.57	14.40	63.33
Professors, authors, teachers, and scientific persons	119.72	195.10	164.06	150.75	26.60	93.11
Others of this class	90.70	133.38	85.36	109.37	18.67	18.67
Clerical and official	63.03	211.83	82.86	125.91	17.73	35.46
Stenographers and typewriters	11.93	190.91	35.80	23.86	23.86	35.80
Accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, and copyists	61.62	275.84	83.94	142.41	18.84	36.15
Bankers, brokers, and officials of companies	50.53	40.04	50.53	62.93	9.53	22.88
Collectors, auctioneers, and agents	87.52	125.48	118.09	132.86	23.20	41.12
Mercantile and trading	117.53	174.37	145.76	166.64	16.43	40.40
Apothecaries, pharmacists, etc	91.71	259.83	173.22	234.36	25.47	40.76
Commercial travelers and salesmen	37.54	127.89	52.81	77.63	10.82	28.63
Merchants and dealers	160.23	187.54	194.87	203.20	17.99	45.30
Hucksters and peddlers	124.05	215.85	129.02	208.41	22.33	59.55
Entertainment	99.51	303.81	127.69	261.54	23.78	71.60
Hotel and boarding-house keepers	172.70	202.31	212.18	241.78	19.74	59.21
Saloon keepers, wine and liquor dealers, etc	83.61	325.87	109.34	265.84	24.65	73.96
Personal service, police, and military	118.13	280.98	124.14	225.58	29.37	82.09
Barbers and hairdressers	107.14	348.20	93.75	160.71	40.18	55.80
Janitors and sextons	162.63	225.18	112.59	344.03	37.53	93.83
Launderers	53.02	365.85	26.51	74.23	21.21	37.12
Policemen, watchmen, and detectives	122.04	204.06	148.04	278.08	18.01	124.04
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (United States)	167.68	372.61	260.83	232.88	27.95	121.10
Others of this class	147.90	190.17	200.74	338.09	42.26	.....
Laboring and servant	144.91	387.31	155.53	332.20	17.25	181.93
Laborers	163.47	424.09	177.85	381.08	19.04	210.62
Messengers and newsboys	13.64	54.57	24.91	20.46	11.37	.....
Servants	81.53	285.34	70.41	154.16	8.89	62.26
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	101.17	267.57	121.01	182.75	17.97	73.79
Bakers and confectioners	93.46	291.37	130.11	199.75	25.66	42.15
Blacksmiths	131.63	230.66	155.79	221.21	22.95	64.01
Bleachers, dyers, and scourers	72.68	211.83	101.31	174.99	27.63	73.68
Bookbinders	75.79	407.35	104.21	208.41	28.42	9.47
Boot and shoe makers	162.30	318.47	195.22	250.34	19.14	65.84
Brassfounders and coppersmiths	79.10	338.98	84.75	158.19	5.65	45.20

TABLE X.

	Death rates, due to					
	Heart Disease	Consumption	Diseases of the nervous system	Diseases of the resp't'y system	Suicide	Accidents and injuries
Brewers, distillers, and rectifiers	96.41	271.17	96.41	216.93	36.16	66.29
Butchers	89.26	259.18	173.76	178.51	20.60	82.39
Cabinetmakers and upholsterers	101.85	332.71	110.90	226.34	27.16	38.48
Carpenters and joiners	107.30	205.67	155.23	175.98	12.52	98.00
Cigar makers and tobacco workers	94.45	454.45	100.36	184.97	29.52	39.36
Compositors, printers, and pressmen	73.51	343.50	73.51	130.98	12.03	37.42
Coopers	161.53	310.95	193.84	282.68	20.19	84.80
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive	116.87	238.07	112.54	184.69	12.99	187.57
Glass blowers and glass workers	65.00	346.50	88.00	121.00	22.00	49.50
Harness and saddle makers, trunk makers, etc	86.44	285.26	108.05	198.82	25.93	43.22
Hat and cap makers	120.20	643.07	156.26	270.45	6.01	78.13
Iron and steel workers	63.26	188.47	78.75	157.49	11.62	71.00
Leather curriers, dressers, finishers, and tanners	97.56	185.04	94.20	164.85	10.09	74.01
Machinists	96.20	225.50	93.89	150.08	14.62	53.10
Marble aud stone cutters	72.50	398.73	77.67	233.02	7.77	64.73
Masons (brick and stone)	118.82	271.75	130.58	239.98	24.70	125.87
Mill and factory operatives (textiles)	72.30	223.52	60.25	114.47	13.25	52.42
Millers (flour and grist)	169.59	245.91	211.99	211.99	8.48	101.76
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers	101.64	266.63	119.32	167.20	22.10	92.07
Plasterers and whitewashers	125.43	316.09	95.83	175.61	10.03	75.26
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	69.61	232.70	65.63	141.21	5.97	47.73
Tailors	126.80	283.18	155.33	229.29	34.87	54.95
Tinners and tinware makers	58.11	302.16	78.45	188.85	29.05	95.88
Others of this class	84.05	267.26	113.46	165.57	19.33	58.83
Agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor	121.52	168.04	142.94	181.38	12.00	135.95
Boatmen and canal men	180.75	332.95	218.80	285.39	....	418.57
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, drivers, etc	76.43	236.38	78.32	180.23	8.49	117.01
Farmers, farm laborers, gardeners, etc	150.82	133.07	182.25	194.16	12.80	66.74
Livery-stable keepers and hostlers	65.91	278.87	81.13	180.00	22.82	70.98
Lumbermen and raftsmen	87.60	131.41	102.20	189.81	29.20	160.61
Miners and quarrymen	93.71	136.96	104.52	212.65	7.20	277.92
Sailors, fishermen, and pilots	227.02	424.58	253.01	303.27	17.33	294.61
Steam-railroad employés	42.40	110.12	48.88	85.97	9.42	375.69
Telegraph and telephone operators, electric-light men, etc	45.89	208.58	87.60	20.86	12.52	137.66

Of the individual occupations, the highest death rates occurred among clergymen (229.36), sailors, fishermen, and pilots (227.02), physicians and surgeons (221.67), journalists

(193.89), boatmen and canal men (180.75), hotel and boarding-house keepers (172.70), and millers (169.59), and the lowest rates from this cause among stenographers and typewriters (11.93), messengers and newsboys (13.64), commercial travelers and salesmen (37.54), steam-railroad employés (42.40), and telegraph and telephone operators, etc. (45.89).

The average death rate from consumption was 249.65 per 100,000, which was exceeded in the laboring and servant class (387.31), the entertainment class (303.81), the personal-service, police, and military class (280.98), and the class engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries (267.57). It was below the average in the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits, in which it was lowest (168.04), the mercantile and trading class (174.27), the professional class (197.81), and the clerical and official class (211.83).

The highest death rates from consumption occurred among hat and cap makers (643.07), cigar makers and tobacco workers (454.45), laborers (424.09), sailors, fishermen, and pilots (424.45), bookbinders (407.35), marble and stone cutters (398.73), soldiers, sailors, and marines, United States service (372.61), and barbers (348.20). The lowest rates from this cause occurred among bankers, brokers, and officials of companies (40.04), messengers and newsboys (54.57), steam-railroad employés (110.12), collectors, auctioneers, and agents (125.48), commercial travelers and salesmen (127.89), farmers and farm laborers, etc. (133.07), and lumbermen and raftsmen (131.41).

In the principal occupations the death rates from consumption were above the average among bakers and confectioners (291.37), boot and shoe makers (318.47), cabinetmakers and upholsterers (332.71), compositors, printers, and pressmen (343.50), coopers (310.95), brick and stone masons (271.75), painters, glaziers, and varnishers (266.63), tailors (283.18), and accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, and copyists (274.84), and below the average among clergymen (185.10), lawyers (173.83), physicians (181.36), merchants (187.54), blacksmiths (230.66),

carpenters (205.67), iron and steel workers (188.47), leather curriers, tanners, etc. (185.04), machinists (225.50), and among all of those in the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits except sailors and watermen, and livery-stable keepers, etc.

The average death rate from diseases of the nervous system was 132.72 per 100,000. It was above the average in the professional class, in which it was highest (202.64), the laboring and servant class (155.43), the mercantile and trading class (145.76), and the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits (142.94), and was below the average in all other classes, being lowest in the clerical and official class (82.86).

Of the individual occupations the death rate from these diseases was highest among physicians (328.18), clergymen (293.74), soldiers, sailors, and marines, United States service (260.83), lawyers (255.32), and sailors, fishermen, and pilots (253.01). It was lowest among messengers and newsboys (20.46), launderers (26.51), stenographers and typewriters (35.80), and steam-railroad employés (48.48).

In the principal occupations the death rate from diseases of the nervous system was highest among brick and stone masons (239.98), tailors (229.29), boot and shoe makers (195.22), merchants (194.87), farmers and farm laborers (182.05), butchers (173.76), painters, glaziers, and varnishers (167.20), iron and steel workers (157.49), blacksmiths (155.79), carpenters (155.23), and machinists (150.08), and was lowest among bankers, brokers, and officials of companies (50.53), servants (70.41), draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc. (78.32), accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, and copyists (83.94), cigar makers and tobacco workers (100.36), cabinetmakers and upholsterers (110.90), and mill and factory operatives (114.47).

The average death rate from diseases of the respiratory system was 203.09 per 100,000. It was above the average in the laboring and servant class (332.20), in which it was highest, the entertainment class (261.54), the personal-service, police,

and military class (225.58), and the professional class (211.80), and was below the average in all other classes, being lowest in the clerical and official class (125.91).

Of the individual occupations the death rate from these diseases was highest among laborers (381.08), janitors and sextons (344.03), physicians (342.57), sailors, fishermen, and pilots (303.27), boatmen and canal men (285.39), coopers (282.68), policemen, watchmen, etc. (278.08), and was lowest among messengers and newsboys (20.46), telegraph and telephone operators, etc. (20.86), stenographers and typewriters (23.86), bankers, brokers, and officials of companies (62.93), launderers (74.23), commercial travelers and salesmen (77.63), and steam-railroad employés (85.97).

Taking the principal occupations, the death rate from these diseases was highest among saloon keepers, etc. (265.84), boot and shoe makers (250.34), brick and stone masons (239.98), marble and stone cutters (233.02), cabinetmakers and upholsterers (226.34), blacksmiths (221.21), and lawyers (220.01), and was lowest among accountants, bookkeepers, clerks and copyists (142.41), machinists (150.08), iron and steel workers (157.49), carpenters (175.98), butchers (178.51), and bakers and confectioners (199.75).

The average death rate from suicide was 16.92 per 100,000. It was highest in the personal-service, police, and military class (29.37), the entertainment class (23.78), and the professional class (21.74), and was lowest in the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits (12).

In the individual occupations the death rate from suicide was highest among architects, artists, etc. (42.07), barbers (40.18), janitors and sextons (37.53), brewers, etc. (36.16), tailors (34.87), and musicians and teachers of music (32.26), and was lowest among clergymen (4.02), brassfounders, etc. (5.65), plumbers (5.97), and hat and cap makers (6.01).

Taking the principal occupations, the death rate from suicide was highest among lawyers (27.16), cabinetmakers, etc. (27.16), bakers and confectioners (25.66), blacksmiths (22.95), painters,

glaziers, and varnishers (22.10), butchers (20.60), boot and shoe makers (19.14), laborers (19.04), accountants, bookkeepers, clerks and copyists (18.84), and merchants (17.97), and was lowest among marble and stone cutters (7.77), steam-railroad employés (9.42), iron and steel workers (11.62), compositors, printers, and pressmen (12.03), carpenters (12.52), farmers and farm laborers (12.80), physicians (14.40), and machinists (14.62).

The average death rate from accidents and injuries, excluding suicide, was 97.54 per 100,000, and was above this average only in the laboring and servant class (181.93), and the class engaged in agriculture, transportation, and other outdoor pursuits (135.95).

In the individual occupations the highest death rates from accidents and injuries occurred among boatmen and canal men (418.57), steam-railroad employés (375.69), sailors, fishermen, and pilots (294.61), miners and quarrymen (277.92) laborers (210.62), engineers and firemen, not locomotive (187.57), lumbermen and raftsmen (160.61), telegraph and telephone operators etc. (137.66), brick and stone masons (125.87), policemen, watchmen, etc. (124.04), soldiers, sailors, and marines, United States service (121.10), and draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc. (117.01).

The preceding table gives only a few of the principal causes of death for which the death rates in relation to occupation are presented in the report.

The analysis of the occupation data covers 134 pages, and gives, for each occupation, the number and proportion of the population engaged, the death and death rates by age periods, in the various areas, also the death rates and proportion of deaths due to different causes. The general tables of death in relation to occupation cover 337 pages.

There is no corresponding data for any previous census, and this work was designed to supply as complete a basis as the data would permit for future comparisons.

It is greatly to be regretted that there is such a wide diver-

sity in the laws and regulations adopted concerning the registration of deaths in various states and cities, especially in the forms employed for returning the deaths, and in the opinions of the local officers as to the importance of certain facts. In many places essential facts are omitted; in others they may be called for, but perhaps not used in the compilations of the local officers, and therefore not rigidly insisted upon; in still others the inquiry may be loosely stated, affording grounds for very different constructions.

The effect of these diversities is very apparent when—as in the census work—the effort is made to combine and analyze the returns from all such areas. This matter is treated at considerable length in the census report, and it is hoped that in future reports some of these defects may be remedied.

If the legislation now pending before Congress is enacted, and a permanent census service established upon the plan proposed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, commissioner of labor, in charge of the eleventh census, and which in its relation to mortality and vital statistics was discussed by the writer in a paper read before the American Statistical Association (*Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. V, No. 37, March 1897), there will be an annual report issued on this subject which will bring the central work of compilation much more closely in touch with that of the local statisticians.

LIST OF REGISTRATION CITIES IN NON-REGISTRATION STATES, FOR WHICH DATA ARE GIVEN IN THE REPORTS OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.

Fort Smith, Ark.	Dubuque, Ia.	Toledo, O.
Alameda, Cal.	Keokuk, Ia.	Allegheny, Pa.
Fresno, Cal.	Muscatine, Ia.	Altoona, Pa.
Los Angeles, Cal.	Louisville, Ky.	Erie, Pa.
Oakland, Cal.	Paducah, Ky.	Norristown, Pa.
Sacramento, Cal.	New Orleans, La.	Philadelphia, Pa.
San Francisco, Cal.	Lewiston, Me.	Pittsburg, Pa.
San Jose, Cal.	Baltimore, Md.	Reading, Pa.
Stockton, Cal.	Detroit, Mich.	Scranton, Pa.
Denver, Colo.	Manistee, Mich.	Titusville, Pa.

Atlanta, Ga.
Augusta, Ga.
Savannah, Ga.
Aurora, Ill.
Chicago, Ill.
Galesburg, Ill.
Jacksonville, Ill.
Ottawa, Ill.
Peoria, Ill.
Rockford, Ill.
Evansville, Ind.
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Laporte, Ind.
Terre Haute, Ind.
Council Bluffs, Ia.
Davenport, Ia.
Muskegon, Mich.
Minneapolis, Minn.
St. Paul, Minn.
Stillwater, Minn.
Jackson, Miss.
Kansas City, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo.
Omaha, Neb.
Raleigh, N. C.
Chillicothe, O.
Cincinnati, O.
Cleveland, O.
Columbus, O.
Dayton, O.
Hamilton, O.
Portsmouth, O.
Springfield, O.
York, Pa.
Charleston, S. C.
Chattanooga, Tenn.
Knoxville, Tenn.
Memphis, Tenn.
Nashville, Tenn.
Cleburne, Tex.
Dallas, Tex.
Fort Worth, Tex.
Galveston, Tex.
San Antonio, Tex.
Lynchburg, Va.
Petersburg, Va.
Richmond, Va.
La Crosse, Wis.
Milwaukee, Wis.

WILLIAM A. KING.

SOCIAL CONTROL. IX.

PERSONALITY.

I.

THE natural inequality of men, which explains so much to the sociologist, is nowhere more strikingly manifested than in the ascendency which certain persons are able to gain over their fellows without reliance on the ordinary means of procuring obedience. The assumption that everybody acts egotistically until some form of control is exercised is undermined, not only by the existence of spontaneous sympathy, but also by the fact of voluntary subordination. Sympathy with fellows and deference to the born leader are the two primitive social facts which precede and antedate all the species of control I have been describing.

That at the appearance of certain exceptional men the impulse to obey is as natural and overpowering as that of the spaniel to nose the heels of a master, can be established by numerous citations.

Garibaldi "inspired among men of the most various temperaments love that nothing could shake, and devotion that fell little short of idolatry." "He enjoyed the worship and cast the spell of a legendary hero."

Cortez had "wonderful power over the discordant masses gathered under his banner."

Of Sam Houston it is said: "If he had been bound naked upon the back of a wild horse, like Mazeppa, the first tribe he came to would have chosen him prince."

Mirabeau "carries all before him;" has "a terrible gift of familiarity," "turns people round his thumb," "is possessed of a secret charm that . . . . opens him the hearts of almost all people."

Said Vandamme of Napoleon: "That devil of a man exercises a fascination on me that I cannot explain to myself, and in such a degree that, though I fear neither God nor devil, when I am in his presence I am ready to tremble like a child, and he could make me go through the eye of a needle to throw myself into the fire." Augereau is stupefied at their first meeting, and confesses afterward that this "little devil of a general" has inspired him with awe.

II.

What are the conditions and causes of this personal ascendency?

Undoubtedly a condition of excitement favors it. The battle field, with its exalted mood, has always been the scene of the most splendid triumphs of personal influence. Hence great captains—Hannibal, Cæsar, Clive, Bonaparte, Ney, Stonewall Jackson, Lee, Skobeleff—have shown a rare capacity to win their men's devotion. Cavalry battle, especially, with its intoxication of rapid movement and thrill of personal encounter, gives to leaders like Prince Rupert, Murat, Schill, Sheridan, or Phil Kearney an almost superhuman value. Men in masses—armies, mobs, audiences—succumb more readily than the same men taken singly, because of the herd thrill. Hence, perhaps, the otherwise strange connection between personal ascendency and public speaking. Quite apart from the persuasiveness of his utterances, the orator enjoys two favorable conditions of personal fascination—a crowd and continuous attention. Times of alarm and stress give golden opportunities to the born leader. We have but to recall Peter the Hermit, Joan of Arc, Danton, Lamartine, Garibaldi, and Lincoln.

The causes of hero worship are to be sought in the hero. The serene brow of Sakya Muni, the burning black eyes of Mahomet, the stature of Charlemagne or Peter the Great, the purity that shone upon the face of the Maid, the "terrific ugliness" of Mirabeau, the piercing eye of Napoleon, the leonine face of Webster, the glance "like the glint from broken steel"

of Walker the Filibuster, the romantic aspect of Garibaldi, the yellow curls of Custer — these witness to the value of physical traits. Perfection of physique certainly subdues. The old Teutons loved to recognize in their leader the supreme manly beauty of the true god-descended Amal or Balth. Manner, as already shown, apropos of ceremony,[1] is perhaps the key to pure personal fascination. The born master is he who is able to radiate his desires into a passive circle disposed to prompt imitation. Manner serves him because of its value in suggesting belief and confidence in himself. Primitive chieftains, a sachem like Logan, a sheik like Abd-el-Kader, are renowned for their superb dignity. For winning, rather than merely impressing, the peculiar cordiality of a "magnetic" Clay or Blaine is potent. Even tricks have their effect, and we must not ignore the histrionism of Houston, Jackson, or Napoleon.

Of mental qualities strength of will is of course the invariable prerequisite; but faith in one's self and imagination are the real architects of vast personal authority. Those who win multitudes for some great enterprise — a crusade, a conquest, or a canal — are invariably great promisers. A royal imagination, coupled perhaps with the ecstatic temperament and equipped with eloquence, enables them to bedazzle their followers with prospects, and a tremorless faith in themselves and their cause inspires confidence of success. Such men were Mahomet, Cortez, Pontiac, Madame Krüdener, De Lesseps, El Mahdi. Courage and persistence avail. The man who bears up when others despair, is cool when they are excited — a Luther or a Brigham Young — acquires in time large influence. The most stupendous enterprise of all time is the campaign against the unsocial self, and in this the master qualities of a leader are generosity and love. Disinterested paladins of justice like Kossuth or Chinese Gordon, great lovers like Saint Francis or Livingstone, surpass all other influences in the power to call forth supreme personal devotion.

Such are the elements of natural prestige. But a man over-

[1] See the seventh paper of this series.

tops others, not only by virtue of his stature, but as well by whatever he stands on. The hero may be lifted up by his skill at arms, his sagacity, his hoard of experience, his talents, gifts, accomplishments. Outside the heroes of religion, the charm of pure personality is rarely seen in history, so much is it confused with a boundless admiration extorted by distinction and achievement. Who can separate Ulysses from his craft, Richard from his exploits, Saladin from his skill, Johnson from his intellect, Bismarck from his success, and say how much is due to the personality itself?

Moreover, when we pass from the heroes to the numerous captains and governors of men we must take account of still other factors. Society is ever arranging itself in ranks with reference to race, caste, family, wealth, condition, and so forth. To the Hindu the European, to the Sûdra the Brahmin, to the plebeian the patrician, to the tenant the lord, to the soldier the officer is invested with elements of prestige that have awe-inspiring, obedience-compelling power.

III.

Let us observe the rôle of personality in the history of control.

We find that in primitive societies headship, ere it becomes the sacred right of a family, is held as a matter of course by the exceptional man. Among the Khonds "the spirit of attachment to persons rather than to institutions is very powerfully developed." "The patriarch depends for obedience to his decisions entirely upon his personal influence." The homage of the Ostiaks to their chief "is voluntary and founded on personal respect." The Damaras "court slavery," and "follow a master as spaniels would." "Their hero worship is directed to people who have wit and strength enough to ill-use them." Among the Bedouins the sheik must "maintain his influence by the means which wealth, talents, courage, and noble birth afford." "The tribes never obey their sheiks unless for personal considerations." Among the Franks "the personal element is, speaking generally,

the predominant element in all the relations . . . . of public life."

From a study of Asiatic and African races one truth stands out clear. *In natural societies personal control is all the positive control there is.* But the true nature of this voluntary subordination must be noted. The sentiments that underlie early allegiance are not love and devotion, but fear, trust, and admiration. Vague fear that comes to be inspired by an Attila, a Tecumtha, or a Chaka; trust, inspired as in the case of Hastings, by his "constant successes and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty;" admiration for preëminence in those qualities that insure success in an enterprise, such as superior cunning, sagacity, knowledge, athletic skill, strength, courage, or resource. But all this amounts merely to recognition of the able-man. Early man is too egotistic and practical to be swept from his moorings by any sentiment of personal devotion. There is no hint of idolatry for one of his kind.

Nothing can carry men beyond this hard-headed cult of efficiency but a dash of idealism. With noble idealizing races, like the Arabs or the Germans, we see almost from the first something chivalric in the relations of follower to leader. The chieftain of Tacitus' Germans was the Able-man to those who chose him in assembly, but to the band of comrades—the *comitatus*—that voluntarily clave to him he was the object of all love and fidelity. We get something better than a myrmidon allegiance contingent on success as soon as we get *disinterestea* admiration, *i. e.*, admiration for qualities that are not serviceable to the follower. When men begin to admire and obey him who is most conspicuous for eloquence or truth speaking, or justice or magnanimity, we get a loyalty that does not turn on the prospect of success. Such an attitude implies that in the course of social life certain values have come to prevail, certain ideals have infected the mass—in other words, moral civilization has begun.

This disinterested appreciation of personality is but a phase of a larger movement. As a social environment becomes more

rich and varied we can distinguish a development of man's feelings, judgments, and choices which may be termed *the evolution of personality*. The law of it is that *men come to feel toward more things and to feel toward them more strongly*. The world's gray is broken up into lights and shadows. For instance, during a definite period we can see the Greek race pass from indifference to the strongest feelings of admiration or dislike for a work of art. During the Middle Ages we can observe the dawn of that sense of the charm of woman that was to give birth to romantic love. With the Renaissance the feeling for natural beauty develops prodigiously, while in about a century and a half we have seen the rise of a passion for absolute self-direction. Now in the midst of these developments we can discover *a growing sense of the charm of persons*.

So far as this means keener feelings about personal beauty or ugliness it is a chapter in the development of taste. But there is something more than æsthetic in the growing emphasis of attitude toward traits of character. In the fourth century before Christ men are enamored of courage, justice, magnanimity. In the fourth century after, it is mercy, meekness, unselfishness, that are prized. With the rise of chivalry, courage, courtesy, and purity become supreme values. In fact, whenever a people is formed certain character values are sure to be throned among the gods and become the goal of individual endeavor. The possessor of these is not followed simply as a promiser of success; he is adored as a hero.

Besides this development of personality there is a certain social development that favors hero worship. The military organization of an invading host, coupled with the stratification of races through conquest, ranges men, as it were, on social terraces. Those kingly men who stand high up on the social pyramid are invested with an additional prestige by their exceptional birth, wealth, education, or privilege. The hearty recognition of their superiority, and the frank acknowledgment of inferiority by common men, smooths the way to a costless ascendency of the born leaders from the higher class, and thus

vastly simplifies the problem of government. But this is on condition that the masses consent to be measured by the scale of the masters. Where, as with the captive Jews, or the Christian races of the Turkish Empire, the governed feels itself a subject population, and spurning the master values that brand it with inferiority clings to its own table of excellences, the ruling class will not be able to ease itself in the saddle. But if the subjugated accept the scale of values of their rulers, and so *feel* their own inferiority, the relations of coercion and submission pass over into the domination and fealty of feudal society. Here where fidelity is a universal countersign with which men meet the challenge of conscience, personal control bulks for more than it ever has before or since.

But a later evolution of personality shatters the foundations of this control. Certain theological ideas accepted by the Occident taught each man, even the undermost, to feel himself an immortal soul of a worth quite independent of his political or social weight. In the eye of Deity men stood not on rising terraces, but on a common footing. Acquired prestige, therefore, shrunk, and personality lost the brilliant chromosphere lent it by social distinction. Printing, gunpowder, trade and new land conspiring to improve the social situation of the lower classes, these theological ideas, revamped by metaphysics, were used as a lever to lift the lowly to a realizing sense of the possibilities before them. The common man was declared first custodian of an inviolable conscience, and later proprietor of a bundle of "rights." Equality was proclaimed a fact, liberty a birthright, and fraternity an ideal. Thus Protestantism, Puritanism, and democracy have worked together to deepen the individual's sense of his own worth, and to indispose him to unconditional subordination to another.

Impressed by the collapse of social order in revolutionary France, and the signs that western societies were sliding toward the abyss of anarchy, Carlyle, with his gospel of hero worship, sought to revive the sway of personality by inspiring anew reverence and admiration for the exceptional man. For the decay

of control by constituted organs he saw no remedy save in the return to personal ascendencies and personal fealty.[1] Salvation lay in brushing aside dogmas of "equality" and "rights," and fostering that humble frame of mind that bows gladly to the natural superior. To this end Carlyle made of history a drama,[2] exalted the rôle of great men,[3] belittled that of the people, over-emphasized loyalty as a principle of order,[4] and sought to trace back all existing ranks, dignities, and titles to primitive personal ascendencies.[5] In the flinging off of authority led by Luther and ending with Rousseau Carlyle saw but the casting aside of "shams," "false heroes," and "make-believe authorities," "the painful but indispensable first preparative for true sovereignty getting place among us."

It is now clear to us that Carlyle missed the drift of the age. He did not see that a new type of control was made possible by the cult of the individual. When he wrote the moral method of democracy, namely, the guidance of men by ideals to which they are held by pride and self-respect, had not yet shown its efficacy. Not on the continent, but in America, where it is a lineal descendant of Puritanism, do we see democracy providing its own antidote. Here the steadiness of a social control through self-masterhood lessens both the mood and the need of hero worship. Rare spirits, no doubt, will never be wholly defrauded of their birthright over the souls of lesser men. In emergencies, in troublous times, in new countries, and on frontiers, in the contact of higher races with lower the Strong Man still comes to

[1] Hero worship is "a fact inexpressibly precious; the most solacing fact one sees in the world at present. There is an everlasting hope in it for the management of the world."

[2] "The history of the world is the biography of great men."

[3] "They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns, and, in a sense, creators of whatsoever the mass of men contrived to do or attain."

[4] "Society is founded on hero worship." "Hero worship never dies nor can die." "Loyalty, the life breath of all society." "Admiration for one higher than himself is to this hour and at all hours the vivifying influence in man's life."

[5] "All dignities of rank on which human association rests are what we may call a *heroarchy*." "Society everywhere is some representation . . . . of a graduated worship of heroes."

his own. Moreover, if this experiment of exaggerating the common man's sense of his own worth ends, not in a proud loyalty to ideals of duty, but in an overweening conceit, unleashing a baleful egotism, the parent of misrule and lawlessness, we shall, no doubt, get the Man-on-Horseback. But not until society finds control by means of its impersonal institutions—its laws, faiths, disciplines, ideals, dogmas, and values—no longer adequate will it fall back upon personal ascendencies and strive to patch together a social order out of the order every strong personality creates about him.

IV.

How now is society able to avail itself of the control enjoyed by persons?

It is, of course, possible that such a control may in no wise comport with the ends or welfare of society. There is nothing to hinder an Alcibiades, a Napoleon, or a Burr from exploiting his fascination wholly for his private benefit, and not at all on behalf of his followers or of the group. In fact, to say nothing of the historical instances of hecatombs of victims, self-immolated to the greed or ambition of one man, we have but to look about us to see men—worldly clerics, bosses, demagogues, and adventurers—assisting themselves to the top by their magnetic power, coolly using their charm to disarm rivals or win allies as their interest may require. It is only because society soon intervenes to check the growing ascendency of such dangerous egotists that the leaders who are permitted to attain historical dimensions usually possess some social aim and significance.

There is, nevertheless, a guarantee furnished by the very nature of the born captain. The qualities—will, imagination, courage, preëminence—which give him lasting ascendency imply largeness of caliber. They go with wide horizons, far-ranging vision, soaring ambition, and a passion for large objects, great causes, and enterprises of pith and moment. Quite apart from any love of others or devotion to the group, a great man is liable to a noble enthusiasm for labors which do not issue and

terminate upon himself. Alongside of that little boat which he steers so carefully are millions of others of similar build and dimensions; none of them are worth much, and his own is not worth more. In vain will he provision it, decorate it, and shove ahead to get the first place; in vain will he repair it and handle it carefully; in a few years it leaks; sooner or later it sinks, and with it goes all the labor it has cost him.

He with eye to see the shortness of his course and the nearness of his fate will feel the pettiness of individual aims, and will be drawn toward those substantial and enduring communal objects, those corporate concerns and undertakings which affect vast numbers of men, and have an imposing secular history. Among the innumerable boats, so soon to sink, so easy to replace, there are great three-deckers, freighted with vast interests, and destined to remain afloat long after he and his boat have disappeared. Is it strange, then, that the exceptional man frequently devotes himself more willingly to steering, maneuvering, and advancing one of these ships than to managing his own frail bark?[1]

But if the man of influence still cleaves to a purely personal ambition, and if, moreover, society cannot overcome him with any of its long-range weapons of control—its faiths or its ideals—there are still other means of bringing him into line with social endeavor. Society is always contending with the brittleness of its regulative instruments. The helmsmen of the state, the archons of religion, the shapers of moral disciplines, the framers of ideals are painfully conscious of a certain impotence. Hence society, through its guides, courts the aid of dominating persons, hoping to use their influence to strengthen its own. This it does by making it to the interest of the man of light and leading to pull with it rather than against it, to dispose of his control to the wardens of the social order rather than to invest it on his own account.

The military service exemplifies this policy. Here we have a great body of fighters led by a small body of officers, organ-

[1] This illustration is adapted from TAINE's *Modern Régime*, Vol. I, Bk. iv, chap. 1.

ized hierarchically and graded in respect to responsibilities, emoluments, and honors. All along this staircase, excepting perhaps a few steps at the very top reserved for the Shermans and Von Moltkes, promotion is very closely bound up with successful leadership. The officer who can animate his men to the greatest efforts, win them for the boldest enterprises, nerve them for the heaviest shocks, is deemed of highest value, and is advanced towards ever higher prizes. Such a service, therefore, establishes a perpetual market where personal ascendency can be disposed of to the best advantage.

The state has always been another field for the profitable employment of natural mastership. The steady authority political organs can count on now is a rather recent thing. The time was when a success of government was very much bound up with the personal authority of those who officered the state. Not great administrators like Stephan or Cromer, nor yet great statesmen like Pitt or Cavour, welded the modern state out of the fragments of power provided by feudalism. This was in part the work of heroes, of kings and the ministers of kings, who eked out the scanty royal authority with their personal dominion. Through most of its history the state has been a hierarchy of places and prizes to go to those most able to make their wills prevail over those of other men.

Even in the rigid articulated mechanism of the "legal state" personal ascendency is not yet a *quantité négligeable*. All the time considerable changes are taking place in the partition of power between government and citizen and in its distribution among the men who compose the government. Despite its statutory framework, an office bulges when filled by the man of command, shrinks when occupied by mediocrity. Recognizing as he must all these warping influences that make the real state so unlike the edifice of the theorist, it is still certain that the general will behind the political mechanism prevails more and more over the personalities that constitute its parts.

The church relies much more than the state upon manipulation of the feelings because it has no bailiffs or constables at its

beck and call. Denied power over the body, it must ply all the more skillfully those great instruments of "spiritual" ascendency—religion, ideals, and personality. Of the last a perpetual capital is already provided in the person of the founder. In the Christian or the Buddhist church, if anywhere, is verified Emerson's saying that an institution is a lengthened shadow of one man. Moreover, through the church, society is beneficiary of the control exercised by a corps of inspired, consecrated, overmastering, uplifting persons whose influence it may accept but could under no circumstances buy. But social order can profit, not alone from a Ballington Booth or a Phillips Brooks, but can even make use of unconsecrated personalities. In the more centralized churches, just as in army and state, we have a hierarchy of places and prizes in which the principle of ascent is the power to sway men and a willingness to sway them in a certain direction. How often the self-seeker with "power and will to dominate" enlists in the ecclesiastical corps for the "heaven's incense," the "Greek busts, Venetian paintings, Roman walls, and English books" of a Bishop Blougram the *Life of Manning* gives us a hint. The democratic tendency to do away with steep gradations in the prizes of state and church is a sign that society, having opened up new sources of control, need no longer bid so desperately for personal influence.

On the whole I conclude that personal ascendency will play no such rôle in the future as it has in the past. Unless humanity surrenders the idealistic basis upon which more and more the control of its members rests, personality will remain as now a valuable auxiliary to political and moral authority, but not the corner stone of social order. In our days the Carlylean "gospel of great men" leads chiefly to nothing better than the apotheosis of such pinchbeck heroes as Cecil Rhodes and "Doctor Jim."

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A PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL STUDY.

III.

FIFTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Municipal Government.

References:

Bryce, American Commonwealth (Ed. 3, New York, Macmillan, 1895), Vol. I, pp. 622–666.

A careful analytical study of our municipal institutions.

Ely, Problems of Today.

Directly to the point as regards municipal problems.

Fiske, Civil Government in the United States.

A valuable study, chiefly historical.

Goodnow, Comparative Administrative Law (New York, Putnam, 1893), Vol. I, bk. 3.

A comparative study of municipal organizations in different countries; especially valuable as furnishing a basis for comparison in the study of our own institutions.

Loomis, Modern Cities (New York, Baker, 1887).

Suggestive discussion of municipal problems.

National Conference for Good City Government, Proceedings 1895–6.

Contain valuable papers on the different phases of municipal reform. The volume for 1894 has a very full bibliography.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Continental Europe.

Shaw's books are excellent studies of British and Continental municipal life, with special attention to social problems.

Tolman, Municipal Reform Movements (New York, Revell, 1895).

Made up largely of reports from organizations in many cities for improving existing conditions.

2. Special Report on How our City is Governed.

This should be merely a descriptive report giving the various departments, how they are officered, method of election or appointment, etc. Some attempt should be made to compare the local government with that of other cities. If more extended study is desired by the Club special reports on each branch of the city government should be brought in.

3. The general discussion might take the form of a review of the information contained in the reports conducted by someone who should be specially prepared.

SIXTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Municipal Lighting.

References:

Bemis, Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States (American Economic Association, Vol. VI).

Argues for municipal ownership.

Ely, Problems of Today.

Also strongly in favor of municipal ownership.

Finley, Electric Street Lighting in American Cities (*Review of Reviews*, February 1893).

Presents returns from numerous American cities, indicating that municipal ownership is cheapest.

Francesco, Fallacy of Municipal Control (*Engineering Magazine*, September 1893).

Against municipal control, criticises sharply Finley's article and reports of cities owning plants.

Meyers, Electric Street Lighting in Chicago (*Political Science Quarterly*).

Finds it probable that the electric lights for 1893 cost slightly more than gas.

Mikkelsen, Electric Street Lighting in Chicago (*Annals American Academy*, March 1892).

Concludes that electric lights cost but one-third as much as gas from the companies.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain.

Shaw, Municipal Government in Continental Europe.

Shaw's books give the gist of European experience and favor public ownership.

2. Special Report on the Local System of Lighting.

In this and the four following reports a map should be used to show location of plants, power houses, etc.; lines, pipes, wires, etc.; paved and unpaved streets, and all other information that can be shown in this way. Consider each system in its relation and adaptation to social need. Study the services rendered in their relation to cost, etc. How is each system managed? What are the provisions of franchise, etc.

3. General discussion, topic: Lighting in Other Cities.

References:

(See under general topic.)

SEVENTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: City Transportation.

References:

Baxter, The Municipality and Urban Transit, Cosmopolitan, Nov. 1894.
Studies municipal control in various cities, including Toronto, Sidney, and Melbourne.

Ely, Problems of Today, chs. 19–24.
Here, as in numerous magazine articles (see Poole's Index) Ely argues ably for municipal control.

Hopkins, Street Railway Problem in Cleveland (Economic Studies, Vol. I, Nos. 5 and 6).
Analyzes the Cleveland situation, and concludes in favor of carefully restricted franchises.

Sinclair, Municipal Monopolies and their Management (Toronto, Educational Department of Ontario, 1891).
Valuable discussion of this and other questions as to natural monopolies.

United States Consular Report, April 1892.
Gives in detail the experience of European cities.
(Shaw's books should also be consulted on this point—see indexes.)

2. Special Report on Local Street Railway System.
(For suggestions see Special Report, Sixteenth Meeting.)

3. General Discussion on the Granting of Street Railway Franchises.

References:

Bemis, Good City Government and the Granting of Franchises (National Conference for Good City Government, 1895).
A telling indictment of present methods of granting franchises.
(Shaw's books (see indexes) show how carefully franchises are guarded in European cities. See also references under general topic.)

EIGHTEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: The Water Supply of Cities.

References:

Baker, The Manual of American Waterworks (New York, *Engineering News*).
An annual giving general information as to waterworks in cities of the United States.

Davis, Water Supplies for Cities and Towns (*Engineering Magazine*, May 1892).
An illustrated article giving information as to the details and technique of water supply.

Lubbock, London's Water Supply (*Nineteenth Century*, February 1892).
Shows confusion and waste, arising from the fact that the city is supplied by several different companies.

McElroy, City Water Supplies of the Future (*Engineering Magazine*, March 1894).
Discusses the available supply of various large cities, and concludes that they should adopt methods to prevent waste and to provide a second set of pipes for water not used for drinking, citing in support the practice of the Romans.

Sinclair, Municipal Monopolies and their Management.
Valuable discussion.

2. Special Report on Local Water Supply.
(For suggestions see above.)

3. General discussion, topic: Should the City Own its Waterworks?

References:

Ely, Problems of Today.
A general discussion favoring municipal ownership.

(Shaw's books (see indexes) give the experience of British cities clearly favoring municipal ownership. See also references under general topic.)

NINETEENTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Care of Streets and Alleys.

References:

City Ordinances of city studied.
Should be consulted to ascertain what are the exact provisions as to streets and alleys.

Revised Statutes of the State.
These will give the general provisions of the state as to nuisances, etc. (Shaw's books (see indexes) give facts as to European cities, and are the most valuable literature on the subject.)

Wilson, Street Cleaning in Large Cities (*Popular Science Monthly*, April 1891).
A first-class discussion. Maintains that careless individuals are largely responsible for the filthy conditions of the street; gives methods now employed and points out improvements.

2. Special Report on Local Streets and Alleys.
(For suggestions see above.)

3. General discussion.

TWENTIETH MEETING.

1. General topic: Telegraph and Telephone Systems.

References:

Muir, The Telegraph Systems of the World (*McClure's Magazine*, July 1895).

Interesting discussion and statistics of the telegraph lines and cables of the world.

Varney, The Telegraph up to Date (*Lippincott's Magazine*, October 1894).

The main steps in the development of the technique of the telegraph.

Webb, Future of the Telephone Industry (*Engineering Magazine* March 1892).

Shows the intricacy of a large telephone system and in consequence the improbability of greatly reducing the cost of service.

2. Special Report on Local System.

(For suggestions see above.)

3. General discussion, topic: Should the Public own the Telegraph and Telephone System?

References:

Clark, The Telegraph and Telephone Properly Parts of the Post-office System (*Arena*, March 1892).

Asserts that the government lost control of the telegraph only by accident and that there are the best of reasons for its resuming the right.

Ely, Problems of Today (New York, Crowell), 1888, pp. 277–296.

Here, as in magazine articles (see Poole's Index), Ely argues for government control.

Jevons, Methods of Social Reform.

Discusses analogy of telegraph to the post-office system, and concludes that it may be best to manage in connection.

Parsons, The Telegraph Monopoly (*Arena*).

This long series of articles presents all the arguments for government control.

United States House Executive Document, 1871–2, IV, Report of the Postmaster General.

Recommends adoption of postal telegraph system.

United States House Miscellaneous Documents, 1872–3, No. 73, Report of David A. Wells.

Is decidedly opposed to government ownership, for financial as wel as political reasons.

TWENTY-FIRST MEETING.

1. General topic: Public Control of Natural Monopolies.

References:

Adams, Relation of the State to Industrial Action (American Economic Association, Vol. I).
A painstaking attempt to draw the line between wise and unwise government interference.

Baker, Monopolies and the People (New York, Putnam, 1890).
A discussion of all classes of monopolies, with practical suggestions as to their control.

Ely, Socialism and Social Reform, pt. iv.
Argument in favor of socialization or government ownership and control.

George, Progress and Poverty, bk. VII.
Ably presents claims of every individual to a share of the land.

Mill, Principles of Political Economy, bk. iv, ch. 7; bk. v, ch. 11.
Discusses general question of the advisability and justice of the extension of governmental action.

Rae, Contemporary Socialism (New York, Scribners, 1891), ch. 10.
Discusses monopolies in connection with socialism.

Toynbee, Industrial Revolution (London, Longmans, 1890), pp. 1–27.
Asserts that the government may do whatevever it can do best.

2. Special Report on the Local Postal System.
(For suggestions see above.)

3. General discussion, topic: Should the Government own the Railways?

References:

Bastable, Public Finance, bk. ii, ch. 3.
A comparative study from the financial point of view, with conclusions opposed to government ownership.

Bonham, Railway Secrecy and Trusts (New York, Putnam, 1890).
Negative conclusion.

Cohn, Railway Policy of Prussia (*Journal of Political Economy*, March 1893).
History of Prussian state management, with conclusion favorable to its continuance.

Hadley, Railroad Transportation (New York, Putnam, 1890).
Comparative study of railroad systems of leading nations, with conclusion against state ownership.

Hole, National Railways (London, Cassell, 1893).
Examination of railways of Great Britain especially, with conclusion in favor of government ownership.

Hudson, Railways and the Republic (New York, Harpers, 1889).
Favors strict regulation but not government control.

Lewes, National Consolidation of the Railways of the United States (New York, Dodd, 1893).
Favors consolidation into a system owned and operated by the government.

TWENTY-SECOND MEETING.

1. General topic: Socialism.

References:

Ely, Socialism and Social Reform (New York, Crowell, 1894).
Gives a good insight into the principles of socialism.

Gilman, Socialism and the American Spirit (Boston, Houghton, 1893).
Suggestive discussion; rejects socialism as a system, but finds that many practical ends of socialism are being realized in America.

Gladden, Tools and the Man (Boston, Houghton, 1896).
A brief, clear discussion.

Gonner, The Socialistic State (London, Scott, 1895).
A satisfactory discussion in a small book.

Graham, Socialism New and Old (New York, Appleton, 1891).

Hyndmann and Morris, Principles of Socialism (London, Reeves, 1884).
A succinct and attractive statement prepared by a committee of the socialist party.

Marx, Capital and Capitalistic Production (London, Swan, 1892).
The bible of the socialist.

Monroe, Christian Socialism (*American Journal of Sociology*, July 1895).
Traces the history and seeks to find the principles of Christian socialism.

Rae, Contemporary Socialism.
A very satisfactory discussion of the whole subject.

Schäffle, Quintessence of Socialism (London, Swan, 1892).
Examines the theory of socialism and what would be the process of putting it into operation, with conclusion that it is impracticable.

Spencer, Principles of Sociology, Vol. III, ch. 22.
Gives results of some socialistic experiences in Australia, which seem conclusive evidence against the practicability of socialism.

2. Special Report on the Main Features of Socialism.

The report may consist of a review of one of the books on socialism.

This and the succeeding topic are introduced here in violation of our plan of confining study to actual local conditions, because the preced-

ing studies have naturally led up to them, and because everyone should know something of the complaints and proposals of socialism, and the idea and the results of the Social Settlement.

3. General discussion, topic: Is Socialism Practicable?

References:

(See above.)

TWENTY-THIRD MEETING.

1. General topic: The Social Settlement Idea.

References:

Addams, Jane, The Subjective Necessity, and The Objective Value of a Social Settlement (Philanthropy and Social Progress, chs. 1 and 2.) A thoughtful discussion, based on experience in the work.

Betts, Lillian W., New York's Social Settlements (*Outlook*, April 27, 1895).

Hull House Maps and Papers (New York, Crowell, 1895). Appendix. A good description of the work at Hull House in Chicago.

Knapp, The Universities and the Social Problem (London, Rivington, 1895).

Social Settlements in Chicago (*Chicago Tribune*, September 16, 1894). A collection of essays dealing mainly with the leading settlements in London and related questions.

Woods, English Social Movements, ch. 3.
Discusses origin of the movement, Toynbee Hall, British university settlement, etc.

Woods, University Settlement Idea (*Andover Review*, October 1892).

2. Special Report on the Social Settlement.
Material may be obtained by writing to the Hull House, 335 South Halsted street, Chicago, or to other social settlements.

3. General discussion.

TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING.

1. General topic: Social Amelioration and Remedial Agencies.

References:

Booth, Maud Ballington, Beneath Two Flags (New York, Funk, 1894). A good account of the history and work of the Salvation Army.

De Grafenried, Clara, Some Social Economic Problems (*American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1896).
Discusses problems of labor, domestic service, household management, etc., and makes suggestions as to solutions. A stirring article.

Eastmann, Free Traveling Libraries (*Forum*, January 1895).
Gives an insight into this new movement for social betterment.

Henderson, Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents, pt. iv.
A general discussion of social ameliorative agencies.

Henderson, The German Inner Mission (*American Journal of Sociology*, March–July, 1896).
An account of the great German federation of charitable societies.

James, Handbook of University Extension (Phil. Am. Soc. for the Extension of University Education, 1894).
The best single work on the subject.

Knapp, The Universities and the Social Problem.
(See under twenty-third meeting.)

Loch, Charity Organization (London, Swan, 1892).
A good exposition of the aims and methods of charity organization by the secretary of the London Charity Organization Society.

Philanthropy and Social Progress (New York, Crowell, 1893).
A collection of essays dealing with several phases of social improvement.

Potter, The Coöperative Movement (London, Swan, 1893).
History and progress of the movement, with statistical tables.

Woods, English Social Movements.
A most suggestive work.

Toynbee, Industrial Revolution in England, ch. 14.
Hopeful tendencies pointed out by one of the greatest social workers of the century.

2. Special Report (or reports) on Local Agencies.

This report should set forth what the local society (social group) is doing to assist the unfortunate, and to punish the vicious. Sources: Reports of the various institutions, and material gathered in visitations.

3. General discussion, topic: The Punishment of Crime.

References:

Abbot, Christianity and Social Problems, ch. 1.
Short discussion of the problem of criminology, favoring remedial instead of punitive measures.

Du Cane, The Punishment and Prevention of Crime (New York, Macmillan, 1885).
History of punishment, especially in England, with special attention to modern methods.

Ellis, The Criminal (New York, Scribner, 1892).
An instructive and entertaining treatise embodying the results of criminal anthropology down to date.

Ferri, Criminal Sociology (New York, Appleton, 1896).
Presents latest thought on criminology, tending to substitute prevention and reform for repression and punishment.
Henderson, Defectives, Dependents, and Delinquents.
A guide to the whole subject.
Wines, Punishment and Reformation (New York, Crowell, 1895).
History, theory, and practice of criminology ably presented.

It is not supposed that any club will be able to follow strictly the programme here presented, otherwise the suggestions in regard to special reports would be more specific. Many interesting topics, of course, could not be included. These may be taken up by expanding the course. Without including other topics, however, study may be extended. Almost every topic will bear indefinite expansion.

In conclusion, it should be said that this paper is not an attempt to popularize sociology, though the work proposed is an excellent preparation for the study of that subject. It is rather an effort to encourage good citizenship. Under present conditions machine politicians, as a rule, run municipal governments. The recourse of intelligent citizenship is to acquire and to use superior knowledge of social conditions and the machinery of government. When this is realized the social consciousness will be enlarged, civic pride will be engendered, practicable social reforms will be proposed, and intelligent, concerted social action will be possible. In achieving the end desired general social study is indispensable. This study may best be carried on through clubs formed for the purpose of advancing social self-knowledge.

I. W. Howerth.

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REVIEWS.

Organisme et Société. Par René Worms. Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale, I. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1896. Pp. 412.

La Pathologie Sociale. Par Paul de Lilienfeld. Avec une Préface de René Worms. Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale, II. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1896. Pp. xlvii+332.

The charm of analogy! What a power it has been in the mental world! It is simply the imagination taking one of the many directions in which it naturally moves. It is the creative faculty of man which does not always express itself in marble, on canvas, or in measure. It inheres in the man of science as well as in the artist or the poet, and it cannot be suppressed. It lives alike in the savage, the untutored peasant or shepherd, in the half-educated classes of modern society, and in the best stored minds of our day. Think of the poetry that was woven into the early history of the aborigines of America! and the difficulties encountered by the Morgans, the Powells, the Holmes's and the Brintons in eliminating it! Most of it was the immediate fruit of this passion for analogies. Whole lives have been spent in demonstrating that the North American Indians are the lost tribes of Israel. Vast labors have been devoted to tracing their languages back to the Sanskrit. Innumerable analogies have been discovered between their ceremonies, customs, designs, and symbolic figures and those of Asia and Egypt. Their comparatively modern Indian origin is proved by the occurrence of the Buddhist cross or swastica, and their Hellenic ancestry by the analogy between the words *Potomac* and ποταμός!

But the love of analogy is not confined to ethnology. It permeates history and literature and gives us those laborious demonstrations by means of mysterious ciphers and cryptograms that Lord Bacon was the natural son of Queen Elizabeth and wrote the plays of Shakespeare. It penetrates every branch of science, and aside from the wonderful

harmony early discovered between the twelve apostles and the twelve planets, it performed the valuable service of creating the constellations of the heavens. It constitutes a sort of animism, and its favorite amusement is to animate the inorganic world and to personify abstract ideas and relations. Many there are who are convinced that this world of ours is in very truth a great living beast with all the organs and functions of a huge animal, and that men are merely parasites upon it like fleas among the hairs of an animal's skin. To the stage of metaphysics or personification belong such analogies as Hobbes' conception of the state as a huge Leviathan, a conception reflected by Herder, Schelling, and Hegel, and Comte's idea of humanity as a *Grand Être.*

Akin to these, and especially to the former, is the somewhat broader analogy of society to an organism, Bluntschli in his *Allgemeines Staatsrecht*, 1852, furnishing a sort of connecting link between the animated state and the social organism. The question of priority in propounding the latter doctrine has arisen. By many it has been supposed that Schäffle's great work, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*, which first appeared in 1875, should be regarded as its true starting point, but not only did the first volume of Lilienfeld's *Gedanken über die Socialwissenschaft der Zukunft*, in which it is fully set forth, appear two years earlier, but, as we learn from the preface of M. Worms to the present work by that author, large parts of the other appeared in the Russian language somewhat earlier still. It has been supposed that Mr. Spencer's treatment of that subject was later, as the first volume of his *Principles of Sociology* did not appear till 1874, but his views are set forth in his *Study of Sociology*, 1873, and much earlier in an article in the *Westminster Review* for January 1860.[1] Nor was this his earliest utterance on the social organism. There is a distinct adumbration of it in the original edition of his *Social Statics*, 1850, pp. 451–453, which is in advance of Bluntschli. But neither can we ascribe to Mr. Spencer the origination of the scientific conception of the analogy between society and an organism. In the fourth volume of Comte's *Positive Philosophy*, that great neglected storehouse of original ideas, this analogy is clearly pointed out in various passages. This volume originally appeared in 1838, and some of the passages may be found on pages 285 and 311 of the third edition.

We have now before us two works from the same press, written by

[1] See this JOURNAL, Vol. I, pp. 317–322.

two of the leaders in the modern sociological movement, reiterating and reënforcing, each in its way, this doctrine of the social organism. Both authors are thoroughly imbued with the idea, both are equipped with all the knowledge that can be brought to bear upon the subject, and both books are literally packed with facts and arguments in its support. As we go deeper and deeper into the question and see these facts and arguments piled upon one another like Ossa upon Pelion and Olympus upon Ossa, we feel fairly crushed by their weight. How presumptuous would be any attempt at criticism! Indeed do not these able and adroit advocates disarm all possible criticism by fully stating every objection that has ever been raised and then fully answering it? It would seem that nothing is left to do but to let the objections and their answers stand and exert each its legitimate influence upon differently constituted minds. Still there are some who may be capable of occasionally pausing even in the midst of such a surging torrent and of imagining themselves for the moment out of the stream and quiet spectators upon its banks. From such a standpoint there are certain very general questions, questions that may have no direct relation to any of the specific tenets that are being defended, that may arise and crowd out for the time being the particular considerations that are being urged. To change the figure, some minds are so constituted that they can and will from time to time suspend all regular business in order to take stock and find out whether their business is running at a profit or a loss.

One of the first of these questions is: What is an analogy? In biology, which is the standpoint of both our authors and of all defenders of the social organism theory in whatever form, this word has a very definite meaning — a technical usage — viz., physiological without anatomical similarity. It is contrasted with *homology*, which is anatomical similarity irrespective of function. If this is all they mean by the analogy between society and an organism, there seems to be no objection to pursuing it to its utmost extent and determining how far social functions resemble organic functions, recognizing all the time that there is no real morphological or structural resemblance any more than there is between the wing of a bat and that of a bird. What, then, does Senator Lilienfeld mean by his oft-repeated expression, "*real* analogy"? Does he mean that there are homologies? It seems difficult to interpret him otherwise. Not only in the present treatise, but throughout his great five-volume work, and, later than either, in a pamphlet

recently issued,[1] he denies that society can be properly called a superorganism, as Mr. Spencer proposes, and insists that it is in very truth an organism. But what manner of organism does he make it out to be? An organism consisting entirely of a "social nervous system" and "social intercellular structure." Is there any such animal or plant as that? How much of the body of an animal consists of "intercellular structure"? Is not this expression to the biologist a contradiction of terms? What is "structure" in biology? Is it not wholly cellular (or vascular, in which the most highly developed cells are differentiated into vessels)? It is true, there are fluids of various kinds flowing through the animal body in various physiological capacities, but the blood is full of corpuscles, *i. e.*, cells, and the lymphatics and secretions are not "structures." There are also some structures in the animal body that for physiological reasons are devoid of sensitive nerves, but they are all made up of cells. Lilienfeld and Worms both agree that individual men constitute the *cells* of the social organism, and both take this in a literal biological sense, that they represent the "real" cells as made known by Schleiden and Schwann. But the first of these authors maintains that the individual men in society taken together only constitute the nervous system of society, and that society is devoid of all the other systems of the animal body. In their stead we have the intercellular structure, which, as he says, is produced by the nervous system, or, as the biologists would say, secreted by it. And what is this intercellular structure of society? As I understand him it consists chiefly of the material (and perhaps spiritual) *capital* of society, the product of human labor and thought. Sometimes he seems to give it somewhat the scope that Mr. Spencer gives to society itself, as including the soil, water, air, flora, and fauna, in short, the environment of society. But if this is all intercellular structure and is only the product of the nervous system and no part of that system itself, where is the consistency of speaking, as both our authors do, of telegraph lines as analogues of nerves?

Another question that will sometimes obtrude is: What are the limits of the social organism? Is it all of society, *i. e.*, the whole aggregate of individual men (social cells), or are there many societies? If the latter, how are these social organisms bounded and delimited? Are the lines political, or national, or racial, or ethnic, or linguistic?

[1] "L'Organismo Sociale é un Superorganismo?" Estratta dalla Riforma Sociale, Fasc. 3, anno III, Vol. VI, Tornio, 1896.

In any of these cases we have a remarkably heterogeneous lot of organisms, satyrs, centaurs, minotaurs, or beings still more inextricably mixed. Think of the number of German, Irish, African, and Chinese cells that have got into the American social organism! For it cannot be objected that the process is analogous to that of the mingling of hereditary strains by the process of reproduction. We are not dealing with physiological units—gemmules, micellæ, biophores, plastidules, and what not—that make up the stirp or germ plasm in heredity, but with the biological units, or cells, which are products of an entirely different order, vastly superior in size and complexity, and widely differentiated in all organic beings at all developed. No animal cell—not even in reproduction except the spermatozoa—ever passes entire from one organism to another. But these social cells stalk abroad at will and migrate singly or in droves, permanently or temporarily, from one organism to another.

If, on the other hand, there is only one social organism, embracing all individual men, is the picture at all relieved? Are not the heterogeneity and incongruity still further increased? How is that part of the social nervous system which is located in China or Soudan related to the part that is located in Paris or St. Petersburg?

But if such questions are not serious there are others that are so. Mr. Spencer was frightened a long way out of the doctrine by the specter of centralization which its logical results so clearly presented. All are agreed that government is the analogue of the animal brain. But consider the autocratic power that the brain wields over the animal organism! Is society coming to this? Huxley asked this question of Spencer. It has never been answered. Our authors are far from being socialists, indeed both of them manifest grave apprehensions from that quarter. The social organism theory leads direct into the socialist camp. Already M. Pioger has taken up the line of march. A year and a half ago the present writer pointed out[1] that in so far as society can be said to represent an organism it must be one very low in the scale of development, one in which the parts are but feebly integrated and in which scarcely any controlling ganglion has as yet been formed. M. Pioger[1] had, it seems, a year earlier, taken the same view, and urged it, as well he might, in defense of socialism. To this complexion it must come if society is an organism and government is its brain.

[1] This JOURNAL, Vol. I, November 1895, p. 325.

A still broader question sometimes insists upon forcing itself in between the lines of such books as we are considering. What is society anyhow? Society is an *idea*. It is not a concrete material thing at all. It belongs to the same general class of ideas as a genus or a species. A genus is not an organism, neither is a species, nor any other classific group. These are conceptions, ideas. They are true Platonic ideas. This does not detract from their importance. The most important things in the world are ideas—virtue, honor, justice, liberty, truth itself. Now society is simply an idea, a relation of things, not a concrete object. It was with just such questions that the old mediæval philosophy—realism, nominalism, conceptualism, idealism, etc.—occupied itself. The essence of metaphysics is to objectify ideas, to make entities out of relations. The method of the advocates of the social organism theory is essentially metaphysical or ontological. It is not scientific. It imputes individual reality to a classific idea. It objectifies, or, as Comte says, personifies a property. The distinguished ethnologist, Major J. W. Powell, from his prolonged studies in savage philosophy finds that the human mind passes through three distinct preliminary states in its transition to the scientific state. These are (1) imputation, (2) personification, and (3) *reification*. These may be compared to the first two of Comte's "trois états," the first two being phases (not overlooked by Comte) of his theological stage, and the third being exactly commensurate with his metaphysical stage. Our authors are to be classed in this third stage of "reification." They have reified society, which is only an abstract idea.

It may be objected that society is something different from humanity as a whole, from the genus Homo, or, as some prefer, the species *Homo sapiens*. Grant this, and compare *a* society with a pack of wolves (*homo homini lupus*). Is a pack of wolves (held together by a consciousness not merely of "kind" but of advantage, the same as men in society) an organism? It is the same whether the object is offensive or defensive. Is a flock of sheep on a mountain side, or of wild geese flying in a triangle, an organism? Why is not any troop, or group, or herd, or swarm of gregarious animals an organism as well as a horde, or clan, or tribe, or race of men? Such are some of the questions to which the theory, logically carried out, gives rise.

It has been charged that the biologists are responsible for the prominence which the social organism theory has assumed. Nothing

[1] JULIEN PIOGER, *La Vie Sociale, la Morale, et le Progrès*, 1894.

could be farther from the truth. I have yet to learn of a single specialist in any branch of biology who has given it any degree of importance. The heaviest blow that has ever been leveled against it came from that type and prince of biologists, Professor Huxley (Administrative Nihilism). Both Darwin and Haeckel have recognized the true "analogy," but neither has laid great stress upon it. Mr. Spencer, although his *Principles of Biology* is certainly his masterpiece, makes no pretension to any specialty in biology, and might as well be called a psychologist or a chemist, but he is too good a biologist to swallow the doctrine in the large doses prescribed by the two authors now under consideration. The present writer has devoted the greater part of his life to two of the lesser but cognate branches of biology, and has made some excursions into certain of its wider fields, and while he fully acknowledges the existence of an analogy and yields to none in appreciating the inestimable value to sociology of biological principles, he is still decidedly of the opinion that more harm than good may come from the attempt to push such considerations farther than the strict limits of science and fact will warrant.

What then does it all amount to, and what is the real outcome of the whole discussion? Simply this, that the laws of evolution are cosmical in their sweep, and that whatever department of nature we look into we find them operating in the same way and bringing about the same results. We might as well say that organisms are planetary systems because the laws of evolution are working the same in both. We could with equal propriety claim that language is an organism, for everyone knows what remarkable analogies occur between organic and linguistic phenomena. We find analogies everywhere, and they only seem to prove the identity of different spheres of cosmic action when we forget that the universe is under the dominion of one grand law; but so soon as this is recognized, instead of wondering at the likenesses of things we learn rather to wonder at the diversities that nature presents.

There is no space left in which to deal with that mere corollary of the subject which is called social pathology. Both authors include it, only Senator Lilienfeld's work professes to be confined to this aspect. It is not so, but is really a summary of his great work, which M. Worms in his introduction to it says with some humor and much truth, could not be made so voluminous and discursive when written in the French language! Social pathology as treated by both authors

is simply the prognosis, diagnosis, prophylactics, and therapeutics of existing social evils. Aside from the alleged underlying biological principle and the somewhat novel terminology, the treatment of this side of the subject is not notably original, and in fact one is somewhat surprised to find that with such a profoundly scientific substratum the social questions discussed are, after all, both in their normal and their pathological aspects, little else than those that confront us in other economic, sociological, and even popular literature everywhere. The social organism theory is merely used as a thread upon which to string every conceivable question in the social world, and one of the chief recommendations of this theory is its use in furnishing the vehicle in which are thus borne and distributed to the world the fertile ideas and the ripened wisdom of such well-stored minds. Let us thank the "social organism" for this service to the world.

LESTER F. WARD.

The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects. By F. H. WINES and JOHN KOREN. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897

AN investigation has been carefully carried on under the direction of President Eliot, President Low, and Mr. J. C. Carter, subcommittee of fifty to collect data in relation to the liquor traffic. The purpose of the committee is to prepare a basis of fact for social judgments and to do this in a thoroughly impartial spirit. The volume here noticed forms one part of a series of studies. Its main topics are Prohibition in Maine and in Iowa, The South Carolina Dispensary System, The Restrictive System in Massachusetts, The Liquor Laws of Pennsylvania, The Ohio Liquor Tax, Liquor Laws in Indiana, and The Missouri Local Option Law. The main conclusions which are suggested by the data are summarized by the committee.

The results of the statistical researches are mainly negative; even if the student had command of government agencies for collecting the materials they could not be conclusive because the local conditions are so various and shifting.

The facts in regard to legislation are accurately and fully given, and the testimonies of intelligent witnesses throw light on the effects of the laws. At every step the inquiry is hindered by prejudices, partisanship, and hostile economic interests.

Prohibitory legislation has succeeded in preventing the manufacture on a large scale of distilled and malt liquors within the very limited area covered by it; but has not succeeded in preventing the sale of such liquors. Many social evils, as evasion of law, hypocrisy, and bribery, have been aggravated by this legislation. Local option has had a fair success in towns generally opposed to the saloon—if they were near enough license towns to get intoxicants! The provisions of the license laws which have been most useful in restricting the evils of dramshops are carefully described.

The committee distinctly shows that the South Carolina dispensary law lacks the essential feature of the Norway method: it does not remove the motive of private gain, because the salaries of dispensers are made to depend on the amount of business done in their respective dispensaries. It is important that the public should understand that the failures of the Carolina plan cannot be charged to the Norway plan.

The non-legislative methods of diminishing the injuries due to the drink traffic are not considered in this report, but will be discussed by other subcommittees. The names of the investigators and of the directors are sufficient guarantee of ability, fairness, and scientific accuracy. The book is a model in all these aspects and should be carefully studied by all who have occasion to speak or write on the subject.

C. R. HENDERSON.

Grundbegriffe und Grundlagen der Volkswirthschaft. Zur Einführung in das Studium der Staatswissenschaften. Von DR. JULIUS LEHR. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1895.

FOR its clearness and conciseness, for completely unbiased scientific judgment, and for the characteristic feature—rare enough in most German "outlines" of economics—of leaving aside matters of minor importance in order to devote all attention to those which justly claim consideration, this is the best outline of political economy that I have yet seen. It is questionable, however, whether the employment of algebraic proofs and illustrations offers any considerable help to the average reader in pursuing the anthor's arguments.

Of the 350 pages which the book approximately contains, about 60 are devoted to the concept of value, and about 130 to the regulation

of prices. The section on prices is masterful, and terminates the work. While Professor Lehr fully acknowledges the importance of the investigations of such writers, as Menger, Walras, and Böhm-Bawerk, which he frequently cites, he nevertheless maintains that the theory of final utility represents the exclusive study of but one determinative series of phenomena in the regulation of prices — of which the cost of production offers the supplementary explanation. He attempts to show that there is no such opposition between the classical theory of value and price and the more recent doctrine of final utility, as is frequently supposed.

An excellent feature of the book is the section on the legal organization of society. Every economic society develops within the boundaries, so to speak, of a fixed legal system, and receives from this legal system its peculiar stamp. The relation of law to economic activity may be described as that of the form to the contents, and the intimacy of the relation be demonstrated by the fact that all economic laws and concepts which are not merely borrowed from natural science contain the supposition of a somehow regulated society — presuppose, in short, a legal system. It was a mistake of the elder economists, in their discussions of economic concepts and laws, to omit indicating that it was a distinct form of society which alone their system attempted to explain. It was thus the idea could arise that there existed universal economic laws, bound neither by time nor space, and independent of the legal structure of society. If the chief service of the historical school has been to point out the importance of the temporal and local in economic theory, the work of Rodbertus and Wagner in emphasizing the interdependence of economic and legal concepts was of almost equal importance.

Some objections, of course, might be made to parts of Professor Lehr's work. Thus it might be urged that in the treatment of free goods, as distinguished from economic goods, he fails sufficiently to appreciate the relativity of the term *free*. Many of the "gifts" of nature are neither common to all humanity nor gratuitous. Excellent qualities of soil and of climate, for instance, and partly the products which ensue therefrom, are the gifts of nature only to certain favored countries.

Another case. On page 222 a diagram of the demands of three purchasers of a certain ware is constructed, and their demands are added to constitute the total demand. In his explanation of this

diagram, Lehr remarks that the "final utility for all purchasers would be identical, that is to say equal to the price." It is quite true that the final utility for each purchaser would equal the price; but it (the final utility) would nevertheless itself vary, for the simple reason that one and the same price does not signify an equal sacrifice on the part of all buyers, but one which varies according to their respective total purchasing capacity. At a certain price the wealthy purchaser may see fit to acquire five increments of the article in question, the poor man be able to secure but one. The final utility differs, therefore, enormously, though in both cases it equals the price.

Such faults of fact or expression as those indicated are, however, few and far between, and may be well taken into the bargain with such chapters as the remarkable one on natural prices. The author here thoroughly demonstrates the untenability of Marx's theory of value, and the inevitable failure of all attempts to bridge over the once established distinction between "concrete" and "abstract" time of labor. Marx's well-known discussion of "real" and "socially necessary" hours of labor, so far as it is not meant for bare agitatory purposes, is of a distinctly ideological character. The essential points of Marx's theory might easily have been condensed into a much more comprehensible presentation than the series of abstractions in which he has seen fit to clothe them. Moreover, the moment one attempts to take into account demand and the individual judgment of value, the moment one concedes that the costs of production vary and that interest must be reckoned among the costs, one has completely entered the camp of the "bürgerliche Nationalökonomen" which Marx so virulently attacks.

Less satisfactory than the treatment of Marx is Lehr's discussion of Thünen's theory of natural wages; it might well have been omitted. The impression, notwithstanding, which the entire work leaves is an excellent one, and if the other volumes of the series approach the standard here established the editor of the whole is to be heartily congratulated.

The "Hand- und Lehrbuch der Staatswissenschaften" which Dr. Kuno Frankenstein, of Berlin, has planned, and of which Professor Lehr's book is the first installment, is in several respects a remarkable undertaking. It will consist of about thirty volumes, covering the entire field of political science—as Dr. Frankenstein conceives its compass. The first section, Political Economy, will include treatises on

the fundamental concepts of economics, on distribution, on the diverse branches of production, on transportation, on insurance, on population, on socialism, and on the history of economic doctrines. The second section, Finance, will embrace volumes on that science as a whole, on the principles of taxation, on banking, etc. The third section, Public and Administrative Law, will commence with a treatise on the general theory of the state, and another on the theory of administration, followed by works on education, on police, on poor laws, etc. The fourth and last section is devoted to Statistics. The books will not be published in any prearranged order, and while the series will systematically cover the whole field each volume is to be a complete treatment of the subject dealt with, and separately purchasable. To each of the volumes—for whose preparation an array of German authorities, some of them as prominent in the civil service as in the world of science, has been secured—a bibliography as complete as possible is to be annexed.

Thus the utility of this initial volume is considerably heightened by the addition of some twenty-five large pages of bibliography; and I ought to note, in conclusion, that the book is a beautiful specimen of printing.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

PARIS.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

CONDUCTED BY J. D. FORREST, A. T. FREEMAN, H. A. MILLIS AND J. C. FREHOFF.

Religion as a Social Force.—"The two most powerful social forces known to man are the religious and the economic. The latter has been discussed by an increasing number of able thinkers in all civilized lands for the past hundred years or more. The former has been strangely neglected. There have indeed been those who have attempted to give a scientific account of society and have entirely neglected religion, one of the two mightiest social forces. Something stranger still has happened. When others have called attention to the importance of religion as a social force, men in the name of science have denounced them and ridiculed them for so doing. Yet it is hard to think of anything more unscientific than any philosophy of society which neglects a consideration of the rôle played in its evolution by religion. The attempt to neglect this rôle is more than unscientific; it is absurd."

Benjamin Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, holds that the interests of the individual and that of society are antagonistic, and that religion has no rational sanction. It is undoubtedly true that progress leaves many uncoördinated members in its trail, but the vast majority of mankind have their interests enhanced by social evolution. Religion is first of all a social cement and so furnishes a rational sanction for social action. Religion is the very cause of society and without society we can have no progress. "No society has ever come into existence without the help of religion; no society has ever thrived in which religion has not been a real, vital force; no society has ever survived a general decay of religion."

Religion is a source of disunion as well as of union. The areas of union, however, are continually growing larger and larger. It provides rational and ultra-rational but not anti-rational sanctions for individual conduct, and this conduct is in the true interest of the individual and of society. "Religion clarifies the vision and enables men to see their own true interests." It is also a power and so enables men to do that which is advantageous to them. It encourages the long view rather than the short view and so becomes a tremendous force in upward social evolution.

"Religion furnishes us with ideals of true social happiness, and encourages us to follow these ideals. In the pursuit of these ideals, which continually become higher and nobler, the interests of the individual and of society are in the main harmonious. It is in the minority and not in the majority of cases that a sacrifice of individual interests is required, and it is a minority and not a majority who must lay down their lives in the interests of society. When, however, the time comes for the ordinary individual to make a sacrifice in an exceptional case, or for the exceptional individual to give up all save honor and character, then religion is a support. Religion encourages all the self-sacrifice which social evolution demands. Self-sacrifice, however, is not an end, but is only a means. Religion encourages the pursuit of happiness, both social and individual, and in this pursuit of happiness we are meeting with a fair measure and a rapidly increasing measure of success, while the ideals of happiness become ever higher add nobler."—RICHARD T. ELY, *Christian Quarterly*, July 1897.

Over-nutrition and its Social Consequences.—The view is generally entertained that in the process of evolution organisms survive whose nervous system reacts pleasurably when brought in contact with utilities, while those which react painfully are eliminated. This does not seem fully to account for the rôle played by pleasure and pain in the evolutionary process.

Assimilation normally ends in pleasure, and pleasure conditions psychic control. An abundance of assimilation is necessary for pleasure-psychic control, which unifies the action between the various parts of the organism. Under-nutrition limits psychic control and so causes the displacement of the underfed.

Complete nutrition can do no more than to create psychic control. Further social progress depends upon social control. This means that there must be secured the same unity of action and harmony of motives in society that psychic control creates for the individual. Social control is secured by the elimination of the overfed. Over-nutrition weakens psychic control and reduces the individual's energy by means of which economic advantage ceases.

"Social progress, therefore, demands a steady improvement in psychic control, through which the productive power is increased and a corresponding modification of consumption in such ways as will avoid over-nutrition. . . . . Any increase of efficiency among the well fed must result in over-nutrition if the intensity of old wants is not reduced and if new ones of greater intensity are not acquired. Those who persist in the old habits fall victims to dissipation and disappear."

For purposes of social philosophy the Darwinian reasoning in this form: 1. The rapid multiplication of the species; 2. The struggle for existence; 3. The survival of the fittest, is inadequate. The well fed survive in the struggle for existence. But a well-fed man need not necessarily be a fit man. Social qualities determine fitness in his case. The modified reasoning is as follows: 1. The rapid multiplication of the species; 2. The struggle for existence; 3. The survival of the well fed; 4. The degeneration of the overfed; 5. The modification of desires; 6. The survival of the fittest.

The biologic formula accounts for the origin of species, but does not account for permanence of types. The new formula accounts for the existence of species under the conditions that may exist, whether static or dynamic.—S. N. PATTEN, *Annals of the American Academy*, July 1897.

Have Americans any Social Standards?—Society is the social world as distinct from the economic, political, or intellectual. In this sense it means the interchange of courtesies and the receiving of hospitality. It is the nearest approach to the ideal life we have.

Tradition controls the European social world, and its stability is its essence. In a republican country conditions are different. In America we had during the first half of this century the New England and southern social influences, but at present the tendency seems to be toward a purer democracy, or the New England social type.

New Englanders had habits of thrift and frugality, grew rich slowly, toiled alone or with servants, exhibited a keen intellectual hunger, and made their region the literary and educational center of the country. Southern social life followed the English tradition more closely, and was conditioned by a different economic life, made possible by the institution of slavery. Fox-hunting was a pastime; free-hearted hospitality obtained, and there was constant merrymaking in the dining and drawing rooms.

In *ante bellum* days these opposing social forces and tendencies met at, "first, Washington; second, the watering places—so-called summer resorts with hotels—to which fashionable people then flocked; and, third, to some extent the northern schools and colleges. In each of these places the South was socially dominant." But the last half century has witnessed great social changes. The social balance has been materially disturbed since the Civil War. "The result is that the average American is helpless in the matter of social judgments. Middle-aged people, usually of the female sex—for women manage society in this country—are in a state of timid anxiety about what they shall eat, how they shall act, what they shall wear, whom they shall associate with, and where they shall go in the summer."

The matters pertaining to social life are not trivial. "How we live shows what we are living for. The way a person spends his leisure and the companions he chooses give a much juster indication of his character than the habits and associates of his working hours." America has some social standards peculiarly its own. Culture does command respect. Literary people and others of intellectual habits are considered to belong to the best society. We have simply abjured those which are associated with mediæval oppression and have not yet arrived at a degree of culture and dignity which enables us to establish coherent standards of our own.—FRANCES M. ABBOTT, *Forum*, July 1897.

The Genesis of Social Classes.—A type is an ensemble of distinctive characters. An aggregation of individuals of a certain type constitutes a "class." Heredity and environment are the factors in the formation of type and class.

Heredity is not a force; it is a process. Continuity is its essential fact. The line of ancestral generation in every individual increases in accordance with the law of geometrical progression, and so a child of today has more than a thousand progenitors it we commence with the Pilgrim Fathers. Hence remote ancestors cannot materially have contributed to the mental and physical energy of any man, woman, and child now living. It can only have been heightened by exceptional vigor, or by isolation and inbreeding.

Heredity exercises a great influence. Although it is the primary factor in evolution, it is not necessarily the principal factor. It is a conservative influence and must be modified by environment to produce evolution at all. Circumstance or environment is the other factor. Much that finds explanation as heredity may also be explained on the basis of being due to training and imitation in the domestic circle.

"No doubt there is something innate in every man, of which nothing can deprive him, which he cannot cultivate out of himself, and which external conditions and influences can modify only in part. This is his original physical constitution, the limitations of which govern his limitations in mind and morals. Upon the persistency of the original physical type depends the persistency of his intellectual and ethical traits. His power of self-destruction is of course greater than his power of expansion. Yet the possibilities of impairment and growth, through the assimilation or non-assimilation of his personal experience, may almost be said to be practically infinite. We have all unnumbered facets, so to speak, by which we are enabled under favorable conditions to adhere to any of the corresponding facets of aggregate human life. Men are like blocks of marble, which are capable of being hewed into any one of unnumbered shapes. Every bit of marble in the world—if the piece is only large enough—contains within itself *in posse* every statue that has been chiseled, or that might have been chiseled, in response to the sculptor's creative fancy."

Anthropological types are self-perpetuating by inheritance. They probably originated in the separation of a segment of mankind by migration, and environment has accentuating the original differences. Inbreeding is the essential condition precedent to anthropological variation. "Social classes are not the result of inbreeding; they are groups of types, the resemblance between which is largely accidental; such resemblance is due rather to similar than to identical heredity and environment, and more to environment than to heredity."

The term social class is applicable to all groups of men and women who present in the aggregate and who repeat with more or less completeness an ensemble of distinctive characters. They may and may not be stigmata of degeneracy.

Degeneracy signifies a physical affection, an impairment of the cells of which the tissue of the body is composed. This affection of the cells is general and results in a lowered "physical tone." The mental and moral natures are affected sympathetically. The effect is to assimilate the victim to some special type of so-called degenerates—paupers, lunatics, idiots, criminals—in a word, incompetents who are also more or less anti-social.

The origin of social classes as here used is not biological. "The only biological subdivisions of the great human family are those of sex and race." "There may be hereditary and congenital members of special classes, but not all the members of any special class fall under that category.

Degeneracy perpetuates itsels by inheritance. It would thus accentuate into anthropological type if not interfered with. Interference comes either through being counteracted by intermarriage with a more healthy and vigorous stock or by extinction through enfeebled vitality or sterility. We must therefore not press biological analogy too far in the consideration of problems essentially sociological.—FREDERICK HOWARD WINES, *Charities Review*, April 1897.

The Process of Social Change.—"Natural selection," "the survival of the fittest," and "the struggle for existence" are now applied to social phenomena with some vagueness. Natural selection operates as far as concerns the race elements of

the earth's population. History reveals it in numerous instances. Witness the American Indian melting away before the onward march of the whites.

When we turn to examine what is going on within any race, it is difficult to decide what natural selection is doing. It is apparently much more active in preserving than in changing types. People of conspicuous intellectual and moral power on the one hand and the degraded classes on the other are not as prolific as the intermediate class. The races of men undergo, no doubt, more or less organic transformation, but this must act very slowly. "It has little to do with the rise, spread, and decay of architecture, music, painting, or poetry, or the great religious systems; it is not the process by which governments become milder, popular education advances, and manners meliorate; nor is it that by which new views prevail about childhood and the status of women."

The process which generates opinions, moral standards, and institutions rests upon the imitative, sympathetic, and intellectual faculties of man, and is related to natural selection through the probability of their having an evolutionary origin in which natural selection acted as a factor. Man is a docile and conforming animal, and owes his power to his amenability. Conformity is a social discipline which levels up as well as down, and by so doing prevents crime as well as hindering genius. Social evolution rests primarily upon coöperation, which involves social discipline and individual amenability. Imitative and sympathetic human nature is a means to coöperation and so implies the process of social change. Variations from time to time occur and tend to be preserved by survival.

A continuous and progressive change in environment occurs. This changes the mechanism through which social influence acts and extends its range. "Society is a matter of the incidence of men upon one another," and this incidence is a matter of communication. With its extension an individual may select among several environments. It is upon the multiplicity of accessible influences and not upon radical change in human nature that present individual development differs from that of the past. Individuality and society as above defined are mutually dependent and evolve side by side.

"The process of change that I have described involves selection, and is perhaps as natural as anything else. Hence we may, if we choose, call it natural selection. It comes about through the competition of influences and the propagation of opportune innovations in thought and action. The selective principle, the arbiter of competition, is ever human nature, but human nature conditioned in its choices by the state of communication which determines what influences are accessible, as well as by the constraining momentum of its own past."—CHARLES H. COOLEY, *Political Science Quarterly*, March 1897.

The Conflict of Races, Classes, and Societies.—In a new environment the immigrants are assimilated by the native population. Both races, if of separate races, are united into one uniform group in accordance with the conditions of the environment.

Civilization is not conditioned by race. It is developed almost without relation to race. It passed from the south to the north in Europe without displacement of races. The decay of Rome began long before the northern barbarians exerted any influence. Venice has lost her commercial supremacy because her port was not sufficiently deep for modern ships. So we may affirm that intellectual development of an ethnographic race is due to causes quite foreign to the action of race.

Race classification is uncertain. The basis is either "color of the skin, form of the skull, religion, language, even a cross section of the hair," depending on the author. With such an uncertainty "how can we say that there has been a conflict of races?" "Conflict of races" implies that the individuals of a race are united or cohere for reacting against another race. "Now it is a fact of great importance that a race which in respect to another is not only physiologically and intellectually inferior, but inferior also in numbers, is able to live and prosper alongside of it. Then what becomes of this theory of the conflict of races."

It becomes more improbable when we realize that the various natural environments form a gradation that never makes a leap or leaves a hiatus, and it is just so

with populations whose characteristics are determined by environment. In Scotland the line of continuity is perfect between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders.

A strike may seem to exhibit conflict of classes. Modern social classes have no stable composition. The same individuals may be engaged in the struggle of two different classes. Conflict of classes signifies collective action which tends to repair social injustices. In this sense much that savors of a conflict of classes is bare-faced effrontery.

Man has always been essentially selfish, and this enabled him to survive. He has, however, learned to defer immediate utility to a future superior utility. Even the existence of society is due to utility. Man has unconsciously conformed to society in order more fully to satisfy his needs.

The civilization which arose along the Mediterranean was due to geographic conditions. Communication and contact between the three continents of the ancient world was here possible, and made possible the cosmopolitan civilization which it gave to the world. This is in addition to the influence which natural conditions have exercised upon the character of individuals. "Why is the German more of an idealist than the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin? If we exclude the different influences which the conditions of a natural environment exercised upon the development of the two characters I do not know where we should go to find any other cause."

The South American character is a mixture of the European and Indian character with a predominance of the apathy of the latter. Indian apathy can only be explained by environment. The new environment has exercised an influence upon the immigrants of South America which effected a change by intensifying the Indian traits.

"If, instead of comparing the intellectuality of the colored race with that which the white race has acquired, it were possible to take the intellectual development of the white race many years ago, when the social-economic system was at the same level with that of the real colored races, I am convinced that many of the illusions in regard to the superiority of the white race would be destroyed. The truth is that certain nations belonging to the white race, and called superior, have founded civilizations much inferior to the civilization of the yellow race, or even of the black. There is no people belonging to a race originally superior." The intelligence of the white race — its seeming superiority — is a product of development. The psychical and physiological superiority of the white man has been slowly acquired.

The so-called human races are different because they lived in different environments — natural and social. "That which is improperly called a race is never an ethnological unit, but an historical, intellectual, or a moral unit." The difference in cranial capacity of the white and colored races is due to the fact that the intellectual conquests of the white race have been consolidated in the human brain through heredity. The same is possible for every other race in the same condition of life.

Race exclusiveness finds its basis in ignorance. "The cautious human egotist sees that the only source of welfare and of wealth is labor, and for two individuals who find it profitable to work together in order to increase their mutual welfare, diversity of race, of color, of form of the head, of nationality or social class constitutes no impediment." When this is once fully realized then the question of the origin of races and of civilizations will no longer command present interest.—G. FIAMINGO, *Monist*, April 1897.

Genius, Fame, and the Comparison of Races.—"Genius is that aptitude for greatness that is born in a man; fame is the recognition that greatness has been achieved. . . . . One is biological, the other social; to produce genius is a function of race; to allot fame is a function of history."

"Every able race probably turns out a number of greatly endowed men many times larger than the number that attains to fame." Which are to achieve fame is determined by historical conditions. Genius is wonderful, but not miraculous. A little suggestion, a little opportunity will go a great way with it, but something of the sort there must be. A man can hardly fix his ambition upon a literary career when he is perfectly unaware, as millions are, that such a thing as a literary career exists. Between illiteracy and the ability to read a few good books there is all the difference between blindness and sight. Underfeeding in childhood and the subjection of children to premature and

stunting labor prevent the development of natural ability. Freedom is a favoring circumstance in development. Favorable environment is nothing fixed and definite, but is a variable for different individuals. Opportunity is another great factor and so is such economic independence as will spare one from bread-winning activities.

History clearly shows that great men cannot be accounted for on the basis of race alone unless races undergo rapid changes in degree and kind, owing to the action of forces as yet unknown. We can safely conclude that able races produce at all times a considerable number and variety of men of genius of whom only a few encounter those favorable conditions that enable them to achieve fame. Genius can develop into greatness at some times and not at others, under conditions not inscrutable. No social career can ever be independent of circumstances and the spirit of the age.

For example, it is easy to show that a number of conditions other than natural ability must concur to evolve excellent painters. (1) "A perfect technique achieved by the accumulated experience of many generations and kept alive and promulgated by a succession of masters." Opportunities for training in this technique are conditioned by art resting upon art-handicrafts. (2) An "art atmosphere" is also indispensable. (3) An aspiring and successful general life, furnishing symbols that speak to a common enthusiasm, is necessary to stimulate the enthusiasm which will raise this into art of the highest type of beauty. These principles that apply to painting hold good in other social careers, especially in other arts and in literature. It is not so obvious in science as its atmosphere is more intellectual and less dependent on personal contact or emotional stimulus. Seeming exceptions are only so in details and do not affect the general principle. "The main fact is that great success in any career calls for two things: natural ability and a social mechanism to make this effective."

Estimates of the worth of races based upon the number and grade of eminent men they produced have no justification unless it be possible to eliminate those social conditions that have quite as much to do with the necessary development as race. —CHARLES H. COOLEY, *Annals of the American Academy*, July 1897.

The George Junior Republic.—This little republic is situated on forty-eight acres of land about nine miles east of Cornell University. Its buildings are few and simple. Its inhabitants number forty-four in winter and are increased to two hundred and fifty in summer. Most of them are between the ages of twelve and fifteen, and are placed in the care of Mr. William R. George through sentence of city magistrates or by voluntary agreement on the part of parents.

Mr. George's influence in its government is exerted only indirectly. The republic has a boy president with veto power. Congress consists of a senate and a house of representatives. The police and judicial departments are alert and vigorous. Civil service obtains for the police department, as here competition is strongest. To be a "cop" is the great ambition of the average New York boy.

The court proceedings are conducted seriously and are designed to exemplify in miniature the state judiciary. Offenders are given a jury trial, and if found guilty by their peers are sentenced to hard labor and imprisonment for a period of time ranging from half a day to six days. Prison discipline is enforced and the sentence of the court is executed in letter and spirit. Mr. George says of this régime: "This is severe punishment, but we have severe cases sometimes to deal with. I don't like this prison part, of course, but there are several hundred other things in the world at large which we do not like, but which seem to be essential. We could have made the prison part milder, to be sure, but then they would have formed a very wrong impression of the actual state prison, and we do not wish them to glean the impression that a penal institution is a kind of picnic ground."

The economic life exhibits many features of the outer world industrial system. "The wages paid are from fifty to seventy-five cents a day, and the labor day is from 8:30 to 12." The contract system obtains quite extensively. Twenty-five hundred dollars in cash and sixteen hundred dollars' worth of provisions were contributed last year by benevolent people. It is hoped to make it more self-sustaining than at present.

Aside from the education furnished by the political and economic life of the little republic direct attention is given to education by making daily subsistence dependent

upon advancement made in the subjects taught. Two of the juvenile citizens act as schoolmasters.

These children of the slums are rapidly assimilated by the spirit of industry and good order that pervades the republic. This is due to the responsibility placed upon them and the confidence manifested toward them; but also, and chiefly, to the wholesome influence of Mr. George and his wife.—WILLIAM I. HULL, *Annals of the American Academy*, July 1897.

"Homewood"—A Model Suburban Settlement.—Mr. M. Koechlin, an enlightened Alsatian, in 1835 came to the conclusion that the most effective method of combating the moral and social evils of congested populations lay in the individualization of the home. New York has at present more densely populated districts than any other city in the world. Model tenements are an intermediate stage between the promiscuous and common life of the ordinary tenement and the well-ordered life of the detached home.

"Homewood" is a tract of land that has been divided into about 350 lots for model homes, and is situated within the six-mile limit of the New York City Hall. "Macadamized streets, granite block gutters, bluestone curbs, well-laid sidewalks, lines of shade trees, terraced sites, and a perspective of fifteen feet of lawn in front of the houses on each side of the various streets and the avenues have been provided for." Colonel Waring's invention for the purification of sewage by forced aeration will be temporarily used until the large main becomes available. Gas and water connections will be provided.

The houses will be pleasing architecturally and are to be solidly built with first-class material and appurtenances. They are to be available for wage-earners receiving from $800 to $1500 a year. Landscape and house architecture have counted for a great deal in making suburban sites popular, and so the houses are to be built artistically. "It is not expected that a house built entirely of wood will be erected within the limits of 'Homewood.' Brick or cement, with a combination of both, with chestnut beams or brick first story, with shingle upper story, represent the types of construction." The houses will have from five to eight rooms, excluding bathroom and pantry, and in fittings and workmanship will be first class. The houses are either detached, semi-detached, or four in a row.

These dwellings are built upon order, but only when 100 have been called for. The City and Suburban Homes Company bought a large tract of land, and builds so as to get the material at wholesale prices. This saves very considerable sums to purchasers. Life insurance is required of clients, and 10 per cent. of cost of home must be paid in cash. Payment for the home can be made on either ten, fifteen, or twenty year installment plan. Title is not given until the home has been fully paid for, and only genuine home seekers need apply.—E. R. L. GOULD, *Review of Reviews*, July 1897

Coöperative Stores in the United States.—The coöperative store, a comparatively simple business enterprise, has persistently failed. Farmers have succeeded in the management of coöperative creameries, and fire and tornado insurance companies. The large fraternal life-insurance companies testify to coöperative capacity, and building and loan associations have met with a large measure of success.

Five coöperative movements have been started within the last fifty years in the United States. In the first or 1847 period 769 union stores were started, and during the year 1857 the 350 reporting conducted an annual trade of $2,000,000. In 1866 the Patrons of Husbandry started the grange or second union-store movement. The Sovereigns of Industry started the third wave of enthusiasm in 1874. The Knights of Labor are responsible for the fourth general crop of attempts and failures. About the same time a farmers' association of the South known as "The Wheel and Alliance" made unsuccessful efforts to establish coöperative stores. Some stores survive the wreckage of the past fifty years. Their annual trade is about $900,000 outside of New England and $1,200,000 in New England. Some of these stores are doomed to failure, while others are successful on account of a man or a few men of business capacity.

The movement for coöperative stores has suffered on account of entangling

alliances with utopian schemes for social amelioration. It has not sufficiently weighed the importance of small savings, past experience, efficient counsel, instability of population due to immigration and migration, and competent leadership.—EDWARD CUMMINGS, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April 1897.

Over-Insurance and Under-Consumption.—Recently life insurance has developed enormously. The number of policies has increased about 300 per cent., and the average amount of insurance to a policy has also increased. Many carry too large a policy and thereby burden the present unduly for the future. It necessitates saving, and this may not always be wise from the standpoint of individual and social interest.

"Saving means curtailment of expenditure." Production is governed by consumption. Not many are so completely under the sway of this fallacy that they will stint themselves of what are the necessaries of life, but they will curtail the more social side of expenditures and consume only those commodities which cost relatively little labor and so give less employment to laborers. Serious industrial consequences may follow its extensive practice. "Because consumption is limited to few articles, industry will not be able to extend beyond the limits of the production of those articles. In these channels the whole stream of new capital will he diverted, with the result of overproduction and industrial depression." It were better for society if it increased its demand for higher classes of goods and limited its saving by a reduction of life insurance.—JOHN DAVIDSON, *Journal of Canadian Bankers' Association*, April 1897.

Sympathy and Reason in Charitable Work.—Failure to perceive the relation between sympathy and reason in charitable work is a cause of confusion and some controversy. On this account we have as yet arrived at little tenable philanthropic theory. Adjustment between the two is possible, inasmuch as their union is largely a question of proportion.

As we advance toward clearer vision we find that their tendency is toward harmony both in interest and aim. This harmony is evinced by an examination of the elements of sympathy—experience and imagination. Experience enables one to realize the meaning of suffering and so acts as an incentive to effort at relief. This, however, is accentuated by imagination. The data for reliable judgments are furnished by experience and imagination. Springing so largely from the same root, it would seem that harmony between their final product must obtain.

Reason in its highest product is sympathetic. This is confirmed by the history of charity. Abuses have appeared when in its administration reason and sympathy were not exercised in proper proportion. Sympathy moves the world to charity, while reason aims to harness these impulses and direct them in the interest of humanity.

Present-day charity aims to develop character through personal association and influence. In order to be effective, sympathy guided and directed by reason must be the motor. Love and the infliction of pain are not antithetical. Sympathy and reason must be so balanced in charitable effort that one can see the pain endured that spurs to the development of character.

Sympathy awakens an interest in charitable work. A hundred causal connections then lead to a study of economic problems. "To isolate any social question and examine it apart from its relations to the social question as a whole, is clearly impossible. . . . . Such is the solidarity of knowledge in general and of this subject in particular, that to follow the ramifications of poverty one needs to be trained in all the social sciences." There are social laws, and reason aided by sympathy in discovering the facts for their induction must formulate them. Harmony exists between real sympathy and true reason.—EDWARD T. JONES, *Charities Review*, June 1897.

The Immigration Question.—Former centuries have known migration. It has been superseded by immigration, or change in domicile by individuals and families. The latter has taken place extensively during the last century, and that without apparent union of interests or destination. Immigration becomes a serious problem only after conflict of economic, social, and political interests arises between the immigrants and the old inhabitants.

Four-fifths of the immigrants to the United States are received at the special immigration station on Ellis Island. Immigration to this country was encouraged until recently. The first evidence of restriction was the Act of Congress of 1875 prohibiting the importation of prostitutes from China and Japan. The Act of March 3, 1893, excluded certain classes, and since then immigration in the broader sense has practically come to a standstill. At present the immigration to this country is but very little larger than that to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The actual immigration to the United States under the new law is as follows:

Fiscal year	Total landing	In the United States before	Came to join immediate family	Leave as immigration proper
1893–4	219,046	29,782	90,887	98,377
1894–5	190,928	45,280	69,637	76,011
1895–6	263,709	48,804	95,269	119,636

Of the 233,400 arriving on Ellis Island during the calendar year 1896 only 108,563 could be classified as immigrants proper.

Immigration from the less desirable nationalities is decreasing. The number debarred from landing has increased absolutely and relatively, and the number returned at the expense of the steamship companies because they had become a public charge within one year after landing has materially decreased. This indicates more scrutiny on the part of those charged with the enforcement of the Act of 1893.

The winnowing process is commenced on the other end of the line. The number deterred from risking their money in purchase of passage was probably over a hundred thousand last year. The exclusion process is continued on Ellis Island by a searching examination and returning the undesirable ones. Should any foreigner become a public charge before the expiration of one year for a cause not previously existing, he may be, and many are, returned at the expense of an immigration fund. Exclusion by a monetary test is not sufficient guarantee, and consular certification is impracticable. A moderate educational test for the protection of American civilization and the American standard of life is desirable.

Exclude all undesirable persons and at the same time see that the most desirable immigrants are properly distributed over the country, then there will be no longer any immigration problem.—J. H. LENNER, *Annals of the American Academy*, July 1897.

The Labor Movement.—The labor movement is not yesterday's movement, of some men against others, but it is the movement of MAN. Men and measures are its way marks for the recognition of human rights and personal values in the working world. It should be based on a broader knowledge of economic history, economic life and economics.

"The slave labor of antiquity and the serf labor of the Middle Ages constitute the background for the story of the rise of the modern laborer." Laborers of old were more wretched in their poverty, incomparably less prosperous in their prosperity; were worse clad, worse fed, worse housed, worse taught, worse tended, and worse governed than modern laborers. The transition from *Serfdom to Wages* was effected by the silent working of economic forces, through the influence exerted by "The Black Death," and by the ever increasing need for more money on the part of the lords in lieu of services from the serfs.

The Industrial Revolution was evolutionary in character in spite of the suddenness of its beginning and the rapidity of its pace. It ushered in commercial depressions, irregularity in work and lack of employment, sudden fluctuations in prices, industrial strikes and the clash of classes. Child labor became profitable and children were compelled to toil from 4 A.M. of a cold winter's day for thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and even eighteen hours a day under the most heartrending conditions. Some were even sold as part of a bankrupt's effects. Indeed child slavery obtained in the factory towns of England.

The Factory System was inaugurated during the industrial revolution, and the domestic system of manufacture gradually disappeared. Several great inventions made this possible. These inventions were not conceived in a flash by a genius, but were the gradual completion of a process that had been unfolding itself under the spur of necessity.

The immediate effect of the factory system was the *displacement of labor by machinery*, and a greater product for the same amount of human effort. The displacement was so rapid that many laborers failed of proper coördination in the new economic order and so a large amount of actual hardship and suffering was produced. In a new and rapidly developing country the effects of the displacement of labor are not as painful as they are in an older and a more slowly developing one. In America, "we are, therefore, in great danger of doing the gravest injustice to large classes, and even masses, of our suffering fellow countrymen, by asserting and maintaining the easy-going optimism prevalent in all our well-to-do circles, which so stoutly claims that 'no man, willing and able to work, fails to find opportunity to earn a decent livelihood, except there be some moral obliquity to account for his failure.' The facts of the increasing displacement and irregularity of labor, and the precariousness of livelihood consequent upon the inevitable and ultimately beneficial development of labor-saving machinery, must be faced and the general good, undoubtedly promoted thereby, must somehow, sooner or later, be made to compensate those who suffer loss as unjust as it has been irretrievable." Another result of the factory system is the impetus it gave to the principle of competition as a social force and a consequent appearance of the phenomena "overproduction." The manufacturer was originally a hand-working producer, but now became the possessor of the machinery of production, and the employer of the workers.

Machine production has intensified all and occasioned some of the following effects upon labor:

(1) The separation of the employing and the employed classes.

(2) The concentration of capital and especially the tools of production in the hands of relatively few.

(3) The lowering of price of manufacturers' goods and the increase in the purchasing power of labor.

(4) The increase in the complexity, fluctuations, speculative element, and uncertainty of industrial interests affects the social conditions of labor by enhancing the precariousness of livelihood, shortening the working season and lengthening its working day, lessening the yearly average of wages by the more frequent intervals of enforced idleness, and by breaking up the permanency of abode and compelling populations to become transient through the necessity of seeking work from place to place.

(5) The centralization of population in factory towns and manufacturing cities has ever been attended with the most serious social and ethical effects upon the sanitary safety, family interests, and moral conditions of the operative classes.

(6) The disproportionate increase of women workers over men, and the persistency of child labor.

The last and most far reaching of the social effects of the machine production system here noted is the intensifying, the permanancy and the practically universal pervasiveness of the principle of industrial competition.

The reëntrance of *ethics and religion* into the economic domain of human relationship compels us to "recognize competition to be a thing neither good nor bad," and "look upon it as resembling a great physical force which cannot be destroyed but may be controlled and modified.

That *Humanity in Industry Pays* is seen in the successful democratic and considerate administration of the wage-system in the National Cash Register Company at their shops in Dayton, Ohio. Here obtains the most careful consideration for the health and comfort, the conveniences and feelings of the employés. The consideration shown the three hundred women employés savors of the chivalrous, and due regard for what men care most for is shown the fourteen hundred employés. "The N. C. R. House" is practically a social settlement for the families of the employés. The saving on the annual payment of $700,000 for labor is thought to yield good interest on the sum invested in sanitary safety. The rise in value of the real estate near the shops is estimated to more than cover the expenditure in landscape art and the garden-flats, and the training of the boys of the neighborhood in truck gardening. The company, "now, next in value to the perfected, patented, mechanical processes, and products . . . . rates highest among the assets of the concern the intelligence,

loyalty, enthusiasm, and fellowship, of all concerned in this great community of interests."

"Conscience is surely, if slowly, establishing its sovereignity over competition, ethics its jurisdiction over economics." That the common good is promoted by self-interest is an assumption and not a fact; for, have not men all along exempted their inner circles of associates from their competitive operations, and is it not our industrial system developing a federation of giants with avowed neutrality? "Mixed as have been the economic results of the competitive system of industry with splendid achievements and dire disasters, with a progress in which all have shared much, fewer have reaped hitherto unheard of wealth, and an ever increasing multitude have suffered a poverty such as only the civilizatfon of this system knows; its effects upon morals have been insidiously and fundamentally, if not wholly, evil."

Competition cannot forever remain as potent a factor among the active social forces, that it is today; for, "to take advantage of human necessity by selling in the dearest and buying in the cheapest market, cannot long continue to be considered consistent or compatible with a moral, not to say a Christian, life."—PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago Commons, September 1896 to July 1897.

The Nature of Corporations.—"All men sustain social relations to all other men. The effect of social relations—growth, stagnation, or decay—is a product of two factors, the content (function) of the human activity and the organization (form) within which it is exerted. The existence of each factor implies the existence of the other. Social functions are exercised only through the machinery of social forms; yet the forms are continually suffering modification to meet the demands of new or altered functions."

The corporation is a form of organization through which certain classes of social functions are exercised. It gives rise to *associate activity* and comprehends both the interrelations of the associated numbers and their relations with other organs of society. This corporate form or sum of peculiar relations is a *creation by the state.* The assumption of the corporate form is *voluntary*, as is also the acceptance of membership therein; but when the corporate form has once assumed, it is *compulsory* from the side of state upon all its members. Within the limits of this particular corporate form and function imposed or granted by the state, the corporation possesses complete *autonomy*, *self-sufficiency* as far as concerns ability to exercise effectively the particular powers granted to it and to perform the duties imposed upon it, and the rights of *self-renovation* or authority to renew its membership. It acts and is acted upon as a *compulsory unit*, and has its *motive in private interest* whether that be political, social, religious or economic. The functions it performs are conducive to the welfare of society in general and are more advantageously performed by associate than by individual activity.

More concisely: "A corporation is a body of persons upon whom the state has conferred such voluntarily accepted, but compulsorily maintained relations to one another and to all others that, as an autonomous, self-sufficient and self-renewing body, they may determine and enforce their common will; and in the pursuit of their private interest may exercise more efficiently social functions both specifically conducive to public welfare and most appropriately exercised by associated persons."—JOHN P. DAVIS, *Political Science Quarterly*, June 1897.

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III NOVEMBER, 1897 NUMBER 3

THE JUNIOR REPUBLIC. I.

THE Junior Republic is an experiment in charity, penology, and pedagogy. It carries to a consistent extreme the principles of self help and individuality towards which thinkers and workers in these fields for a decade or more have been urging. Various of its devices have recently been hit upon here and there in reformatories, schools, and child-saving organizations, but it has remained for Mr. George to begin at the foundation and to build up a complete system, untrammeled by traditions, institutions, or trustees. And now that the Republic has become famous, the fascination of its story and its apparent simplicity have led to the establishment of similar Republics elsewhere and the adoption of certain of its features in existing institutions. It is in the effort to imitate the Republic without fully appreciating its *motif*, that discredit is likely to come upon its principles, and the conclusion to be drawn that only under the personal inspiration of a Mr. George can it succeed, or that it is anything more than the fanciful pastime of a harmless philanthropy. In order to show that it has been developed not as an amusement but to meet the most fundamental practical problem of sociology — the education of personal character for both individual and social responsibilities — I can begin with no more convincing recital than the constitutional history of the Republic.

In 1887 Mr. W. R. George, then about 21 years of age, whose home had been among the hills near Freeville, Tompkins county, N. Y., went to New York City to follow a business calling. All of his leisure time he occupied in making the acquaintance of the street boys and girls on the East Side, in visiting boys' clubs, teaching Sunday-school classes, and becoming deeply attached to these urchins. Impressed by their cramped life, he determined, in 1890, to take a company of thirty to his home near Freeville, where he spent his own vacations in August. He secured railway expenses through the *Tribune* Fresh Air Fund, and relied upon his relatives and neighbors to furnish provisions. His only purpose at this time was to give the boys and girls a thoroughly happy outing. The second summer — 1891 — he took a company of 200, all to be kept on one farm in tents, and from that time to the present the number has ranged from 150 to 200, of whom about one-fourth have been girls. The people and churches of the neighborhood responded bountifully with food and clothing, and these were distributed freely among the youthful claimants. Four summers of this experience focused his attention on its essentially degrading effects. One-tenth of the children came there as a "gang," to fight and brawl and terrorize the country — nine-tenths came for the food and the clothing that they could take back to their parents. From arrival to departure their constant clamour was, "What are dese farmers goin' to give us to take back?" "The woman I was by last year gave me two dresses, and sent us three barrels of potatoes in the winter. What are youse going to give me?" and so on. Here were two conditions for Mr. George to meet, crime and pauperism, the very life and moving spirit of the political and charitable system of New York City and its tenements. And the fact that 200 of these budding criminals and paupers were on his hands made him think. One day he remonstrated with a crowd of them, "Why do you do nothing but beg and demand things to take back with you? You have done nothing to earn them; they are not yours." A little Italian girl, spokesman of the crowd, drew herself up and said, "Mr. George, wot

do youse tink we are here fur, anyway?" "That's the talk," growled the crowd.

The next summer — 1894 — Mr. George determined to make

W. R. GEORGE

them work for what they took home. Boxes of clothing sent in by the philanthropic were no longer passed around, but notice was given that only hard work with pick and shovel would be considered a claim for such. The grumbling and muttering were general and ominous. One boy, however, after a period of

thinking, offered to work five days for a suit of clothes—the price set by Mr. George. The others hectored him and called him a fool for working to get what was his by right, but when he walked away with his new suit, the pride of honest ownership, and the immediate capitulation of many others, were the first suggestion towards the Republic's cure for pauperism.

The problem of crime was equally hard. Mr. George made rules against smoking, gambling, stealing, fighting, etc., but how to punish for violations was beyond his comprehension. He even tried the whip, but that failed. He then resorted to a vicarious expedient, offering himself to be whipped, and compelling the culprit to do the whipping. This worked better, but crime still flourished. Finally, in 1894, he inaugurated a public trial of every alleged offender, the decision to be awarded by the town meeting. On the suggestion of the boys a jury of the best citizens was selected by Mr. George himself for such trials. At this time instead of corporal punishment he substituted fines of a graded number of hours' work. The stone pile was superintended by an adult, one of the assistants, and when one day he was sick the boys proposed that in his place be appointed Banjo, a member of the "Park" gang, which was an offshoot of the famous "Why-ho" gang. Only necessity compelled Mr. George to accept this radical innovation, and that for but one day, but its startling success was the first eye-opener on the possibilities of self-government. Banjo got much better and harder work out of the boys than did the adult, for they could not deceive him, and on the other hand Banjo himself became the most self-respecting upholder of law and order in the entire community. He was retained permanently in office.

The summer of 1894 was full of many kinds of experiments, Mr. George knew that something was wrong and he was feeling for remedies. After the children went home he set to thinking. Three facts had impressed themselves upon him. First, the keen sense of justice and power of discrimination shown by the boys in all the trials by jury; second, their superior powers of administration and discipline over their fellows compared with those

shown by adults; third, the superior wisdom of the suggestions they had made in modes of government and administration compared with those which had occurred to himself. He therefore reasoned that they might equally well *make* the laws as judge

HOTEL ASSEMBLY HALL COURT HOUSE AND JAIL RESIDENCE OF MR. GEORGE

and administer them, and the idea occurred to him of a boy legislature. Then, too, if they worked for their clothing, why not require them to work for their victuals? All these are just what people in the outside world are doing—why not copy their methods? and if so we have, sure enough, a Republic—yes, indeed, a Junior Republic. The idea was a flash, an inspiration—it carried our enthusiast off his feet with a shout—at once he announced his plan, and the summer of 1895 was the first year of the Junior Republic.

But the self-governing Republic was not born full-fledged. Mr. George was not ready to trust the boys. He made himself president with a veto on all laws. He appointed adult assistants as chief justice, chief of police, civil service examiners, board of health, and bank president. He let the contracts to adults.

The first summer convinced him that in every one of these positions the boys themselves would be superior to adults. They knew much better how to deal with their fellows. They would

also be more responsible to them, and would give them, therefore, a keener sense of their own responsibility for the execution of their own laws. Consequently, in the summer of 1896 adults were removed from all responsible positions, except the presidency, and the boys were appointed by the president, and in 1897 another step towards democracy was taken in that a boy was made president by election of his peers. In all respects, therefore, the Junior Republic is now self-governing, and is a coalescence of the federal, state and city governments of the United States. The president is elected for one year, senators for two weeks, representatives for one week, and officials are appointed on good behavior. The laws of the state of New York are the laws of the Republic, though subject to amendment by the legislature and president. These amendments, however, are all abrogated on the first of July each year, and, to remain valid, must be reënacted.

A MILLIONAIRE'S PASTIME—DOVECOTE

While in the forms of government the representative democracy has been perfected, the same does not yet hold for the ownership of property. This will appear from the very interesting monetary history of the Republic.

In 1895 Mr. George was owner and business manager of all property in the Republic. He employed boys and girls, paying

them wages in their card-board money (later tin coin) and they, in turn, paid him for board and lodging at the hotels. As a matter of form, and to give the government some material reason for existence, the citizens paid small taxes levied by the leg-

"ARISTOCRATS"

islature, though Mr. George as sole capitalist paid the bulk of the taxes. In 1896, in order to extend democracy, the contracts for hotels and mercantile establishments were let by the government to citizens on the payment of a license or percentage determined by auction. But Mr. George still retained ownership of the land and employed a large force in agricultural pursuits. He paid them wages daily, and as he had nothing to sell to the citizens, since his crops would not mature until after their return home the first of September, the money was not returned into his hands. As a result, the currency was expanded and continued to depreciate through rapid fluctuations until one dollar of

Republic money was worth only five to ten cents of American money. The method of determining this depreciation was to note the prices at which clothing and other goods from outside would sell at auction to the citizens in their currency, compared with the customary prices for the same in American currency. The ratio between the two prices would give the rate of depreciation. The causes of this growing depreciation were for several months inexplicable to either the citizens or their patron. It involved serious problems in the distribution of wealth and the contentment of the citizens. Out of it sprang the heated political campaign between the "People's Party" and the "Free Tin" Party. The government being constantly in receipt of more money than it could use, owing to the growing surplus in the community at large and the feeling that something ought to be done to keep it in circulation, projected large public improvements, such as building highways, side-walks, drains and laying out parks. These were let to contractors, who, by paying their laborers fifty cents a day and foremen one dollar, were themselves often able to make as profit $150 out of a $200 contract. They thus became "millionaires," and flaunted their riches in the face of others, living at the most expensive hotels without the need of work; and the high prices which they paid both

A PAUPER

depreciated the currency and placed luxuries beyond the reach of the commonalty. Rapidly there appeared a general feeling of remonstrance against these parvenus and a desire to curb their pride. Somehow, it was felt that the excessive currency furnished them their opportunities, and the People's or conservative party was organized, whose platform demanded a high tax rate and the arbitrary creation therefrom a government reserve in order to contract the currency.

DITCHING

The speculators now, in turn, organized the "Free Tin" party and their popular appeal was "high wages, plenty of work and prosperity." They told their workmen that they now were able to pay but fifty cents a day, and if currency should be shortened, they could pay only twenty-five cents; whereas, as everyone knew, it required a minimum of fifty cents a day to pay for meals, lodging and taxes. These arguments carried with the voters, and the People's party was overwhelmed. The currency continued to depreciate, and the millionaires to flourish till the end of the season.

In 1897 Mr. George took the matter in hand and returned to his policy of 1895. He became again sole landed proprietor and capitalist. He considers this as far from the ideal, but as a means of regulating the currency, it is the only secure plan yet devised. He now pays directly, or through his sub-contractors,

all the employés, except government servants, and pays two-thirds of the taxes. He receives an income from the hotels and other sources, and consequently is able to control the currency at par, apart from the regulations by the government. The inference seems to be that popular sovereignty has failed in the field of the currency, just as we often hear it held that it must also fail in the greater republic outside.

FARMING

By owning all the industries, Mr. George is also able to check the rise of millionaires. He can prevent the merely shrewd and unscrupulous from accumulating wealth as against the industrious and honest. He does this by letting the contracts, not merely on the basis of the strict competitive system, as was done in 1896 by the government, but by awarding them to the more deserving in his private estimation. Thus, by monopolizing private property, he quietly controls the lives of the citizens regardless of the complete self-government vouchsafed to them. In this a more ideal justice is measured out, though, of course, in so far, the government has become a benevolent despotism rather than a democracy. This, too, has made the Republic less fascinating and less exciting than it was under the political and commercial contests of 1896, and outsiders might wish these competitive conditions had been retained, in order to see what sort of an ideal

commonwealth the citizens themselves might have worked out Both Mr. George and the citizens feel this lack of complete self-government, and the plans for 1898 will resume again the democratic trend. Private property in land and all enterprises will

"NEVERWORKS"

be arranged for in some way, and the government will have entire control of the volume of currency.

At present the currency is easily kept at par, as far as the purchase of necessities is concerned. United States money has, of course, a wider value, but if the treasury of the Republic had an adequate reserve of candy with which to redeem its currency, the par value of the same could, in all respects, be steadily maintained. The management wishes to arrange for the redemption of a certain portion of its currency in United States money when the citizens return home, but at present the only redemption for the savings of the citizens is such clothing and provisions as may happen to be on hand. The outgoing citizens occasionally retain their Republic money and bring it back the

following summer for a few days of luxury before settling down to work.

The demoralizing effect upon the community occasioned by the millionaires and their sudden riches would be largely obviated if the government had other means of redemption than merely meals and lodgings. If the millionaires could purchase clothing, shoes, pictures and bric-a-brac for adorning their rooms, books and other useful imperishables, they would still feel the incentive to work, even with a large surplus of profits in hand, for the surplus would be turned at once into such permanent acquisitions. As it is, the only use to be made of large earnings is to spend them on meals and lodgings throughout a long period of idleness. If the imperishables were donated by outsiders, or even manufactured in part by the citizens themselves with machinery and a plant like those of many prisons and reformatories, Mr. George would see his way again to return to the individual enterprise of 1896. It is toward this ideal that his new plans are tending.

TYPES OF THE "BETTER CLASSES"

New counterparts with the republic of history are continually appearing. The duration of the Republic was originally the two months of July and August. Beginning in the fall of 1895, there were five of the summer citizens who persuaded Mr. George

to keep them through the winter until the next summer. These he calls his "original residents;" they were the nucleus of a colony of thirty-two in the winter of 1896-7 and of fifty-three in the winter of 1897-8. These winter citizens, known as "resi-

THE ORIGINAL "RESIDENTS"—WINTER OF 1895-6

dents," continue the government through the year under the same constitution and laws, but they have become a patriciate, engrossing the offices, the property and profitable contracts, to the exclusion of the greater number of plebs, known as "summer citizens," who swarm in during the summer. The winter residents elect the president who appoints the administrative officials, and in the winter of 1896-7 they adopted a new constitution, providing that no citizen could be a senator or representative, who had not been a resident of the Republic for one month. This, of course, excluded the leaders of the summer citizens during the first half of their stay, and since, during this first month, the

majority of these leaders were arrested and convicted on criminal charges, they were further incapacitated for election the second month. The outcome has been that the summer citizens, having three-fourths of the votes, have cast their strength for the weak and inefficient of the winter residents, instead of the capable leaders, and the legislature has, therefore, been almost a nonenity. This is very much like ward politics at large. The residents of 1897-8 are planning to remove the restrictions on summer citizens, and this again will tend to give to the political life of 1898 some of the thrill of 1896.

The main obstacle at present to the successful working of the educational and reformatory principles of the Republic is this inroad of summer citizens. Experience shows that at least a year's continuous residence is required to saturate a boy with the spirit of self-help and responsibility. The first month or two is a period of depression and discouragement. The boy is arrested and convicted again and again, spends much of his time in jail and on the stone pile, and only begins to reap the rewards of upright and industrious living at about the time when he goes home. The boys who stay through the year get a closer acquaintance with Mr. George and become model citizens. It is intended to increase the number of residents and lessen that of summer citizens, so as to give a preponderance of at least three-fourths of the votes to the former; also to establish another "state" near by, exclusively for summer citizens.

The Republic is based upon the wage system. This is a system of indirect coercion grounded upon the necessities of the wage-earners for food, clothing, and shelter. Traditional educational methods of direct coercion through corporal punishment and despotic control are based upon the slave system. The indirect coercion is far more efficient, both as an industrial stimulus and an educational device. It is deliberate and searching; it stimulates thought and self-examination. I saw two boys go without breakfast, because on the day before they had loafed, and so failed to earn cash for a day's meals and lodging. Mr. George himself escapes the odium of enforcing this harsh pen-

alty, for it is enforced by the boy proprietor of the hotel, to whom it is a matter of business.

In 1895 taxes were levied to support the poor. Finally a bill was introduced in the legislature and enacted into law, stipu-

THE LAUNDRY

lating that after a certain day the paupers' table supported by the government should be abolished. There were a dozen paupers, who had contented themselves with the spare diet of that table. They treated the matter as a joke and predicted that when the day arrived, the citizens would do what the charities of New York had always done, feed the hungry whether deserving or not. But the citizens were tax-payers. When the day arrived the policemen ordered the paupers to move on. They moved; and before night had found work and earned enough to pay for a heavy supper. Since that day there have been no paupers. Of course, there is no problem of the unemployed in this Junior Republic, and so the paupers cannot throw the burden of proof upon the philanthropists.

If the wage system were uniform for all grades of labor, it would be no better than slavery as a means of individual progress. But by grading the pay according to the quality of service, higher motives than the craving for necessities can be evoked. The minimum wages paid by Mr. George are twelve cents an hour for six hours' work, or seventy-two cents a day. Curiously enough, when boys are the employers they pay ten or fifteen cents a day higher wages, but they compel their employés to work harder and somewhat longer. Policemen are paid ninety cents a day; the chief of police $1.25; senators and representatives $2 a week; police commissioners and other officers $1 to $2 a week. Civil service examinations are held by the civil service commissioners for the policemen and all appointive officials. The examinations cover the common branches of study as taught in the public schools and at the Republic.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY. JOHN R. COMMONS.

THE DAIRY

STUDIES IN POLITICAL AREAS.[1]

THE POLITICAL TERRITORY IN RELATION TO EARTH AND CONTINENT.

ALTHOUGH only the one-fourth of the earth's surface which remains after allowance is made for the polar regions and the sea is habitable and politically occupied, nevertheless all the superficial areas of political geography stand to the earth's surface in the relation of parts to the whole. Just as the different races are members of the one human family, so countries are parts of this maximum political area out of which they have been formed in increasing size and number, as from one widely distributed element, and from which their growth is nourished. Karl Ritter's expression, "The Principle of Proportions," means in its deepest sense the spacial relation of every geographic phenomenon to the earth as a whole. In political geography this relation assumes a practical aspect, for all political extensions of territory have had to stop at the limits of the total space and definite regions found established on the earth.

The close connection between every country and the whole earth's surface exists not merely in the abstract, but it lives and operates in the present and all the future. This community of foundation determines the forms of contact and the mutual relations of these lands, so that, in spite of all differences and boundaries, they are never to be thought of as quite isolated existences. Herein lies one great cause of the progress of humanity, that, as more states and larger states grow up, the nearer do they edge together, and so much the more intimately must they act and react upon one another; history, therefore, means mutual approach and compression. From the time of Hanno and Pytheas, as the known earth has grown at the cost

[1] Translated by MISS ELLEN C. SEMPLE.

of the unknown, political territories have continually increased in size and number, one unknown region after the other taking on political value. In the same way, lands to which we are still strangers will gain political importance, till the whole earth has become familiar and capable of being turned to political account. In Africa, even during the last years, we have seen discovery and political possession going hand in hand; and we have witnessed how the efforts to reach the North and South Pole, on the part of all those nations participating therein, have assumed the character of national enterprises to gain ideal benefits of political value.

The conception of spacial relations on the part of historians is without doubt vitiated by the fact that these relations are expressed in terms which obscure the nature of the thing. When one speaks of "the dominating territorial position" of a nation, he means the large area which serves as its base. The word "territorial" does not describe the nature of the matter, but only the phenomenon; it is an expression of secondary importance. In the phrase "conditions of power," there lurks, as a rule, the idea of superficial extent; and particularly is this the case in Droysen's favorite expression, "ponderance of powers" (*Ponderation der Mächte*), since here is meant classification according to relative strength, and in this, of course, superficial extent must always play its great rôle. In all such inaccurate terms no adequate expression is found for the historical principle, that all events having to do with territorial changes possess an altogether special importance. When Mommsen (chap. iii., Book 5) calls the Roman conquest of Gaul an event "whose results even today determine the history of the world," he put into words the never-failing tendency of territorial changes to make their influence felt for a long time afterward. Political geography cannot, in the long run, be contented with this merely superficial consideration of a phenomenon so fundamentally geographical, but it must regard a systematic treatment of the same as one of its most important tasks.

The given space of every age has decided how far countries

have had to expand in order to become in reality "world powers," *i. e.*, to span the earth; and in this general process, every single country, even the smallest, has had its position continually modified by the growth of the whole. Since the size of the earth's surface sets limits to this development, the zenith can be reached by only a few states at the same time. In like manner, the number of the smaller powers naturally depends upon the fifty-one million square miles which stand at the disposal of all. In this space there would, indeed, be room for two hundred countries the size of Germany or France; but this wide expanse immediately shrinks when the five really great states of our time,—England, Russia, China, the United States and Brazil, take their share in it, for these occupy almost the half. What remains is still large enough for quiescent possession which has been historically established, but small for the far-reaching plans of a new Alexander or Napoleon. The whole earth suffices for only a few great political exploits, and this so much the more, since it not only restricts the political areas, but also curbs the incentives to activity and growth. Russia cannot expand without clashing with the British or Chinese Empire. We ourselves have seen how, scarcely had Germany modestly enough entered the ranks of the colonial powers, but forthwith a sense of crowding went through the world, and the still undivided territory in a short time was taken up. Only upon a small planet like this could a surface of two million square miles form the base of a "genuine" great state. Therefore one nation pushes the other out of its position as a world-power. What England is today, Spain was formerly, just as in that narrow horizon upon which the western world had not yet risen, the *Imperium Romanum* and the Persian Empire under Darius could not have existed side by side. In fact the succession in office, so to speak, of the "world-ruling" powers belongs to the most characteristic feature of ancient history. It is a phenomenon growing simply out of the question of space. In every age, however, we can call only that power a world-power which is strongly represented in all parts of the known earth, and espe-

cially at all critical points, by its own possessions. Even today only the British Empire can be designated as such. World-wide scattered interests constitute no position as a world-power; these can be maintained through commerce by small states like Belgium and Switzerland. Even a land-mass such as that of Russia would only grow to a world-empire through broader expansion on the Pacific and a corresponding position on the Atlantic; since only the oceans open to her an avenue for the possible extension of her sway over the lands of the western and southern hemispheres. When mention is made in historical works of the world-power of Rome, of the world-empire of Darius, of the world-position of the German Empire in the Middle Ages, and of many other world-ruling phenomena, a justification for such expressions can be sought only in the limited horizon of the times to which they refer. In our age they are merely hyperbolical and must rapidly become antiquated in the face of the great size of real world-powers.

In the idea world-power, there lurks an exaggeration which can be readily discerned. In view of the existing divisions of races and the form of our present political institutions and conditions, the expansion of a single government over the whole habitable earth is unthinkable. A universal state with 1500 million "citizens of the world" belongs to the realm of poetry. And nevertheless, the effort to banish the idea of cosmopolitism out of practical politics as a useless chimera has failed utterly. Even a hundred years ago, the intellectual community of the civilized and literary peoples of Europe evidenced the fact that the boundaries of its own land had grown too narrow for every separate nation, and those of the continent, too contracted for all. The literature of world-wide circulation and the intellectual cosmopolitism, which then grew to be a reality, could not possibly remain without exerting a retro-active influence politically. The idea of natural rights, the movement against the slave-trade and even against slavery, then so deeply rooted in most non-European lands, the considerate policy towards the natives on the part of the great colonial power England,—all had their origin

in a truly cosmopolitan humanitarian feeling, peculiar to all civilized peoples of the present time. In this sense, we find Karl Peters speaking of a "common European conscience" which at the end of the nineteenth century demands on principle the recognition of the human rights of all belonging to the genus man. We find the expression quite apt, although we do not concede the justification of this particular verdict of the "common conscience." As to its world-wide validity, no one can doubt; even the adjective European is properly too restrictive. This, however, is only one drop from the stream of movements which are trying to sweep away the barriers to their universal acknowledgment,—an acknowledgment that shall extend over the inhabited earth. Our civilization and Christianity are striving after the broadest expansion, and as usual, commerce has already outstripped them in attaining it. The most obvious cosmopolitism is to be found in the fact that there is today no corner of the earth to which the ideas and material products of occidental civilization do not penetrate. Political geography has its current set along a special course in this same direction. Every form of geographical consideration of a question tries to get an all-embracing survey. This is the chief purpose of geographical study. The advantage of laying a geographical foundation for political views and judgments lies to great extent in the multiplicity of the phenomena which constitute its base. Just as there are principles of history which time imparts, so there are principles of geography which we seek and compare in space. In this way, there lies a corrective for the self-sufficient narrowness of the European point of view in a broad survey of the earth. With the whole world as a background, many things seem insignificant or accidental which, in the continent, appeared important. Economically, politically, and above all in point of civilization, Europe is not to be thought of apart from the other continents. The most flourishing communities in all other parts of the world are nothing more than offshoots of Europe. All the continents have long lain in the politico-geographical horizon of Europe, and now they are steadily rising higher.

Only the politically far-sighted understand their own times; and just as positively, therefore, should it be demanded of the political as of the physical geographer, that he be familiar with the whole earth. This is the cosmopolitanism that geographical study is meant to promote.

The unequal distribution of land among the continents determines the unequal distribution of political areas. Since Asia is nearly five times as big as Europe, the Americas four times, and Africa three times its size, the non-European world stands in contrast to the European as more spacious, applying therefore a larger standard of measure in questions of territory, making greater demands. Europe and Australia, which include respectively only 7.2 per cent. and 6.6 per cent. of all the land of the earth, offer each merely room enough for a single, genuine great power. Australia belongs entirely to the British Empire, and the whole continent together with Tasmania and New Zealand are about to be converted into the commonwealth of Australia,—that is, the whole continent be made into one state, the first instance of the kind in history. Besides Russia, which occupies more than half of Europe, that continent has room for only a fairly large number of medium powers; among these, the Scandinavian kingdom, which stands next to Russia in point of size, covers, however, only one-seventh of the area of Russia in Europe. The average size of the European states is about equal to that of Switzerland.

Europe has twenty-four independent states and three small dependencies—the Faroe Islands, Malta and Gibraltar—which hold somewhat the same relative position as colonies in foreign lands. Among these is only a single state of continental proportions; it embraces 55 per cent. of Europe. Then follow seven states, varying from 293,848 square miles (Norway and Sweden) to 114,410 square miles (Italy), which are great states according to the European standard of size; ten which are medium states according to the same standard, ranging from the 64,000 square miles of European Turkey proper, to the 11,373 square miles of Belgium; and six small states, or nine including the small outlying dependencies. The natural causes of this distribution

of territory are readily explained by the fact that the largest European state belongs entirely to the broad eastern expanse of the continent, while Norway and Sweden, Spain, France, Great Britain, and Italy are clearly defined by the physical forms of central and western Europe.

Asia has nine nominally independent states, but only China, Persia, and Japan can be regarded as independent in the European sense of the term. These take up almost one-third of the continent. Then come the possessions of the seven European powers, Russia, England, Turkey, Holland, France, Spain and Portugal; but if we divide these holdings into the individual states which exist as colonial dependencies, we get for Asia a total of thirty-two separate colonial domains.[1] Among these, Siberia, China, the Empire of India (without Socotea and the African provinces), and Russian Central Asia together with the Trans-Caspian, must all be regarded as states of continental proportions; they embrace 73 per cent. of the continent. In addition, independent Arabia, the Dutch Indies, Asiatic Turkey, and Persia, all of which are from four to five times the size of Germany, are to be looked upon as great states. Afghanistan, Siam, French Farther India, the Trans-Caucasus, Japan, and the Philippine Islands have territories from 215,000 to 115,000 square miles in area, and they are therefore to be compared in point of extent with the great states of Europe. If we draw the line of the medium states at Bhutan (circa 13,000 square miles), then all the nine smaller states, such as Samos, Cyprus, Bahrain, Hong Kong, Macao, and others, belong to fereign powers. Moreover, they show by their scattered peripheral position, how little they have to do with the Asiatic system of distribution of land. This system undoubtedly gets its stamp from the broad mass of northern and central Asia, where three-fifths of the continent fall to the share of two domains. India begins the list of Asiatic states of medium size; it is far ahead of the rest in point of importance, however, because, starting from a peninsula, it has sent a wedge deep into the body of the continent. Like it, the others also are found in the peninsulas, islands, and coast countries of western, southern and eastern Asia.

Australia has five colonies, which, together with Tasmania and New Zealand, regard themselves as one whole, and for years they have maintained the community of their interests by independent agreements.

[1] The Pamir countries and the small districts east of Bhutan are here left out of consideration as no longer independent. All Arabia not under Turkish rule is taken as a whole.

Their union, encouraged by the mother country, has entered upon the stage of official preparation since the conference in Hobart Town in January 1895. The areas of the five continental colonies vary according to their historical age, just as was the case in North America. The most recent, West Australia, Queensland, and the North Territory, embrace almost three times the area of the three older ones. The small size of Victoria and New South Wales has a close connection with their position in the southeast, the only narrow and richly articulated portion of Australia; that of the other two divisions lies in their character as islands.

Africa is at present undergoing a process of political transposition which is involving almost all its territories, so that it is scarcely possible to give even an approximate figure for the size of a single one of these. Evident enough is the fact, however, that the seven largest areas all belong to non-African powers, and that the list of native territories begins with no larger country than Morocco, which can count merely as a medium state. The Congo State, rooted in the largest river-basin of Africa, is relatively the most defined of the greater territories, although the latest formed. The absence of a state in Africa of decidedly predominating extent is due to the division of the larger half of the continent among eight foreign powers, to the lack of a native great power after the manner of China, and moreover, to the want of all political possibilities in the desert, which takes up one-fourth of the continent and that in the part most advanced in political respects.

In the Western Hemisphere, where North, Central, and South America (exclusive of the polar regions) stand in the proportion of 52: 2: 46, an entirely different allotment of land rules in the north from that in the south; and Central America, too, together with the West Indies, presents a peculiar distribution of its territory. North America is practically divided between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Mexico, which is less than one-fourth the size of the United States, comes in here as a country of essentially South American proportions. In the limited area of Central America, on the other hand, we find a piecemeal division such as occurs nowhere else but in Europe. It is split up into seven independent states and twelve different colonies. The largest of these, Guatemala (48,700 square miles) is smaller than the smallest South American state, Uruguay (69,000 square miles), and the average size scarcely exceeds that of the Duchy of Brunswick. Almost half (47 per cent.) of South America is taken up by Brazil,

which is situated in the broadest part of the continent and embraces the largest river basin of the world. In the remaining portion, we find the next group of states in point of size, varying from two to five times the area of Germany, from the 1,125,000 square miles of Argentine to the 294,000 square miles of Chili; so that only a tenth of the whole remains for the far smaller domains, which range from Ecuador's 116,000 square miles to French Guiana's 30,000 square miles.

Let us review the division of the continents with independent states according to the three classes usually adopted on the basis of size: continental states, with an area of 2,000,000 square miles and over; medium states, from 80,000 to 2,000,000 square miles; and small states.

	Continental	Medium	Small
Europe	1	7	16
Asia	3	8	5
Africa	—	15	4
The Americas	3	9	12
Australia	1	—	—
Oceanica	—	—	—

If we leave out of consideration the continent of Africa, which is only in the initial stage of political development, in all the rest we find the states of continental size in the preponderance. Moreover, these show a much closer relationship in point of extent than do the medium and smaller states; for the latter utilize the given area in a more accidental manner, while the former fill it out to its natural boundaries,—that is, from sea to sea, and therefore stand in closer touch with their territory. Where the same fact holds for medium and smaller states, it is to be explained, not by the size, but by the shape of the continent; wherefore, the very smallest states and colonies—leaving out of consideration members of federations—are located without exception on islands or strips of coast. The conclusion to be drawn from these smaller and older stages of development would only become apparent if we could construct a table of areas existing *before* the evolution of the numerous large and medium states; such a table would show everywhere an unqualified preponderance of small and smallest states in North America, Australia, and Northern Asia, even excluding from the list all medium states. But the material, unfortunately, is lacking for the reconstruction of those conditions. Still, we know enough to be

able to state the general principle that tribes which have been left to themselves, like the Negroes in Africa, Indians, Malays, Australians, and the inhabitants of the polar regions, have, with few exceptions and those rapidly disappearing, formed no states which exceed the limits of the medium states; and that they live, as a rule, under petty political conditions. On the other hand, Africa is sure, within ten years, to present a different picture, in which continental proportions will have developed out of medium states. According to the figures, most of the states of continental extent are to be found in the largest continents; in this connection, however, it is significant for the advanced territorial development of states in all continents, that those of medium size are almost as numerous as small ones, while the latter appear in Europe and Asia today merely as residues not yet absorbed. Since we leave the growth of states for the time being quite out of the present consideration, from the connection between age and stage of territorial development, we can seize only upon the fact that all states of continental size are of recent formation. Even China has reached its present great extent only in the last centuries; while the smallest, like Monaco, San Marino, Andorra and the Hanse Towns are among the oldest states.

Stating the present division of political areas in terms of Europe, Russia in Asia and the Chinese Empire are each larger than Europe, both together are nearly three times as big; British Asia is almost exactly the size of European Russia. In Africa, the French, British, Portuguese and German possessions, together with the Congo State, occupy an area that exceeds that of Europe by more than nine hundred thousand square miles. The French holdings in Africa are even now five times, the German are three and one-half times, as large as their respective mother countries; the Congo State is almost eighty times as large as Belgium. In America, we find the United States, the British possessions, and Brazil each with an area hardly smaller than that of Europe. Fourteen to fifteen such countries as Germany or France could find room within the boundaries of the United States. The average size of the twenty-four countries and colonies of America is 623,220 square miles, or almost three times as big as the area of France or Germany, and almost forty times the average size of

the European states. In addition to the eighteen independent countries of the western continents, the American holdings, as at present divided, of the European powers form nineteen colonial territories or dependent states, and eleven of these are smaller than Hayti, the smallest free American country (11,100 square miles). The average size of these thirty-seven divisions is nevertheless 504,000 square miles.

In the history of Europe, the conclusions remain yet to be deduced as to the unavoidable reaction of non-European upon Europian spacial conditions. Like everything unfinished, this state of affairs has a disturbing effect, above all naturally in the case of those countries whose size has not been determined by nature itself. Europe pays for the superiority of its concentrated situation in the temperate zone, so favorable to civilization, with the disadvantage of its limited space. One can speak of general European evils which find their root in this cause. Even in the times of powerful expansion, in Europe nothing more than a fragmentary extension in smaller districts has ever been possible for the Europeans, since every current of migration has met a counter-current which split it up. For this reason the German expansion towards the east was a laborious advance, a forward struggle in certain regions and an enforced halt in others. The final result, therefore, is a dismembered situation, fertile in friction, as we see it in eastern Germany. Similarly, also, one disease of Europe is the miserable condition of agriculture, which is caused by the crowding of a growing population into a space already become too small, and by the exhaustion of the soil in consequence of increasing competition with larger, newer countries which are thinly populated and produce at little expense.

Since every age derives the scale of its views from the extent of its space, and at the same time is governed by the law of the increase of political areas, we see in the present not merely domains of proportions unknown to the ancients, but even more pronounced tendencies in this direction, which must be counted among the singular features of recent history. Empires which embrace half continents are endeavoring to combine whole con-

tinents with these into a political system. When Cardinal Alberoni, in the third decade of the eighteenth century, proposed a United States of Europe with an European parliament, how visionary the plan appeared then, and how unexpectedly has commerce and civilization in general set the example for it today! For the North American statesman, the American system reaches from Greenland to Cape Horn, includes Cuba, Hawaii, and Samoa, where it comes into conflict with the Australian ideal of the union of all the Pacific islands with Australia.[1] Although in Europe the formation of united empires of Asiatic or American proportions must be recognized as impossible, still a tendency is making itself felt in a milder form towards extensive territorial schemes of a political character, which have evidently been suggested by non-European conditions. The similarity of the economic situation in the two great countries, Russia and the United States, between which the states of western and central Europe seem to be wedged in, has emphasized the admonition to combine.

At the discussion of the new commercial treaties in the Reichstag on the 10th of December, 1891, Caprivi mentioned as a phenomenon of universal history which he considered very significant, the fact of the formation of great empires, their awakened national self-consciousness, and their effort to shut themselves off from others. He said that the stage of history has expanded, that political proportions have grown larger, "and a state that has played the rôle of a great European power can, in a conceivable time, sink to the rank of a small power, as far as its material strength is concerned. If European states wish to maintain their permanent position in the world, they will be compelled to make a close union with one another, so far, at least, as they are adapted to it in other respects." In other

[1] This is particularly advocated by the statesmen of New Zealand. See Sir Julius Vogel's *New Zealand and the South Sea Islands and their relation to the Empire* (London: 1878), and the speech of Seddon, the prime minister of New Zealand, in Hokidada on the 11th of January, 1895 (*The Times*, January 15), in which he enunciates the necessity that the islands of the Pacific Ocean be "peopled by the British race."

words, the ideal of a great political whole, embracing the continent or at least a large part of it, is held up to Europe also. If this great territorial project should triumph over the geographic dismemberment and the ethnographic diversity of Europe, it would be the greatest achievement of which such a project could possibly be capable. Indeed, how differently will this space even then be filled by its varied contents, as compared with Anglo-Saxon Australia and North America, Russian North and Central Asia, or Hispano-Portuguese South America! The European world, both in its peoples and states, will always bear the mark of an historical epoch which dealt with smaller areas than ours; for that reason it will always give the impression of antiquity.

The differences, too, between the northern and southern continents affect the size of their states. The great expanse of land in the north of the northern hemisphere afforded room in Europe, Asia and North America for the largest domains. The two states of continental proportions in the southern hemisphere stand, in point of area, to those of the northern hemisphere in the ratio of 2 : 7. In this fact lies not only the preponderance of political power in the northern hemisphere, but also the increase of competition among its states and peoples, a competition which grows with the numerical strength of both. In the number of their states, also, the northern continents form an overwhelming contrast to the southern. We must make an exception of Africa, since it is not yet politically organized enough to be compared with the others. But, however we may count, the states of the northern continents are still at least twice as numerous as those of the southern.

In every part of the earth, the configuration of the land and the natural irrigation conditioned by it are factors in determining the size of political areas; they operate according to the rule that territorial growth is promoted by all circumstances that accelerated historic activity. Among those peoples whom we are wont to call historic in the true sense of the term and in the hands of whom, from their first appearance, we see ships and

iron, the water has always exercised a quickening and stimulating influence; their states have grown up on islands and coasts, along rivers and lakes. Well articulated coasts, therefore, with numerous bays, peninsulas, islands and river mouths, have been the favored regions where such peoples have built up their states. But since the water acts as a disjunctive factor between the parts of the land, it separates it into naturally defined divisions; of these Greece and the Mediterranean region in general afford the best examples. States have always grown up in these divisions and have been content to fill them out to the boundaries, wherefore such states were quicker to take on their final form and, with their contracted territorial views, developed to maturity more rapidly. The most ancient states of which the history of the Old World speaks all stand under the influence of the spacial conditions of the Mediterranean lands. Peninsulas, islands and river-born oases form the ground on which they arose, and which did not permit any of them to grow beyond medium dimensions. The greatest of them, the Roman Empire, united to Italy the Iberian and Balkan peninsulas, Asia Minor, Mauretania, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, all the islands of the Mediterranean, and Britain beyond; five-sixths of the empire consisted of such naturally defined parts, many of which had before belonged to other states and later again passed over in unaltered size into other hands. The different Mohammedan powers in this region down to the Turkish Empire of our own time have ever anew patched together some of these natural pieces and attained consequently about the same superficial extent. Just as Europe spreads out towards the east in continental proportions, and contracts towards the west to ever narrower areas, similar also is the distribution of its political divisions. The series, England 122,000 square miles, France 207,000 square miles, Germany 210,000 square miles, Austro-Hungary 261,000 square miles, European Russia with Poland and Finland 2,198,000 square miles, shows the increase of political areas towards the east. The same thing is shown by the fact that west of the thirtieth degree east longitude, the meridian of the mouth of the Danube,

lies the Europe of medium and small states, east of it the Europe of single massive Russia.[1]

In Asia as in Europe there reappears this contrast between the smaller territories of the articulated south and west sides, and the larger ones of the massive north and east. We find it even between France, confined within its natural boundaries of sea and mountain, and Germany which is endowed with a greater possibility of expansion towards the east, and whose leading powers spread out from the broad east towards the dismembered west. Even the Balkan peninsula shows an increase in the size of its states in the direction of the torso-like mass of the north, just as does India towards the northwest.

Since in every continent, even if it is not copiously articulated, the great unbroken spaces lie in the interior and the naturally divided districts on the margin, the broad interior always forms the source on which the development of the larger domains must draw, thus giving rise to the contrast between the states of the continental body and of the continental limbs. The kingdom of Persia is the first truly great state in the list of the so-called world-empires of antiquity, because it extended farther back into the massive interior of Asia than all earlier states, while these were merely lodged on the edge of the land. The old China reached its continental dimensions only when the inner regions of Thibet and Mongolia joined themselves to it. British North America grew out of Upper and Lower Canada, now Quebec and Ontario, which lie between chains of lakes and seas, and are amply divided up by the St. Lawrence, Ottawa, and Richelieu, and which together are scarcely twice the size of Germany. The strip of country in New England, hardly 15,000 square miles in area, embracing Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, can be regarded as the cradle of the United States. Virginia, which we might look upon as the nucleus of the southern states, has 42,450 square miles. The area of both these

[1] It is not a matter of chance that the similarity between Greece and the group of European states west of Russia made an impression upon the most eminent recent writer upon Russia. See ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU, *L'Empire des Tsars*, chap. i.

nuclei together stands to that of the whole United States as 1 : 62.

Since historic movements, even in the making of states, almost always advance from the periphery towards the interior just as commerce and civilization do, the marginal countries are therefore necessarily the smaller, older, and earlier matured. That advance is just for this reason a progress to larger from smaller states which first spring up on the periphery and often suddenly expand enormously when they have reached the broad spaces of the interior. The youthful but powerful states and colonies of America and Africa afford numerous examples of this fact. This process takes on astonishing proportions when an insular position enables a large territory to be occupied at the same time from all sides, as Australia, for instance, whose population concentrated on the rim of the continent, whose large cities and prompt, bold enterprise offer the sharpest contrast to Siberia, with its one accessible side. Similar in its effects is a great river system with its thousands of miles of course, which has prepared the country for both dominion and commerce, as the rapid growth of Brazil, the Congo State and the spread of the French on the St. Lawrence and Mississippi abundantly show. These natural conditions are among those which make themselves felt ever again and through all political forms, for the reason that they exert not only a formative but also a conservative influence. Even though the example of powers of continental size in other parts of the world should some day have its effect on Europe, Europe's much articulated west and south will always promote the development of numerous medium and smaller states; just as the great streams and land-forms of eastern America have so far effectuated the construction of political territories on a corresponding scale, in spite of all the disintegrating tendencies at work in the development of states.

The influence exerted by the land upon historic movements continues to operate in less striking ways upon the further evolution of political territories. The peculiar character of the land and vegetation, together with the natural supply of domes-

tic animals, give rise in all parts of the world, but especially in Asia and Africa, to a nomadic life. This, in accordance with its nature, needs and controls broad stretches of country, and hence offers a lively contrast to the contracted life of a sedentary agricultural population and the necessarily scattered hunting folk of the forests. The result is an internal division of the continent into the nomadic region and the region of permanent settlement, in part coinciding with that of the continental body and the continental limbs. Therefore, in the Old World, the regions of active historic movement lay in the great zone of steppes and in the neighboring lands; while on the contrary, in the America and Australia of pre-European times, we find only a tardy progress and a lack of every higher development of governmental organization such as is produced in the Old World by the political stratification of imperious nomads over the masses of industrious agricultural peoples. Therefore, too, great states appear in the steppe and subpolar regions, where a thin population offers no appreciable resistance to subjugation; on the border lands, over into which the movements from the steppes extend, we find medium states, as in Iran, Mesopotamia and in the whole breadth of the Soudan from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. Forest regions develop a type such as prevailed in the Negro countries of Africa up to the first invasion of the Europeans and Arabians. There the village states of from four to forty square miles lay like cells in a great magma, within their impenetrable border forests or border prairies, the area of which would equal or even exceed that of the community itself. This condition of things was the rule in all the forest lands of the New World and Oceanica, of ancient Europe and northern Asia, as also of Australia, and it even survived in Farther India nearly up to our time between the greater states which from the coasts and rivers had sent their roots farther back into the land.

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THE HIERARCHY OF EUROPEAN RACES.

THE significance for the whole group of sociological sciences of the anthropological researches of de Lapouge, Ammon and their co-workers, is becoming more and more manifest. In so far as the contribution that these authors have made toward a science of sociology has consisted of a study of social phenomena in connection with the character of population as determined by heredity and survival, there could be little question of its soundness and value. In so far, however, as their conclusions were reached through the method of ethnical analysis, there has been perhaps more room for skepticism. Their sharp division of European populations into three main elements; still more their characterization of these elements as distinct races; and most of all their assertions as to the greater capacity and social worth of one of these races as compared with another, may well have seemed startling and questionable to the general reading public, and even to "sociologists" accustomed to classifying populations simply along linguistic or political lines. In fact, even readers versed in ethnological lore found reason to question whether the evidence brought forward was sufficient to justify the broad characterization of racial traits; and one critic sneeringly remarked that the breadth of Lapouge's generalizations was in inverse ratio to the statistical basis on which they rested.

There is a degree of truth in this last pleasantry, in so far as it is a peculiarity of de Lapouge — and one of his chief merits as an investigator — to discern, as if by intuition, the large significance of apparently petty data which come under his observation, and to formulate therefrom generalizations that serve at least as working hypotheses to be confirmed, modified or rejected, as the case may be, by subsequent detailed researches. This criticism, however, urged against the conclusions that he and Ammon have drawn as to the character of European races, has

been losing weight as more and more statistical data have been brought forward to substantiate them;[1] and now the force of the criticism almost entirely collapses in view of the statistical evidence which the most recent of Lapouge's researches have brought to the support of his claims. This last evidence (which will be summarized as we proceed) rests on a basis no less broad than the comparison between groups of several millions of population, representing the respective racial elements.

Before considering the statistical data and the laws which follow therefrom, it may be well, for the benefit of the reader not

[1] Since the publication in 1896 of DE LAPOUGE'S masterly work *Les Selections Sociales*, a considerable number of articles and monographs have appeared dealing with the ethnical analysis of populations or of particular groups of population, such, for instance, as urban residents contrasted with rural residents, as migrants contrasted with stationary elements, as one social class contrasted with another, etc. The following works may be cited:

LAPOUGE: "Recherches anthropologiques sur la problème de la dépopulation," *Rev. d' Écon. polit.*, 1895, p. 1002, 1896, p. 132; "Indice céphalique des conscrits de Rennes," *Bul. de la Soc. scient. et méd. de l'Quest.*, 1896, p. 90; "Corrélations financières de l'indice céphalique," *Rev. d' Écon. polit.*, 1897, p. 256. AMMON: "Die Gesellschaftsordnung," *Zweite Auflage, Jena*, 1896; "Die Geschichte einer Idee," *Rundschau der Deutschen Zeitung*, I, Nos. 185, 186, 190, 192, 196, 197; "Die Arierdämmerung," *ibid.*, II, Nos. 27, 28, 33, 34; "Die Wirthschaftliche Leistungsfähigkeit der drei weissen Rassen in Frankreich," *ibid.* II, Nos. 109, 118; "Die Menschenrassen in Europa," *Tägliche Rundschau*, 1896, 133; "Fortschritte der Anthropologie und Social Anthropologie," *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* XI, No. 20. RIPLEY: "Ethnic Influences in Vital Statistics," *Publ. Am. Statistical Assn.*, 1896, p. 18. CLOSSON: "La dissociation par déplacement," *Rev. int. de Sociologie*, 1896, p. 511; "Ethnic Stratification and Displacement," *Q. J. of Écon.*, XI, p. 92; "Social Selection," *J. of Pol. Écon.* 1896, p. 449; "Recent Progress of Social Anthropology," *ibid.*, 1896, p. 410. CHALUMEAU: "Influence de la taille humaine sur la formation des classes sociales," Geneva, 1896; "Les races de la population suisse," J. de statistique suisse," XXXII, 4. COLLIGNON: "Anthropologie du S. O. de la France," *Mem. de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris.* UJFALJY: *Les Aryens*, Paris, 1896. FERRARI: "Etudio critico di Anthropologia i Sociologia," *Reforma sociale*, VI. WISLER: "Auslese und Kampf ums Dasein," *Karlsruhe.* PAULAU: *Rev. scient.*, 1896, II, 13.

Most of the above articles deal with special aspects of the subject, and owe their origin more or less directly to the researches of Laponge and Ammon. We have, in addition, two recent general works on ethnical analysis:

RIPLEY: "The Racial Geography of Europe," *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, beginning with February 1897. LIVI: *Anthropometria Militaire . . . . Parte I, Dati Anthropologici ed Etnologici*, Rome, 1896. This monumental work is based on the examination of over 299,000 subjects.

versed in anthropological technicalities, to offer some brief preliminary explanations. Europe is populated mainly by three racial groups, and by types in which two, or even three, of the racial strains blend, but which may nevertheless be regarded usually as belonging in preëminent degree to some one of the three primary races. These three races are designated by the terms, *Homo Europæus* (referred to also as the dolichocephalic blond, and sometimes, loosely, as the Aryan race); *Homo Alpinus* (referred to also as the brachycephalic, and sometimes, rather erroneously, as the "Celtic" or "Celta-Slav" race); and the so-called Mediterranean race (referred to also as the dolichocephalic brown or the southern dolichocephalic). These races may be distinguished, first, by their respective physical, and, secondly, by their respective psychological peculiarities. *Homo Europæus*, in pure strain, is tall, light of skin, hair and eyes, long of face and head. *Homo Alpinus* is shorter, darker, and round-headed. The Mediterraneans have the long, narrow form of the head, but are prevailingly short, dark-skinned, dark-haired, dark-eyed; hence their designation as the dolichocephalic brown race.

For the purposes of the ethnical analysis of a given population it is desirable to find a single trait that will serve to identify a group of individuals with one or another race. Where, as in northern and western Europe, the population is mainly composed of the two first-mentioned races, the form of the head, as expressed by the cephalic index, serves as such a means of classification and analysis. The cephalic index expresses the ratio of the breadth of the head to its length. It is found by dividing the breadth $\times$ 100 by the length. Thus, for example, a head measuring 189 millimeters in length by 150 in width would give a cephalic index of 79.8. Thus, low indexes indicate a dolichocephalic, and high indexes a brachycephalic population.[1]

[1] In this article, for the sake of simplicity, the terms "dolichocephalic" and brachycephalic" are employed simply as adjectives of description and comparison. In a more exact and technical sense they are sometimes employed as two terms in the seriation of indexes, thus: Indexes from 65 to 69, dolichocephalic; from 70 to 74, sub-dolichocephalic; from 75 to 79, mesacephalic; from 80 to 84, sub-brachycephalic; from 85 to 89, brachycephalic.

Wherever, as in southern Europe, the Mediterranean element enters extensively into the population, the cephalic index alone is no longer a safe criterion, since although it serves to distintinguish the dolichocephalic from their brachycephalic neighbors, it makes no distinction between the dolichocephalic Aryan and the equally dolichocephalic Mediterranean. In such cases it is necessary to take account also of coloration and height.

These three races that can be thus sharply distinguished by physical peculiarities will have, it is to be presumed, each more or less pronounced psychological characteristics and tendencies; tendencies that can be discerned by a comparison of communities and groups representing the different races; tendencies that are bound to affect the nature and development of social groups according as one or another racial element predominates. To some of these differences in the psychological character and tendency of the three races we shall now direct our attention.

These differences have been studied already from several points of view, but most fruitfully, perhaps, in connection with their bearing upon the operation in society of selective influences. In every society complex forces are operating to increase certain elements of the population and to bring about the decrease of other elements. In a society composed of different racial elements these selective forces operate largely along racial lines; one race tends to survive and increase, another to decrease in relative or even in absolute numbers.

Of the many processes in society that have a selective influence, direct or indirect, three of the most significant are the struggle for wealth, the effort for social position, and the establishment and change of domicile. Our material will enable us to consider the relative capacity, aptitude, and tendencies of the three races with reference to each of the above processes. Our conclusions will be formulated in three corresponding laws, which we may designate respectively as: (1) The law of the distribution of wealth; (2) the law of social stratification; and (3) the law of domicile and migration.

Our first task will be to compare, as respects the operation

of these laws, the two principal races of northern and central Europe.

COMPARISON BETWEEN "HOMO EUROPEAUS" AND "HOMO ALPINUS."

The law of the distribution of wealth.—In countries inhabited jointly by Homo Europeaus and Homo Alpinus the dolichocephalic element possesses a larger proportion of wealth. We may take for an illustration of this law the remarkable difference in the proportion of taxation borne respectively by these two races in France. The following table gives the amount of the principal taxes, public debts, etc., in the most dolichocephalic departments[1] of France so grouped as to include ten million inhabitants, compared with the corresponding items in the most brochycephalic departments,[1] so grouped as to include an equal number of inhabitants:

		The most dolichocephalic departments embracing 10,000,000 inhabitants.	The most brachycephalic departments embrac- 10,000,000 inhabitants.
		Francs	Francs
Taxes on land	1896	17,725,000	29,891,000
Taxes on personal property	1896	26,485,000	13,227,000
Door and window tax	1896	17,239,000	8,581,000
Taxes on transfers of property	1894	59,312,000	33,667,000
Taxes on gifts of property	1894	7,378,000	4,801,000
Taxes on inheritances	1894	70,920,000	32,923,000
Taxes on leases and pledges	1894	3,663,000	1,288,000
Taxes on mortgages	1894	2,473,000	1,166,000
Stamps ("ordinary")	1894	15,920,000	11,113,000
Stamps on receipts	1894	14,430,000	2,497,000
Stamps proportioned to amount involved in transaction	1894	8,485,000	2,123,000
Drink tax	1894	186,229,000	79,969,000
Tobacco tax	1894	122,926,000	84,471,000
Tax on bicycles, etc	1894	643,000	386,000
Receipts of departments	1892	76,307,000	68,519,000
Receipts of communes	1893	399,790,000	109,485,000
Octroi	1893	191,077,000	28,609,000
Debts of communes	1893	2,271,260,000	373,447,000

The greater tax-paying capacity of the dolichocephalic population, as indicated by the above table, is certainly significant;

[1] The two groups of departments are chosen in accordance with the average cephalic indexes of all the departments of France as tabulated by Collignon.

but in order to realize the full weight of the comparison it is necessary to take note of two considerations. First, the group of ten million dolichocephalic population is embraced in only thirteen departments, whereas the ten million brachycephalics include the population of thirty departments; this difference in the extent of area represented by the two groups explains the sole case (that of taxes on land, "property not built upon") in which the brachycephalic group pays the larger revenue to the government. Secondly, the dolichocephalic group includes the Seine (Paris), but even if this department be omitted altogether, the remaining seven million dolichocephalics pay nearly as much in each category of taxation as the ten million brachycephalics, and in some categories they pay even more.

A more detailed study of these and similar statistics would support the conclusion that the dolichocephalic elements excel not simply in the ownership of wealth, but still more in wealth producing capacity, and most of all in commercial and financial activity. Lapouge, after studying each category of taxes in detail, sums the case up as follows: "The dolichocephalic, then, appears to have a tax-paying capacity almost double that of the brachycephalic; and this conclusion is fortified by the persistence of the figures all through our comparison. The dolichocephalic departments are far more densely populated, far richer, far more active; their industries are more flourishing, their trade especially is far more extensive; their financial needs, their public expenses and their debts are more considerable; the more active and progressive character of their population shows itself even in the greater number of bicycles owned and taxed. In a word the inequality of taxation is proof of the unequal economic activity and aptitude of the two races."[1]

Law of Social Stratification. In countries inhabited jointly by Homo Europæus and Homo Alpinus, the former race is more generally represented among the higher, more influential, more highly edu-

[1] For a detailed study of this subject see LAPOUGE, "Correlations financières de l'indice céphalique," *Rev. d'Écon. polit.*, 1897, p. 257; and AMMON, "Die wirthschaftliche Leistungsfähigkeit der drei weissen Rassen in Frankreich," *Rundschau der Deutschen Zeitung*, II, Nos. 109, 118.

cated classes and professions ; the latter race is found more generally in a subordinate social position.—The most interesting illustration of this law that we have to offer, will be presented later when we come to consider the Mediterranean race in comparison with the other two races. We may note here certain recent evidence that tends to establish the law as between the *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*. It will be remembered that tall stature is especially characteristic of *Homo Europæus*. Now tall stature is found also to be characteristic of the higher professions. Chalemeau, for example, in his recent study, *Influence de la Taille humaine sur la Formation des Classes sociales*,[1] based on the Swiss army statistics of the last ten years, finds that the stature of the subjects is in close correlation with their occupation and social position, and adopts as the explanation the greater relative prevalence in the higher callings of the element *Europæus*. Another bit of similar evidence may be taken from the work of Oloriz on the *Geographical Distribution of the Cephalic Index in Spain*.[2] He compares the stature of 100 members of intellectual professions with that of 51 representatives of intermediate occupations, and with that of 319 manual laborers. The average height of the first group is 162.2 centimeters, that of the second 161.4 centimeters, and that of the third 160.2 centimeters.

The Law of Domicile and Migration. In countries inhabited jointly by Homo Europæus and Homo Alpinus, the former constitutes the more migratory element of the population, and tends to concentrate in the cities and in the more fertile portions of the country.[3] The statistical evidence in support of this law has been gathered

[1] Geneva, 1896.

[2] *Distribución Geográfica del Indice cefálico en Espagña, deducida del Examen de 8368 Varones Adultos*, Madrid, 1894, p. 59.

[3] In a previous article treating the matter from the point of view of social selection I have designated this law as "the law of displacement." "The dissociation of the different elements of a community may occur through a geographical separation by the migration of one of the elements. Such a movement may take the form of the abstraction of the element in question from the given community (as by emigration to foreign countries), or of its concentration in certain localities within the community (as by migration from the country to the cities)."

by observers in widely separated localities, and is especially striking by reason of the uniformity of the results reached. As the detailed evidence is, however, already available to English readers, we will not encumber this paper with it, but will simply summarize some of the conclusions established. The cities have a more dolichocephalic population than the surrounding rural regions, and the fertile low country a more dolichocephalic population than the barren mountainous country. That this is due to the migration thitherward of the dolichocephalic element of the rural population, is shown by the fact that the migrants have an average cephalic index lower than that of the population they leave behind. As a last and most interesting illustration of the greater mobility of the dolichocephalic elements, may be cited the fact that marriages between persons born in different localities are more frequent among them than among the brachycephalic elements.

To the above three laws others might be added, each formulating some significant difference in character or conduct between *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*.[1] These laws, so far as discovered, all point to a single conclusion, that of the greater energy and capacity of the dolichocephalic element; and they may safely be generalized into a single law, that of the *superiority of Homo Europæus*. In view of the work of one man of genius in the discovery and proof of this law, and in the discerning of its many ramifications, it ought, in simple justice, to be designated as "the Law of de Lapouge."

COMPARISON OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WITH THE OTHER TWO RACES.

Such being the relative rank of the two principal races of Europe, we will now turn to a consideration of the position of the third race — the Mediterranean — in comparison with either or both of the others. Our data may be grouped under three laws corresponding with those above formulated, the law of wealth

[1] For a statement of a considerable number of such laws the reader is referred to a forthcoming monograph of de Lapouge — an English translation of which is under press — on "the Fundamental Laws of Anthropo-sociology."

distribution, the law of social stratification, and the law of migration. But whereas we shall, for the sake of simplicity, formulate our conclusions into three laws parallel with the above, it should be understood that evidence as to the rank of the Mediterranean is as yet less conclusive than that as to the relative rank of *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*, and that our further generalizations will be of a somewhat hypothetical and provisional character.

Law of the distribution of wealth. In countries inhabited jointly by the Mediterranean and the other races; the former element possesses the smallest proportion of wealth.—Our first illustration may be taken from the statistics of the tax yielding capacity of the different races in France. The two French departments in which the Mediterranean element enters largely into the population are the Pyrénées Orientales and Corsica. The tax paying capacity of both is weak, not only in comparison with the departments dominated by *Homo Europæus*, but also in comparison with the distinctly brachycephalic departments. Corsica takes one of the last places, and under many categories of taxation, the very last; and the Pyrénées Orientales does not stand much better. A more conclusive proof may be drawn from a study of taxation in Italy. The population of the northern part of Italy contains a considerable element of *Homo Europæus*, as shown by the lighter average coloration and the higher stature, as compared with the southern portion. Proceeding southward this element *Europæus* nearly disappears; the brachycephalic element persists; but the Mediterranean becomes more and more the predominant factor in the population. The southern provinces show the lower cephalic index on account of this increasing prevalence of the Mediterraneans. Thus it is that in the south, the most dolichocephalic part of Italy, a low index in any group of subjects marks them as belonging to the Mediterranean element; whereas in the north, the most brachycephalic part of the country, a low index in any given group indicates the probable presence therein of the element *Europæus*. With this explanation, we see at once the significance of the fact that in northern Italy the brachycephalic populations pay a less proportion of the taxes than

the more dolichocephalic (more Aryan); whereas in the south, the brachycephalic groups surpass the dolichocephalic (in this case the dolicocephalic Mediterranean). This is shown in detail in the following tables. The first concerns the northern portion of Italy and shows the amount of taxes paid by the most brachycephalic compared with the most dolichocephalic provinces:

Class of Taxation 1894	Northern Italy	
	The most brachycephalic provinces, indexes above 85	The most dolichocephalic provinces, indexes 84.1 to 80
Tax on land	17,278,000 fr.	11,154,000 fr.
" " buildings	10,875,000	14,307,000
" " personal property	16,968,000	25,346,000
Inheritance tax	7,097,000	6,904,000
Registration fees	8,409,000	8,866,000
Totals	60,627,000	66,577,000

The dolichocephalic group, representing in some degree the element *Homo Europæus*, although somewhat the smaller numerically,[1] yields the larger amount of taxes.[2] The second table concerns the southern portion of Italy and shows the amount of taxes paid by the most brachycephalic as compared with the most dolichocephalic provinces:

Class of Taxation 1894	Southern Italy	
	The most brachycephalic provinces, indexes from 81.8 to 80	The most dolichocephalic provinces, indexes below 80
Tax on land	17,379,000 fr.	14,118,000 fr.
" " buildings	9,295,000	9,589,000
" " personal property	9,910,000	10,096,000
	3,527,000	4,184,000
	7,366,000	7,681,000
	47,477,000	45,668,000

[1] It is made up of provinces aggregating 4,516,000 inhabitants, whereas the brachycephalic group is made up of provinces aggregating 4,680,000 inhabitants.

[2] It will be noted that as in France the dolichocephalic group is relatively weak in its holdings of lands.

The first of the above tables indicates that the dolichocephalic populations of north Italy with their strain of Aryan blood are superior in economic capacity to the brachycephalic adjoining. The second table, on the other hand, indicates that as between two groups both mainly Mediterranean the group containing somewhat more of the brachycephalic element is superior to the more purely dolicho-Mediterranean group. If now the two tables be taken in conjunction, it will be seen with special clearness that the two groups, mainly brachycephalic, of northern Italy, are far superior to the two groups, mainly Mediterranean, of southern Italy. The tables indicate then that in economic efficiency, *Homo Europæus* ranks first, *Homo Alpinus* second, and the Mediterranean third.

Law of Social Stratification. In countries inhabited jointly by the Mediterranean and the other races the former has the least proportionate representation among the more influential and more highly educated classes.—We turn again for illustration to the Italian data of Livi. The following table[1] shows clearly that among the comparatively brachycephalic people of the northern part of Italy, the percentage of dolichocephalic persons is greater, the percentage of brachycephalic persons is less, among the scholarly classes than among the peasants; whereas, among the southerns (mostly dolicho-Mediterraneans) the reverse is the case:

Localities with an average index of	Per cent. of brachycephalic individuals, indexes of 85 or above		Per cent. of dolichocephalic individuals, indexes below 80	
	Among students	Among peasants	Among students	Among peasants
85 or above	52.7	64.7	6.8	5.1
84 to 85	36.6	53.5	15.0	7.0
83 to 84	31.7	47.7	15.2	11.4
82 to 83	24.2	27.7	24.2	25.3
81 to 82	21.0	22.1	29.9	33.6
80 to 81	15.1	14.2	32.4	38.9
79 to 80	12.7	9.0	43.8	50.7
below 79	6.2	3.6	57.5	70.7

The explanation is that in the north where the population is in some degree composed of the descendants of Aryan immi-

[1] LIVI, *Anthropologia militare*, p. 91.

grants, the scholarly classes are more dolichocephalic than the peasants because they are drawn in larger proportions from these Aryan elements. In lower Italy, on the other hand, where the comparison is between the short-heads and the Mediterraneans, the scholarly classes are made up more largely of the former element and are in consequence more brachycephalic than the peasants. In general, the index of the highly educated classes diminishes from north to south as does that of the general population, but in much less degree. It is significant that in the north the lower average index of the educated classes results from the absence among these classes of the extreme cases of brachycephaly, and that extreme cases of brachycephaly are lacking also among the scholars of the south. Further, even in the south, highly dolichocephalic subjects, that is subjects belonging peculiarly to the Mediterranean type, are not found among the students. In a word, the result of Livi's researches indicates that as regards the respective prevalence of learned pursuits, *Homo Europæus* stands first, *Homo Alpinus* second, and the Mediterranean third among European races.

Law of domicile and migration. In countries inhabited jointly by the Mediterranean and the other races, the former constitutes the least migratory element of the population and tends in the least degree of all to concentrate in the cities.—This law is discernible in the results of Livi's comparison of the average cephalic index in the capital city of each of the Italian provinces with the average index in the surrounding region.

"In the twenty-two provinces with an index of 84.7 or above, the index of the capital is lower than that of the surrounding region in nineteen, higher in three. In the eighteen provinces with an average index of 80.7 or below, the index of the capital is higher than that of the surrounding region in fourteen, lower in four. It results then that in the brachycephalic part of Italy the urban centers are less brachycephalic than the surrounding region, that, on the other hand, in the dolichocephalic part these centers are more brachycephalic."

The explanation is that the opportunities of city life attract

(just as we have seen that scholarly pursuits attract) in the north, the dolicho-blond rather than the brachycephalic, in the south, the brachycephalic rather than the Mediterranean. The justification of this interpretation of the matter appears more clearly from an examination of the results reached by Oloriz in Spain, a country which has a rather homogeneous population composed mainly of the Mediterranean type.

Arranging the provinces in simple alphabetical order, the Spanish anthropologist makes it appear that the urban populations are sometimes more long-headed, sometimes more round-headed than the surrounding rural populations.[1] By rearranging the provinces, however, in accordance with the index of their respective rural populations, we find that the urban residents are more dolichocephalic than the rural people in brachycephalic provinces, but more brachycephalic in the dolichocephalic provinces. Now, the more brachycephalic provinces are those into which there has been a migration of Aryan peoples.[2] In these provinces it is the dolicho-Aryan element which has concentrated in the cities, leaving to the more brachycephalic population the cultivation of the farms. Hence in these regions we find the urban populations showing the lower average index. In the provinces, on the other hand, which are mainly composed of the dolicho-Mediterranean race, with a sprinkling of brachycephalics, the movement to the cities has drawn rather upon this comparatively

[1] See the table on page 47 of Oloriz's works.

[2] "A very significant fact is the higher average index in the provinces of Spain which have received an Aryan immigration: Galicia, Toledo, and Andalusia. The more brachycephalic character of these provinces needs an explanation, since (as appears from a comparison of the Britons and Scandinavians with the Spanish and South Italians) the index of the pure Aryans is about the same as that of the Mediterraneans. The explanation probably is that the warlike Aryans and especially Germans, when they migrated into Spain carried in their train a number of round-headed captives; and that these latter multiplying more rapidly than the dominant race, and less subject to decimation by war, have become a considerable factor in the population of the provinces in question. In a word, the average index is higher in the old Aryan provinces than in the Mediterranean because of the presence in the former of the descendants of the brachycephalic captives whom the Aryans brought with them."—OTTO AMMON.

brachycephalic element, and left behind the race least of all disposed to migration — the Mediterranean.[1]

As in the comparison between *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus* we generalized the three laws — the law of wealth-distribution, the law of social stratification, and the law of migration — into the law of the superiority of the former race; so now that the comparison has been extended in the case of each of the three special laws to include the Mediterranean race, we may, at least provisionally, again generalize our results under the following formula: In point of energy and capacity, *Homo Europæus* stands first, *Homo Alpinus* second, and the Mediterranean third, in the hierarchy of European races.

CARLOS C. CLOSSON.

[1] The idea that the Mediterranean race ranked below the brachycephalic in mobility and in ambition and efficiency was suggested to me in a communication from Otto Ammon which formed the basis of an article published in October 1896 (*Ethnic Stratification and Displacement* — Quar. Jour. of Econ. XI. p. 92). Ammon brought forward the same suggestions very briefly in an article published in May 1896 (*Fortschritte der Anthropologie und Sozial-Anthropologie*, Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift XI. No. 20.) and more elaborately in November 1896 (*Die Geschichte einer Idee*, V., *Rundschau der deutschen Zeitung* I, No. 196). In the present article I have, so far as concerns this phase of the subject, drawn largely from Ammon's exposition.

RELIGION, Ideals, Assemblage, Ceremony, Art and Personality have been considered in their influence on the feelings. To keep this series of studies within due bounds it is necessary to slur over other modifiers of feelings, such as Music and Wont and dismiss them with a word.

The discussion of the former would lead us to consider why music was esteemed so valuable in moral education by peoples so unlike as the Greeks and the Chinese, while among moderns it is quite neglected as a moral means, save in warfare and in worship. After noting the strong words of Plato, Luther, Napoleon and others, we should ask with Professor Mahaffy whether the Greeks exaggerated the moral side of music or we moderns have unduly lost sight of it. The conclusion would be that although music has a magical power over the harsh fell self-will of early folk, it is less fitted to dissolve the intellectual, refined selfishness that flourishes in an advanced and sophisticated society.

Custom and tradition are allies rather than agents of social control. It is not in the power of society to impart venerableness to an injunction or a practice, but it can profit by the tendency of its laws, rites and institutions to bind men more firmly with the lapse of time. It cannot at will make the moss grow or the ivy run, but it can thankfully avail itself of the charm they lend to the granite walls of authority. Psychology has not yet fully explored the roots of custom-imitation, but it is certainly a primary force guiding successive generations to their due place in the social system just as heredity presides over the growth of the body. It is to guard unbroken the hallowing spell of time and wont that the regulative organs of society so often obstinately refuse to allow needed changes in laws, faiths, rites and dynasties.

We have next to examine those means by which the *judgment* of the individual is modified to the advantage of society. This calls for a consideration of Enlightenment, Illusion, and Social Valuation as instruments of social control.

I.

ENLIGHTENMENT.

Undoubtedly the asses' bridge in this field of study is the recognition of the conflict between society's purposes for the individual and the individual's purposes for himself. Yet the deadlock is not quite so desperate as some imagine. Often it is mere shortsightedness that brings a man into clash with social injunctions, and if we can get the myope to regard his welfare *in the long run*, he will become a well-conducted member of the community. It is true that corporate and private interests are not always parallel as the tribe of moralists would have us believe; but neither are they quite so divergent as the unreflective man is apt to imagine. Other virtues as well as honesty, if pursued in due moderation, are matters of good policy in peaceful and settled socities, and it is not at all ineffectual to point this out to the would-be transgressor. In other words, *the enlightenment of a person as to the prudent ordering of his life for his own ends is a means of moralization.*

The social appeal to reason presupposes that reason is already installed as the guide of life. This, however, should not be taken to mean that reason must prescribe the goals of endeavor. Desire is, after all, the propeller of life, while intellect is merely the rudder. Liking rules ultimate choices and the paragon of prudence is still aiming at some form of feeling. But the inevitable interference of desires suggests to the thoughtful the necessity of inhibiting some impulses and subordinating others to larger aims. Primitive folk, for instance, are so unstably poised between laughter and tears, smiles and frowns, that their affective mobility denies them mastery over their actions and puts them at the mercy of incident and circumstance. With the growth of intelligence it comes to be seen that the

giving of loose rein to appetite and passion thwarts success in undertakings and sacrifices real welfare to monetary gratification. It is realized that there can be no progress toward maximum individual happiness, save as desires are thinned out by weeding, and arranged into a kind of a system of majors and minors. This integrating of life into large harmonious wholes by the aid of an inhibitive power which weeds, prunes, and regulates the inclinations to this purpose, constitutes the sway of reason in the sphere of conduct. It is the chief desideratum of all systems of private morality.

The growth of self-control and integrity furnishes as such no guarantee to society, for the ends so systematically pursued may remain wholly selfish. The domination of purpose over impulse is nearly as striking in great knaves and criminals as in heroes, in a Borgia or a Cagliostro as in a Livingstone. Yet it is not from benevolence merely, but from a keen regard for its own welfare that society through its official teachings encourages the rule of prudence and set purpose in the lives of its members.

In the first place the slaves of appetite and impulse are of little social efficiency, while men of self-mastery and fortitude, even though self-seeking, avail for the building of the commonwealth. Again, reflection and self-control are presupposed in the systems of sanction — legal and supernatural — that society attaches to conduct. Until foresight and inhibitive power have been gained it is useless, even cruel, to inflict punishment for acts springing from anti-social impulses. It is idle to supply the unreasoning with artificial reasons for right doing. Finally, the sway of reason in the choices of life makes possible the control of men by enlightenment. The more the foaming torrent of desires is brought to a smooth, even flow, the more readily it can be canalized by moralists.

The only light men can receive in respect to conduct is light on its *consequences*. It has been widely held that light can be thrown on the *nature* of actions, and much time has been spent in investigating the rightness or wrongness of acts and acquainting people with the conclusions. But this is futile. *There is no*

fruitful classification of human conduct, save that which discriminates according to results. And it is just here that men stumble and hence need light. For the consequences of a deed are numerous, lying in many directions and often entangled with the consequences of other acts and conditions. Some fall within the physical sphere, others in the vital or psychical. Some are near and others are remote. Some are certain and others are problematic. Some are momentous and others are trivial. Some are transient and others are enduring. Some affect self and some affect others. In this maze the uninstructed eye catches chiefly what will happen *to me here* and *now*. When the links in the chain of connection are many a consequence is unseen, when its form is indeterminate, it appears doubtful, when it falls well into the future, it has no real weight, when it strikes another person, it lacks in reality. Thus partial views prevail, pennyweights are balanced against each other instead of pounds, and the choices of life prove to be unreasonable and disastrous.

This state of confusion is harmful to the common welfare. On the whole it is more to the interest of society to turn up the lights than to turn them down. A facility in reckoning and weighing consequences makes more virtue than it mars. Of course good impulses may be overruled as well as bad ones, but the balance of advantage lies with prudence. Impulse reigns in Uganda, enlightened selfishness in China. Neither is a paragon of social architecture, but there is no question as to which presents the better equilibrium of clashing private interests. We find, therefore, that no man is allowed to go through life without receiving a vast amount of gratuitous instruction, admonition and advice from sources official, semi-official, or merely countenanced, as to the consequences of acts in the debatable portion of the field of conduct.

II.

One is enlightened as to the results of his acts *to himself.*

Here we have a setting forth of :

a. Physiological consequences.—"Society" is, of course, a kind

of fiction or abstraction. There is nothing to it after all but people affecting each other in various ways. The thesis of this series of papers is that from the interactions of individuals and generations there emerges a kind of collective mind evincing itself in living ideals, conventions, dogmas, institutions and religious sentiments which we find more or less happily adapted to, and adapting themselves to the task of safeguarding the collective welfare from the ravages of egoism. Whatever it may have been in caste communities or sacred aristocracies or priestly oligarchies, the society that "controls" is today too closely identified with the mass to feel any great aloofness from the individuals it deals with. Originating in the community of many consciousnesses it does not place itself over against the individual in order to bully, browbeat and exploit him if it can. This public composed of living and dead is, if you will, a despot, but still a paternal, benevolent despot. Hence it is concerned not only with what harms the community, but with what harms the man himself. Society will not always repress vice as it represses crime, but it ceases not to warn its members against it.

Our schools do not fail to enlighten as to the care of health, assigning personal welfare as a motive where a Brahmin, a Magian or a Levite gave the will of the gods. Hygienic rite and sanitary observance that once people were awed into or trained into are now supported by appeals to prudence. Intemperance is discouraged by showing its effect on the body, dissipation by forecasting nervous exhaustion. Sexual excess is opposed by exhibiting the medical sanctions of purity. In our rationalistic age the use of opium or cigarettes is connected not with curses of the Mount Ebal kind, but with nerve fatigue and brain blight. Thus by showing indulgence as sacrificing the future to the present or bartering health for momentary gratification, it is sought to offset the attractiveness of vice, especially the anti-social sort.

b. Psychological consequences.— The likening of a bad action by the well-intentioned to the first patch of leprosy is not mere tumid rhetoric. Man at the reflective stage tends so strongly

to integrate his choices into large wholes that he cannot easily pass over a lapse. Principles, standards, ideals, be they generous or mean, assert their unifying force in character. Occasional recreancy to settled principles of choice under special temptation is usually the crack in the levee that ends in ruin. The favorite moral delusion is to trust that some darling sin, pet vice, or occasional yielding can be kept isolated and harmless in some corner of the soul. But "man is not built in water-tight compartments." It is in order, therefore, to show the unripe that one kind of meanness, dishonesty, fraud, lie, unfairness, sensuality or selfishness, if granted lodgment, infects the rest of character till there is a total degeneration. Again, many a one will recoil from a pet vice if confronted with the natural outcome. To show the coquette, the libertine, the gourmand, the cynic, the miser, the domestic tyrant, the sycophant or the fakir as the psychological consummation of vanity, lubricity, gluttony, contempt of others, greed, self-will, flattery or mendacity, is a well-tried and long-approved method of control.

c. Social consequences.— Experience could teach most of the above, but society cannot let its members register in so dear a school. For its own sake it cannot afford to wait till undermined health or corroded character shall drive home the lesson of consequences. In the social field, however, consequence treads so close on the heels of transgression that forewarning is scarcely necessary. Neighbors, if abused, react more promptly than do nerves or moral sentiments. The boy on the playground can find out in much less time than his teacher can tell him how others will react when he strikes, mocks or robs them. Hence the importance of association during childhood in order to acquaint with the reactions that follow over much self assertion The home often fails to provide them, but the playground never. The continuous tapping of companions on the plastic will spares it later many a heart-breaking blow on the anvil of practical life. This is why no system of national education has failed to provide association during youth with comrade or elders.

But in complex adult society the novice not finding at once inevitable reactions such as he met with in his circle of companions thinks himself able to dodge the unpleasant consequences of self assertion. Hence it is well to declare those tardier but no less sure reactions that make honesty the best policy and shame the portion of the wicked. That "the gods have long memories," and that their mills, though slow, grind exceeding fine, are wholesome truths to instil. It is well to remind that "God pays, but he does not pay every Saturday." People should be cured of the impolicy that takes note of the temporary advantage of the transgressor but overlooks the eventual forfeiture of reputation, credit, honor, public esteem and love, the chief personal assets of associated man. We can safely join Josh Billings in assuring the would-be rascal that he has "the qualifications for a phool." It is common to look upon the community as a pauper that cannot reward its friends; therefore it is an excellent short-cut to control to show how honest men are facilitated at many points and to demonstrate that the fruits of long uprightness are public confidence, authority, honors, praise and fame.

One is enlightened as to the consequences of his acts *to others*.

Even the sympathetic need light, for society's ultimate concern is not right motives but right actions. It must, therefore, illuminate the foolish as well as the perverse. As social relations become manifold and the chain of cause and effect longer, it is possible for the innocent or the thoughtless to do more harm by their blunders than the violent by their crimes. "God be merciful to me, a fool!" is the cry of the modern man placed in a too-complex world. It is then wise policy to make audible the social reverberation of deeds and to show people the distant bitter fruit of innocent actions. The preacher who helps us realize what evil crop is sown when one marries a degenerate, indulges children, sells liquor, or feeds "the devil's poor," is doing yeoman's service.

So far as man has a corporate sense, it is enough to deter

him to show him that a proposed course of conduct, if generally followed, will hurt or ruin the community. In respect to those who are ready to obey the Kantian injunction to do only that which everybody might safely be allowed to do, the battle is as good as won. All that is needed is to set before them the laws of all social life. It is easy to demonstrate that fraud breeds fraud and violence breeds violence. Nor is it hard to prove that fairness begets fairness, and that generosity is infectious. The supreme triumph of enlightenment awaits the social philosopher who inspires the conviction that a régime of self-aggrandizement leads to enmity, strife, wounds and disappointment, while the fruits of mutualism are peace, health and life.

III.

Less than other types of control does enlightenment leave historic traces. Early literature, mainly springing from and ministering to leisured upper classes, chose to embalm the prideful morality of masters rather than the prudential morality of peasants. History records the reflections of the *elite* upon the conduct of life, but neglects the forces that held in their humble social orbits the yeoman and the artisan. Yet it is safe to surmise that in all free communities where man was not terrorized by priest and task-master, there was a kind of exudation of proverb and aphorism, gnome and parable, legend and moral tale tending to bring about a canny adjustment of men to the requirements of life in common. That underground growth we call folklore was full of salty maxims and pithy counsels which gradually gave moral shape to multitudes of obscure, unhorizoned lives. Here and there this hidden trunk sent up a shoot in Hesiod or Solomon or Poor Richard. But for the most part it yielded place to the epics and sagas, the Vedas and Avestas that constituted the literature for warriors and priests.

The beginning of the prudential era of morality is connected with the weakening of the hold of law and custom. These, at first invested with a sanctity that wins them unquestioning obedience, loses in prestige wherever, as in old Greece, the contacts

of embryo cultures give rise to discussion which, in turn, breeds the spirit of inquiry. Whenever sacred law from being arrested at an early stage fails to develop minuteness of detail, popular saws and maxims fill in and the sagacity of living men replaces the authority of the dead. Hesiod, whose writings became a classic for youth, stands for prudential morality, and recommends justice no less than thrift as a means to prosperity. We may be sure that his pungent precepts won their vogue because he was a builder of order as well as a wholesome adviser of farmers. After him the "Wise Men" filled Greece with the fame of certain pregnant moral observations and in the sixth century B. C. the poets, Theognis and Simonides, won great authority by reflections on life which throw many a gleam of light on the natural sanctions of good conduct.

The reflective stage is now reached, and the moral development of Greece becomes dramatic. The ancient sanctions are crumbling. The Sophists appear and the old reasons for righteousness are thrown into the melting pot. Hippias declares the laws of the state to be mere arbitrary enactments. Protagoras makes the individual man "the measure of all things," exalts inclination and extols prudence. Socrates, himself a Sophist, puts his trust in individualism, declares virtue a science that can be taught, and believes that all the wicked man needs is more light. The swift collapse of the higher enginery of social control can be traced in the Tragic Poets. In Æschylus morality is backed by the will of the gods; in Sophocles it is supported by a noble intuitive sense of right and wrong; in Euripides it is the conclusion dictated by a sophistical reasoning upon moral questions.

From Aristophanes we learn that in Athens this disintegrating subjectivism led to a serious moral crisis. Philosophy now hurriedly left the problems of the Cosmos to attend to those of conduct. Plato with his subordination of desires to the divine faculty of Reason, and Aristotle with his sublimated gentleman-morality labored earnestly to get a solid foundation for social order. As the problem continued to press, the sunlight van-

ished and the fog closed in. Speculation became handmaid to ethics and a Stoicism of Semitic origin contended with Epicurus for the souls of the higher classes. But in respect to the common people chilled by philosophic ethics and dead to the high-pitched Stoic appeal, the problem of control stayed unsolved until the importation of oriental mysteries and religions permitted the recovery of living gods.

Rational thought on life and conduct stayed in eclipse till after the Renaissance. Then criticism of objective authority set in, till by the middle of the eighteenth century an individual ism had been worked out, not unlike that of Athens at the end of the fifth century before Christ. The foundations of the higher forms of social control were broken up. Morality became conscious and sophisticated. Man became once more "the measure of all things," and in the crucible of Helvetius' analysis saw disappear the last idealistic restraints on his will. It was in line with this dissolution of control that "enlightenment" became the watchword of moral agencies. Religion ceasing to bear on the feelings, reduced to a scheme of morality, enforced by supernatural rewards and punishments, and enabling a man "to make the most of both worlds."[1] Ethics became utilitarian, and staked everything on enlightened self-interest. The ideal man was he who regulated his life according to the dictates of reason. Not selfishness, but stupidity, was declared to be the common enemy, and virtue in parody of Socrates was identified with common sense.

Rationalism failed for several reasons. It clipped the wings

[1] Says Professor W. H. Hudson, of the English clergyman of the Hanovarian reigns, "We have the moderate and sober divine, reading from his carefully written manuscript a homily full of good sense and fair judgment, unfanciful, precise, and lucid, the aim of which is to establish by solid argument the essential reasonableness of Christianity, or to enforce the prudence of right living and the principles of enlightened self-interest. He studiously avoids all extravagance of thought and phrase; dwells rather upon the nobility than upon the debasement of human nature; touches lightly, if at all, upon the questions of the sacrificial death, salvation through faith and eternal damnation; and labors to impress upon his hearers the important fact that the founders of his religion were not enthusiastic dreamers, or mystics, but emphatically men of sense and gentlemen."

of imagination; it cramped the emotions; it misinterpreted the social impulses; it deprived religion of all wonder; it neglected the ebullient side of human nature. But its cardinal sin was failure to furnish a good cohesive principle for society. Its cement would not hold, and the moral bankruptcy of its method became apparent. Romanticism, revivalism, sentimentalism, idealism, and the new Stoicism fell upon it and overwhelmed it with jeer and contumely. Thus the world's second ray of sunlight was withdrawn, and the flying mists were permitted to make our century a century of half-lights.

The method of enlightenment has distinct correlations. An age that deems man, at bottom, a reasonable creature, thinks much of education as a cure for human depravity. Times of great educational enthusiasm are, therefore, times of faith and enlightenment, and *vice versa*. The magnificent educational zeal of the nineteenth century was inspired by the theories of the eighteenth.

The subversion of tradition, custom, and precept and the attempt to manage men by enlightenment, hurries society toward consciousness of itself. For with the endeavor to awaken a sense of responsibility by dwelling on the consequences of conduct to others, or to the institutions of society, there grows up a popular theory of social relations which is preliminary to the "good citizen" that democracy presupposes. Thus the group becomes aware of the relations and processes on which its life depends, and utilitarianism proves to be the forerunner of social science.

The prudential method flourishes in periods of religious breakdown, when it is no longer heresy to confess that the rightness or wrongness of an act depends upon the character of its censequences. It prospers in a scientific age when physiology, psychology, and sociology bring to light unexpected sanctions for old rules of conduct. It thrives in an industrial epoch when the discipline of regular work has developed in the common man that habit of self-control and reflection, without which enlightenment would be of no effect. It grows apace in democratic

times, when laws are seen to be matters of enactment, when religion, freed from the control of priesthood and confided to the laity, ceases to give minute guidance in life, and when the moral authority of the exceptional men touches its nadir.

But whether the appeal to self-interest, silently insinuating itself into religion, philosophy, ethics, and literature, rides splendidly at the swaying summit of society's system of control, surrounded by the Muses and the Graces, or whether thrust out of the high places by dogmas and dreams, it works quietly and unobserved in a humbler sphere, shaping the character of youth through homely proverbs and copy-book maxims and moral tales and Sunday-school books — in any case we can never do without it. It never gets in the way of science. It relieves the strain on other parts of the system. It is the best custodian of whole fields of conduct. It alone can reach certain natures. It enlists parents and friends, all those solicitous about the individual, in the task of controlling him. And so while it may not be the battlement, it will always remain the half invisible foundation of a system of social control.

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THE MEANING OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

THE term "Social Movement" is already a cant phrase both in Europe and America. It once had dignity. It is so common now that it is falling into contempt. The social movement was that dawning of national consciousness which produced the series of revolts from hierarchic sway called the Reformation. The social movement was the growth of the third estate from a name to a power. The social movement was the abolition of political privilege, the enlargement of religious toleration, the extension of industrial opportunity.

The social movement is, an unfriendly observer might say, a confusion of fussy, fidgety folk, blocking each other and everybody else by their foolishness. Here it is free soup, and there it is demand for a work-test instead of free soup. It is industrial education here, it is there a trade-union practice to prevent people from learning trades. It is importunity for more law, and it is clamor for no law. It is in one group the prescription of political machinery, and in another the proscription of political machinery. It is in one party outcry for more democracy, and in another it is a wail for revival of aristocracy. The social movement on the whole seems at best a tuning of the orchestra. Many are the doubters whether there will be any symphony. Let us not be cynics. Let us try to be fair and appreciative. The "social movement" of our time is not a proper butt for ridicule. It will not be arrested by pointing out its contradictions, any more than the waves of the sea will be stilled by showing that they do not all keep the same *tempo*.

Let us try to represent the social movement candidly. So long as men have lived they have at times showed two opposite dispositions; first, to calmly take life as they found it; second, to try to better themselves. It would be altogether distorted to represent past times as controlled by the former impulse, and

to assert that the latter is peculiar to our day. The migrations of Semites and Mongols and Teutons would disprove that. The history of industry and commerce and war and science would disprove it. The study of every great nation would disprove it. Men have always tried to improve their condition. Nevertheless the modern social movement means that there is a new note in men's purpose to better themselves. It has new force. It has a changed outlook.

Specifications must be understood in a very general sense. They sketch broad outlines of comparison. They would not apply to minute details. When I say that there is a new note in men's purpose to better themselves, I mean this: men used to accept the situation and tried to make themselves as comfortable as possible in it. Today they propose to change the situation. Men used to try to better themselves within the condition in which their lot was cast. They now try to better the condition itself. We may illustrate the earlier temper regarding progress by the attitude of Paul toward certain relations about which the Corinthian Christians wanted advice (1 Cor. 7.) What had the apostle to say about celibacy or marriage; about Christians whose marital partners clung to the old faith; and about slaves? Paul's advice was distinctly against staking all upon attempts to secure improvement by changing the condition, and distinctly in favor of contentment with trying to do better within the conditions. "Wast thou called being a bond servant? Care not for it; but if thou canst become free, use it rather. Brethren, let each man, wherein he was called, therein abide with God." And it was entirely in accord with the policy of betterment within the conditions when John the Baptist, in answer to the question "What shall we do?" advised the people in general, "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none: and he that hath food, let him do likewise." And he advised the publicans, "Extort no more than that which is appointed you;" and again the soldiers, "Do violence to no man, neither exact anything wrongfully, and be content with your wages." (Luke 3:10–14). That is, "adjust yourselves to the proper

requirements of your condition." Not a word about exchanging one condition for another.

Now my point is that this used to be the rule, and variations from it were the exception. Today the tendency is to make these exceptions relatively more numerous than ever before, or to put it strongly, modern men do not stop with bettering themselves within their condition, they want to reform their condition. They are not content with trying to get better wages. They want to overthrow the wage system. They do not stop with plans to provide for a rainy day. They want to abolish the rainy day. They are not content with conjugal fidelity. They want to reconstruct the family. They are not satisfied with improvements in the working of governments. They want to eliminate governments. They look with contempt upon adjustment of relations between social classes. They want to obliterate social classes. The emphasis today is on change of conditions rather than upon adjustment to conditions. Consequently too much of the labor problem is simply the problem of avoiding labor. Instead of feeling a pride and obligation in service, men and women through all the grades are debauched by the vision of escape from service, or what amounts to the same thing, exchange of work for a state that seems to require less work. Not how to do well the work of our present condition, but how to get into a condition which seems to promise release from work, is the question which teases the least respectable, and sometimes the more respectable of those who make the social movement. In the older countries Americans are constantly surprised by evidences of pride in being the latest of several generations in the line of fathers and sons who have succeeded to the same lowly occupation, and still find satisfaction in conducting it well. With us the rule is discontent unless the occupation of the children promotes them to conditions supposed to be more dignified than those of their parents.

In the second place the social movement of our time has a new force or volume. It takes more people to make the people than ever before. Every ranch and farm, every fishing hamlet,

every factory loft, and every crossroads store helps to increase unrest if not to accelerate motion. Aspiration to get on in the world makes slum tenements and frontier cabins headquarters of agitation. The people who were once hewers of wood and drawers of water, and were dumb at their occupation unless they were harried to desperation by some exceptional infliction, are today practiced coiners and utterers of social philosophies. Formerly only a rare few tried to take a bird's-eye view of what was going on in the world. As we say in sociological language, there was a very low degree of social consciounesss. The people who felt themselves parts of the great moving world as a whole were hard to find. Now there is a sort of feeling among the obscurest and most helpless people that they have the issues of life in their own hands. They are the source of power. They have but to say the word in sufficiently large numbers and the world will move as they order. The people who used to be called the rabble are now making their own appraisal of their social value. They are not abashed at the thought of steering the ship of state with their own hands. No vague awe draws invisible but impassable lines beyond which they must not step in pursuit of their desires. All sorts and conditions of men are saying with more than the bravodo of Macbeth, "What man dare, I dare!" More than this, the increasing volume of social force has new leverages with which to exert its power. In the days of John Ball in England, or of the Bundschuh in Germany, the masses had merely the power of numbers. They had none of the tools of popular education, few means of communication, little political influence, no plausible programmes, no power of organization, no allies to speak of in other classes. Today the same social elements have more knowledge than the average clergyman had in many periods of the Middle Ages. They give a living to crowds of crafty men for printing back at them their own provincial thoughts. They are learning to array themselves in effective political formations. They are producing and spreading programmes which have the merit of aiming at many things which it would be very comfortable to have. They are cultivating mass sympathies and drilling themselves in

mass movements, and, not least of all, they are sapping and mining the foundations of supposed pillars of society by making many friends and champions in social classes whose lives move in entirely different lines. The social movement is thus more than a class movement. It includes among its active promoters people of all social strata, except perhaps the enormously rich, and even these do not always oppose the tendencies that I am describing. The social movement is popular in the most inclusive sense, *i. e.*, it is made up of all sorts of people. Property is universally conservative, but in our day great property holders who on the whole sympathize with the main tendencies of the social movement are by no means rare. The social movement is thus not the inertia of the many slightly disturbed by the few, it is the momentum of the many, hardly restrained by all the arts that the few can contrive.

I said third, that the social movement has a new outlook. It may be defined in a word. The supreme purpose of life has sometimes been to escape the wrath to come. People are today fleeing from the wrath that has come and they are frankly prospecting for happiness. We may argue with this state of things as we please, the fact remains. The social movement is a deliberate undertaking to get more satisfaction out of life than it has ever yielded. It is impelled by bold and stubborn presumption that men are fools not to be happy and comfortable in this world. There is not very much reckoning with the conditions of another world in the present social movement The idea is that there is a way to be physically and morally happy now if we can find it, and then the hereafter will take care of itself. This way of looking at things is not necessarily opposed to religion. It is opposed to all conceptions of religion which make it a matter of greater importance to dead men than to living ones.

It may be charged that if I have correctly described the social movement it is selfish and sordid and materialistic. That would be true in particular cases. It would not be true in general. I would rather say that the social movement is an effort for concrete, specific, definable goods, without much attention to the

relation which these may bear to remoter abstract goods. The social movement is a demand for shorter working hours; for more sanitary working space; for better tenements; for higher wages; for less breadwinning by women and children; for shifting of the burden of taxation so that the load will bear more equally on all backs; for expenditure of public moneys in ways that will give all classes a rightful share of benefits; for the use of governmental machinery so that it will help most those who can do least for themselves, and not artifically increase the advantage of those who can do most for themselves. The social movement is in spirit a very sincere attempt of people who are sure they want certain things to secure those things. People are reaching for goods that they understand, or think they do, without bothering their heads much about goods that they do not understand.

All this however is very near the surface of the social movement, and we are after the deeper meaning. Without doubt the vast majority of those who make up the social movement would say that I have already told all there is to it. I should be sorry if I felt obliged to believe them. There are undercurrents that these hints have not sounded. There are reasons for the social movement that have not yet been stated. Quite likely most of the people in the movement would not acknowledge the undercurrent. Very probably they would not accept the statement of reasons that I shall offer. The baby in the cradle cries, for reasons that he does not understand, and would not admit if they were explained to him. The instinct of mother and nurse finds out what kind of pain produces the cry. The social movement is to a considerable extent a spontaneous cry of pain and a spasmodic clutching for pleasure; the sources of the pain and pleasure are not known by the majority who make the demonstration. They are not altogether beyond analysis and explanation.

My interpretation of the social movement then makes it, with all its faults, a proof that the natural force of humanity is not abated, that social virility is not exhausted. The social movement is today's form of the same vital facts which have always been the impulse of human advancement.

Civilization has been humanity's gradual discovery of itself. From the start men have been the same enigma to themselves that the Yerkes telescope is to the men who are now learning to use it—or rather a thousandfold more enigmatical. The question about human nature, as about the telescope, has been, What is it good for? What is its capacity? What can it do? Ever since human acts have been recorded some men have always gone ahead of others in answering the question by experiment. Human cunning, prowess, foresight, persistence have made some men superior to others; but at the same time they have advertised human resources, and registered human capabilities. Some men have been adventurers, discovering their own opportunities and talents and powers. They have made successful ventures. They have acquired new skill, they have made new tools, they have devised new processes, they have won comfort, riches, renown. Then other men have looked at them, and have said to themselves—"They are only men after all. They are made of the same stuff I am made of. They have no rights or powers that are not in me too. What they have done, what they have gained, and enjoyed, is proper object of endeavor for every man." Enterprise and envy have been equal partners in making the world. The strong, original, capable men of one day have been the typical, model, standard men of the next day. What these pioneer men have been and done and possessed all men have presently tried to be and do and possess. Humanity has found itself by proxy. Men with the fullest tide of life in their veins have gone ahead in trying their strength and their talent. Then less original men have seen the results. They have wanted them. They have said "These things come from human strength and talent. We are also human. We will have the same things too."

There has been no more constant motive in civilization than the one which cropped out in Casca's tirade against Cæsar.

> I cannot tell what you and other men
> Think of this life; but, for my single self,
> I had as lief not be, as live to be
> In awe of such a thing as I myself.

I was born as free as Cæsar: so were you:
We both have fed as well: and we can both
Endure the winter's cold as well as he.

Ye gods, it doth amaze me,
A man of such a feeble temper should
So get the start of the majestic world,
And bear the palm alone.

Men at some time are masters of their fates:
The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.
"Brutus" and "Cæsar;" what should be in that "Cæsar"?
Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well.

Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with 'em,
"Brutus" will start a spirit as soon as "Cæsar,"
Now, in the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat does this our Cæsar feed,
That he is grown so great?

—Jul. Cæ. Act. I. Sc. II.

That is, men have taken the measure of themselves in the person of more strenuous men. Great men have served to show what is latent in little men. Rare men have explored the possibilities of life for mediocre men, and average life has tended to achieve the fullness and diversity of many exceptional lives. Extraordinary men have roused desires dormant in the ordinary man, and thus humanity has progressively found itself. Humanity has expressed itself, and asserted itself, and exerted itself in its most forceful specimens, and in them and their works the rest of men have learned to know their own nature, and power, and destiny.

The social movement of today is the onward march of that same average humanity towards further gains indicated as within human reach, because they have actually been compassed by some men. We are simply continuing the series of movements by which all historical men have proved their power to take up

and use knowledge of themselves and their resources that representative men have gained. Social classes have been advance agents of prosperity for the social mass. Powers and rights that aggressive classes have at first monopolized have gradually appeared to belong not to classes as such, but to men as such.

For example, the very abstract idea of individual rights themselves, as distinguished from the privileges that belong to members of a class, had to be asserted and maintained in the concrete over and over again by a few, before it could be presented to the imagination and then demanded as the proper possession of the many. Humanity was such a dull mass once that the individual was imperceptible within it. Castes separated themselves with their claims, and "rights," and "privileges." Families maintained separateness and dignity. Cities asserted independence of other cities and masters. Other groups got legal recognition — such as church, monastery, university, or gild. Each of these had their "rights," but it was a long evolution before there was a definite notion of an individual, as having rights distinct from his share of the rights of his group.

We have a comparatively plain record of various steps by which this change took place. It appears, for instance, in the shifting of ideas that gradually demolished feudalism. It is common knowledge that under the feudal system only a small percentage of persons had socially recognized rights. These were the lords and their vassals, between whom there was a solemnly ratified compact. The great masses not in the feudally contracting class were without the pale of defined rights. Presently it was so evidently a good thing for the class with rights to have those rights, that many other people began to say to themselves "Rights are good things for those who have them. Being men like those people who have rights, why should we not have some too?" A by-product of this reasoning was a motion of rights as belonging to human beings, not to exceptional classes of human beings.

A similar progress is illustrated in the case of towns that got certain liberties from their masters. The liberties that the towns

enjoyed proved advantageous to the towns. People who lived in the country saw that the towns thrived upon "liberties." They thought within themselves "Townsmen find 'liberties' a good thing. Doubtless countrymen would find them an equally good thing." Then the rustics made struggles for liberties and at last got them. With them came a clearer conception of personal liberty. The same process with similar effects runs through the evolution of the popular idea of law in England. Under the Norman kings legal rights were concessions from the sovereign to the subject in a charter. They are now, ostensibly at least, volitions by the subjects expressing their will about the society which they compose. Again, the process is illustrated in the tedious development of the idea which was at work before the Reformation, but which did not come to maturity till it reformed the Reformation. It was the antithesis of the idea that religion is the prerogative of a privileged class, and that administration of religion belongs to that class. Men began to believe that if relgion is good for some it is good for all. They believed that if it is a prerogative of some it is a prerogative of all. They refused to believe that there is any provision in the nature of things for a part of the human race to grow fat on religion, while the rest of the race only grew lean from it. They virtually declared and maintained that so far as religion is a real benefit to anybody, its like benefits belong to everybody. They then either rejected religion as an artificial imposition upon men, or they claimed it as an equal natural right of all men in their freedom of commerce with the universe.

By such steps as these this rudimentary idea of the paramount dignity of persons, regardless of their social state, has become distinct and commonplace. It has been made very specific in a thousand applications. Whenever any men have reached an evident vantage ground, other men have begun to say "Either they hold that advantage as a fair reward for special work, or they have no business to occupy it at all, or, finally, it is the proper place and reward for all men, who are really entitled to the rights of men."

I repeat, then, that the social movement throughout history has been an instinctive effort to get for more men the things that have seemed to be good for some men. The social movement of today is in one view only the latest episode in this incessant effort. In another view there are distinguishing characteristics of the incident, which call for special notice.

First, then, things that were supposed to be assured to all Americans a hundred years ago, today seem to many to be in jeopardy. When our fathers framed the Declaration of Independence they thought it "self-evident" that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Among these rights they thought there was no room for question about "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The case is distinctly different now. Not that the theory has changed, but conditions have changed so that thousands of men distinctly believe and other thousands vaguely suspect that the latest gains in civilization have clouded the title of the average man to life, liberty, and free pursuit of happiness. The social movement of today is in great part a desperate struggle to save what seems to have been lost in the industrial revolution. The toiling millions can buy with their wages more comforts than they ever could before. The laboring class, as a class, is more necessary to civilization than ever. The individual laboring man today, however, is haunted by the thought that he may any day lose his job. He feels that he has less certainty of keeping himself and family from starvation or pauperism than the average American slave had of living in comfort through old age. The free man's freedom today is evidently a struggle with severer and more relentless contingencies than slaves as a class have encountered in civilized countries in modern times. Men are accordingly beginning to feel that the wide wide world is a very crowded place, and that its accommodations are not as free as they used to be. Somehow a great deal of the space has been spoken for in advance by people who hold it in reserve for themselves and their friends. We find ourselves very seriously playing the old game of "goals." There are fewer goals than

there are players. Each change of places gives somebody a chance to improve his condition, but at somebody's peril of losing his position. Opportunities are today so controlled that men feel themselves more subject to the caprice of others than at any time since serfdom disappeared. It is no comfort to the sidetracked man to read in tables of statistics the story of material and moral gains by all classes. These tables make no exhibit of the sense of insecurity among individuals within the classes. If that schedule could be filled out it would show a balance of unhappiness so great that it possibly makes our present civilization bankrupt. Machinery and capital and commercial combinations put multitudes in a condition of dependence on vast operations upon which they can exert but feeble influence. The many are getting into a state of panic as they contemplate the possibilities of this dependent condition. They feel that they have somehow been tricked out of their share of guarantees for "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." They suspect that they are really being deceived by smooth words. They think they detect the beginnings of a slavery for the many in which the masters are released from the moral responsibility which mitigated the lot of former slaves, and at the same time have subtler means of making their mastery oppressive.

I will not undertake to discuss the grounds of this belief, nor to pass upon its correctness. I state the fact that men by millions take virtually this view of present social conditions, and the social movement is to be understood accordingly. It is really, in one part of its strategy, an abandonment of the old lines in which men a century ago fought for "liberty, equality, fraternity." That fanciful frontier is much too far advanced. The men of today are fighting not primarily for these ideal conquests. They are fighting for *security:* security of standing ground; security of opportunity; security of personal recognition among the shareholders in the inheritances of the ages; security of a man's chance to be a man; security that the mighty impersonal power of capital and organization shall not

be allowed to march masses of men roughshod over individual men, in pursuit of schemes vast in aim, but needlessly terrific in means. The French Republic gravely parades that legend as itsideal. It is maddening the very people whom it is intended to soothe.

I predict that this fact about the social movement will be perceived more and more, and that it will shape more and more the strategy of the movement. Men are parts of society and necessarily subordinate to society. It is too late to avoid that fact. The needs of society must necessarily require frequent exercise of eminent domain over individual interests in ways for which damages cannot be collected. But it is possible that we are at present rating individuals as too small and too cheap parts of society. It is possible that our mighty plans of commercial conquest are not worth success, because it would have to be purchased at too great cost of individual security. The social movement, candidly and fairly interpreted, means that millions of men believe this to be the case. They say we have invented some modern improvements that are working at too great cost of manhood. They pay in false coin. Their profits are delusions. They are destroying the securities on which reliance should be placed for individual and social strength. "Give back by any means the vanishing security which we have exchanged for deceptive and debasing prosperity."

I repeat that I am not attempting to weigh the justice of this plea. It is the temper of the social movement as I observe it, and I am trying to state the bald fact. The fact must be clearly understood, whether we justify it or not. Otherwise we are entirely at fault in our estimate of the social movement. There is certainly a solemnity about this matter when we come to see these features. Men are going back to first principles. They are saying that security of fundamental rights is good for some men, and therefore good for all men. They are saying that this security is being impaired. They are demanding that it shall be strengthened. No temporary and frivolous issue this. There can be no permanent settlement until there are different

popular convictions about social tendencies, or until the tendencies themselves are changed.

But if there is solemnity about the social movement it has also traits of sublimity. If security is the primary end of the social movement today, it is also not less a means. Men want security of opportunity, so that they may then gain ampler results from the use of their powers than were ever before aimed at by men in great numbers. Say what we will about men's narrow conceptions of life, and their sordid ambitions; popular conception of what it is to be a man are larger and truer than they have ever been throughout great masses before. I do not find men philosophizing very analytically or comprehensively about specifications that should be satisfied in right human life. By putting together what many men are saying, however, I get at traits of large common conceptions which no one person expresses completely. The men who are most sincerely struggling for security want it as the passport to more complete living. They feel, if they do not expressly say, that man's life is not realized when he is a well-greased cog in the industrial machine. He is not a man who is merely a well-fed drudge. Manhood is properly many-sided.

Cultivating man is as proper a pursuit as amassing riches. Therefore let us have security in order that we may become men. There is latent in every man, not merely power to toil, but to toil intelligently. Every man is a possible economist, *i. e.*, an organizer of effort upon rational principles. Every man has it in him to become in some degree a scientist, *i. e.*, one who knows reality. Every man is a potential statesman, *i. e.*, a maker of social life, if not of the highest rank, of some rank. Every man is of necessity at last his own priest. Men today instinctively assert the personal importance that belongs with partial consciousness of their latent powers. They want security in order that as workers and thinkers and citizens and worshipers they may realize their larger selves. The task which society today imposes upon its members is direct and conscious effort so to organize personal relations that the masses of men, with their

manifold endowment, may together realize their common humanity.

The social movement is set in motion by this need, though it does not distinctly understand the impulse. The social movement is thus inevitable, though not yet wholly intelligent. It is respectable, though its manifestations are not yet altogether dignified. It deserves the study of all who love truth. It deserves the sympathy and the wise coöperation of all who love their kind.

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ECCENTRIC OFFICIAL STATISTICS. III.

THERE is perhaps at the present no more interesting or important sociological question than the employment of women and children and the effect of such employment upon that of men. Are these classes taking the place of men in industrial pursuits, and by their competition in the labor market so reducing their wages as to render it difficult or impossible for the head of the family to alone support the family ?

In the first of these papers (JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, January, 1897), the writer criticised a contribution of the Commissioner of Labor to the Chicago *Record* of July 20, 1894, in which that gentleman, discussing the employment of women and children, undertook to demonstrate from census statistics a great decrease in the employment of children, and that women were not crowding upon men in the industrial pursuits but taking the place of of children. Comparing the proportion of females employed in manufacturing and mechanical industry to the total number of employés in these industries, Colonel Wright said : "This comparison shows that in 1860 20.66 per cent. of all the persons employed in manufacturing industries were females above fifteen years of age, in 1870 they constituted 15.76 per cent. of the total number employed ; in 1880 they were 19.45 per cent., and in 1890 they were 17.94 per cent. The relation therefore to the total number employed was quite stationary at the last three federal censuses and was only about 2 per cent. in 1880 over what it was in 1870 and nearly 3 per cent. less in 1890 than in 1860. The women are therefore not crowding upon the men in mechanical industries."

Similar comparison of the percentage of children was made showing a most remarkable decrease in the percentage of children. Colonel Wright was, however, unable to quote the percentage of children in 1860, because they were not reported

separately, but were included with the adults. The census of 1850 reported all hands employed 957,059—males 731,137, females 225,922; and the census of 1860 reported all hands employed 1,311,246—males 1,040,349, females 270,897. These figures are correctly quoted in the census of 1870, but in the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses the falsification occurs of tabulating them with those of the later censuses as males above sixteen, females above fifteen. This falsification has evidently misled Miss Annie Marion McLean in her contribution to the preceding issue of the JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, "Factory Legislation for Women in the United States." That she has been still further misled by our incomparable census statistics is seen by her remark accompanying her table showing the proportion of female to male employés. "The actual increase has been steady, but relatively there has been a decrease since 1850, as will be seen."

As was shown in the writer's first paper, the earlier manufacturing statistics failed to include large classes of employés that were almost exclusively males. The number thus omitted was estimated by Superintendent Walker to have been 500,000 in 1870. Including this number the proportion of females to males in 1870 would be 1 to 6.5, instead of 1 to 4.9 as she has it. Allowing for the children which her figures include as females over fifteen and for the males that the censuses of 1850 and 1860 failed to include, the proportion of females to males was probably no greater in 1850 and 1860 than in 1870. Of these facts Colonel Wright failed to take note. While comparisons of the percentage of females and children to the total number of employés are utterly misleading, they seem no more misleading than the comparison made by Colonel Wright of the total number of children reported at the censuses of 1880 and 1890. Such comparison seems to indicate a large decrease in the employment of children and a complete reversal of the tendency noted by him in 1875. According to the census figures the number of children employed in manufacturing and mechanical industry was, in 1870, 114,628; in 1880, 181,121, and in 1890, 121,194. This is

an apparent decrease from 1880 to 1890 almost equal to the extraordinary increase shown from 1870 to 1880.

Regarding the tendency of the time Colonel Wright, as Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, remarked in the Sixth Annal Report of that bureau: "There seems within recent times to have occurred a change in the relation of wages to support, so that more and more the labor of the whole family becomes necessary to the support of the family. If we are right in our surmises that this is becoming more fixed and recognized from decade to decade, it certainly bodes no good to our future. The civilization of the nineteenth century, which seems to especially emphasize the home as its most prominent and valuable institution, should not allow it to become necessary that any but the husband and father should labor for its support and security."

In this report Colonel Wright shows at considerable length the manner in which the competition of the children reduces the earnings of the parent, and remarks: "It is likely that if by compulsion the children of the state be taken from work and put into school, there will be individual cases of suffering and hardship, but they will only be temporary. The rate of wages after a little time will readjust itself to the new state of things and the same amount of money, or somewhat near approximately, will be earned by the head of the family as is now earned by him in conjunction with his children."

Thus, according to Colonel Wright, wages and the employment of others than the head of the family are closely related and we should expect an increase in the proportion of our people engaged in gainful pursuits to be accompanied by falling wages. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find our great statistical authority, Colonel Wright, maintaining that the increased proportion of our people having gainful pursuits is evidence not only of increased opportunity but of increased equality of opportunity (*Forum*, May 1895), and that wages and the condition of the wage earner have steadily improved since 1850 (*Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1897).

The writer regrets that his discussion of this question so largely involves a discussion of Colonel Wright's statements and conclusions as to be perhaps mistaken for a personal attack upon that gentleman. As Colonel Wright's interpretations of statistics as presented in magazine articles and quoted by the press are generally accepted by our busy people who lack both time and opportunity for personal investigation, and as from them public opinion is formed, it is important that Colonel Wright's errors should be pointed out. Acknowledging the ability of Colonel Wright as an investigator and the efficiency of the department of which he is the chief, we should expect the recent investigation of the Department of Labor regarding the employment of women and children to show conclusively the tendency of the times as to such employment. It is therefore most surprising to discover that in his report, Colonel Wright discredits the results of this investigation by quoting census statistics to prove the contrary of what this investigation shows, a largely increased employment of children as well as women.

Another strange circumstance relating to this investigation is that when Colonel Wright's report was submitted to Congress last February, the press throughout the country announced that this investigation showed a decreased employment of children.

The figures given, it is true, when analyzed showed the contrary, but the newspaper correspondents instead of making the analysis seem to have accepted the statement from some source that they considered reliable that a decrease in the proportion of children employed had been discovered. While the Department of Labor may not be responsible for the error of the agents of the press, it is very certain that it has taken no pains to correct the false impression thus conveyed to the public.

According to Colonel Wright's report of this investigation made in pursuance of a joint resolution of the LIII Congress, complete information was obtained for 931 establishments in two periods designated as the former and the present periods. By the present period is meant some week in the years 1895 and 1896 in which the canvass was made, and by the former period is

meant some week antedating by at least ten years the week selected in 1895 or 1896. In the 931 establishments furnishing complete data, it appears that the percentage of increase for the different classes was as follows: Males 18 years of age or over 63.1 per cent.; males under 18 years of age 80.6 per cent.; females 18 years of age or over 66.3 per cent.; females under 18 years of age 89.1 per cent.

Observation seems to indicate that establishments, particularly in trade, in which females and children form the larger proportion of employés have increased more rapidly in numbers than other establishments, in fact it has been claimed that they were driving other establishments out of existence and in this state has led to the insertion in party platforms of planks proposing such regulation as would limit the increase of such establishments. A law of this nature met defeat by a small margin of votes in the last session of our legislature and the common council of Chicago subsequently enacted an ordinance having the same purpose.

If it be true, as appears, that such establishments are rapidly increasing in number as well as in size, an investigation as to employment in establishments that existed ten years ago and which takes no account of establishments that have come into existence during the period, must fail to fully indicate the extent to which the employment of women and children has increased.

As those studying the report find themselves confronted with census statistics seeming to prove the contrary of what is shown by the investigation, it becomes necessary to continue our investigations as to the reliability and comparability of census statistics. As the question of the employment of women and children and the questions of wages and improved conditions are shown by Colonel Wright to be intimately related, let us also consider the statistics by which Colonel Wright in his latest article, "Are the Rich Growing Richer and the Poor Poorer?" (*Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1897) undertakes to demonstrate that the poor are growing better off. In this article Colonel Wright declares, "Fortunately there are facts at hand which

can be used in this examination and statements that cannot be controverted." Colonel Wright then proceeds to quote statistics the incomparability of which has already been so conclusively demonstrated in this JOURNAL that he has attempted no reply. Let us call Colonel Wright himself to testify as to the alleged facts on which he bases his conclusion of a large increase in the earnings of wage workers and a decrease in the number of children employed in manufacturing industry. In an official communication to the Chairman of the Committee on Census United States Senate, dated Feb. 15, 1895, Colonel Wright, as superintendent of the Eleventh Census, said: "The tendency of the questions used in 1880 was to obtain a number of employés in excess of the average number, while it is believed the questions used in 1890 obtained the average number. The questions used in 1890 also tended to increase the amount of wages as compared with 1880. The enumeration of establishments in certain lines of industry was more thorough at the Eleventh than at the Tenth Census. For these reasons the average annual earnings per employé, as obtained from the totals for the two censuses, are not comparable. Mr. Waite states: 'This great increase is due chiefly to the fact that the census of manufactures for 1880 was worked up upon an entirely different basis from that of 1890. In the former census the officers and firm members were reckoned among the number of hands employed, but were not accredited any wages except in exceedingly few cases. In 1890 the hundreds of thousands of officers, firm members, and salesmen were each accredited with large salaries, aggregating upwards of $300,000,000. Some salaries were equal to that paid the President of the United States. On the other hand, in the census of 1880 the figures purporting to represent the "average number of hands" were for about half the establishments identical with the "greatest number of hands employed at any one time during the year." In the other half they represented for each establishment the average number employed during the few months when the establishment was running a full force. As a result they were almost always

more than the average and often several times the average number as figured out by the methods employed in compiling the census of 1890.'

"In formulating the schedule for the Eleventh Census it was evidently the intention not to perpetuate the errors of the Tenth but to obtain data from which a correct statement could be made as to the true average number of employés engaged during the year and the total wages . . . . After Mr. Porter left the census office, the Hon. Secretary of the Interior investigated the matter of the statement of wages, and the great increases shown between 1880 and 1890 did not appear to him to be reasonable. He therefore undertook through the Division of Manufactures, to eliminate the errors and to straighten out the whole matter. In doing this some $60,000 were expended, but without satisfactory results. On taking charge of the census office, I took this matter up immediately and, as I have said, everything has been done to give the public the facts as they appear with ample explanation as to their value in all directions."

How much has been done to give the public the facts may be judged when it is known that not only those unused to statistical investigation quote these statistics in utter disregard of their incomparability, but that one so eminent as a statistician as Mulhall is at present contributing a series of articles to the *North American Review* in which he bases his conclusions upon the statistics of the Eleventh Census seemingly unconscious of their grossly misleading character.

Colonel Wright's anxiety to give the public the facts is also illustrated in his contribution to the *Atlantic Monthly* in which he says: "But fortunately, we are not obliged to depend upon the increase of rates of wages to show that the ordinary man is better off than at any former period in our history, because our censuses report aggregate earnings and also the number of persons among whom the earnings are divided. Looking to this side of the problem, we find that in 1850 the average annual earnings of each employé engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, including men, women, and children, in round numbers

were $247; in 1860 $289; in 1870 $302; in 1880 $347; and in 1890 $445. Here is a steady positive increase in the average annual earnings of the employés in our great industrial pursuits. The statement is not mathematically accurate, because the divisor used is not always a sure one. The total amount of wages paid at each of the periods named is a fixed quantity, and is one of the most certain elements of the industrial census, but the average is obtained by dividing the total wages paid, by the average number of employés during the year."

Having, apparently, in mind the writer's contribution to the January number of this JOURNAL, Colonel Wright says: "Some writers contend that the divisor should be the greatest number of employés instead of the average number, but the greatest number would secure a more erroneous quotient than that derived from the average number."

It is evident that as the total wages paid in all industries are the earnings of the total number employed in these industries the average annual earnings can only be obtained by using the total number of employés as the divisor.

It must, however, be conceded that to aggregate the numbers reported by each establishment as the greatest number employed at any one time would be likely to obtain a number in excess of the total number of employés. It is also certain that to use the number reported as the average number of employés, would result in obtaining a number less than the total number of employés.

Colonel Wright's statement shows that he is aware that the use of these differing methods in obtaining the divisor would result in widely differing quotients, but he strangely seems to miss the real point which is that no fair comparison can be made of average annual wages obtained by one method in one decade and by the other method in another decade. By Colonel Wright's admission in this official communication, while the number used at the last census as the divisor was the true average number of employés, the number used in the preceding censuses was a number greater than the average number. From the statement of

Mr. Waite who has thoroughly examined the original schedules of both censuses, which statement has never been assailed, it appears that the number used in 1880 as the divisor was not far from the number that would be obtained by aggregating the numbers reported as the greatest number employed at any one time. As Colonel Wright has no knowledge how far the apparent increase in wages is the result of the difference in methods, in fact does not know that there was not an actual decrease in the average annual earnings, it does not appear that he is justified in quoting these figures as proving anything whatever.

It may be noticed that Colonel Wright quotes average wages at $445 instead of $484 as is quoted by Mulhall and nearly everone else who quotes census statistics of wages. Colonel Wright quotes the average obtained by dividing the earnings of operatives proper by the average number of operatives, thus recognizing the fact that the salaries of officers, firm members, and clerks were not included at the census of 1880. That, though not reported separately, they were included in the aggregate is the only inference to be drawn from the footnote accompanying census tables and referring to the salaries of officers and clerks—"Not reported separately in 1880."

While thus recognizing the incomparability of census wage statistics, without calling attention to the falsification of the footnote, Colonel Wright fails to recognize the incomparability in other respects that seem even more important. In the official communication already quoted he admits, that: "The enumeration of establishments in certain lines of industry was more thorough at the Eleventh Census than at the Tenth Census." These are the hand trades with almost exclusively male employés which, as has been previously shown, were almost entirely neglected in the earlier censuses. The comparison of the percentages of females and of children to the total number of employés which we find in census tables and which were made by Colonel Wright in his *Record* article, are therefore grossly misleading.

Equally misleading seems his comparison of the number of children reported at the last two censuses.

According to his own statement, the number reported in 1890 was the average number while the number reported in 1880 was a number greater than the average number, yet in his *Record* article he takes the difference between the two numbers as representing the decrease in the number of children employed at the two periods. In the case of children who attend school a part of the year and are employed in establishments that run a full force but a few months in the year, the total number of employés might be more than double the average number. Mr. Waite states that the number reported as the average number in many establishments in 1880 was the average number while the establishment was running a full force and was often several times the average number as figured out by the methods employed in compiling the census of 1890. And that for one-half the establishments the number reported was the greatest number at any one time.

There is also another important factor in this problem entirely overlooked by Colonel Wright. The census reports as adults males over 16 and females over 15 classifying the remainder as children. In ascertaining the age, however, the question asked at the last census called for "age nearest birthday" which would include as children males under 16½, females under 15½. At the preceding census age last birthday was called for, which would include males to their 17th and females to their 16th birthday. There is, therefore, a difference of one-half year in the classification and this half year is one that must have included much the largest proportion of children. It thus seems probable that but for the change in methods a very considerable increase instead of decrease in the number of children engaged in manufactures would have been shown.

An examination of census tables reveals their unreliability in other respects. We find, for instance, in the tobacco industry, as reported for the city of New York, that in 1890 there were 1295 establishments, with employés as follows: Males, 13,352; females, 6772; children, 164. Yet, according to Colonel Wright's report on strikes and lockouts (1887), twice this

number of females were involved in a strike in this industry in 1886:

	Males	Females
Strikes of May 1 to 2 and May 1 to 8, 1886, -	10,500	13,500
Census report 1890, - - - - - -	13,352	6,772

The strike of May 1 to 2, which was successful, involved 1500 establishments, and that of May 1 to 8, which was unsuccessful, involved 250 establishments. Besides various minor strikes in this industry, a strike is also reported in five establishments August 23 of the same year involving 1000 male and 1000 female operatives. These were possibly among the estabments involved in the strike of May 1; but in that one strike we find involved 445 more establishments and 6728 more females than are reported in the census four years later. Colonel Wright's latest report on strikes shows a total of 13,035 male and 15,760 female operatives involved in strikes in 1890 in this city in this same industry. As some of these operatives may have been involved in more than one strike, these figures cannot be relied upon as showing the number of operatives; but it may be noticed that while the census reports but about half as many females as males, Colonel Wright's report shows that the female outnumbered the male operatives in establishments involved in strikes.

While Colonel Wright's reports on strikes which classify strikers only as male and female give no indication of census deficiencies in the enumeration of children, factory inspectors' reports do to a certain extent. These reports give the name of establishments that have been visited by the inspectors and the number of employés there found. As the inspectors are unable and do not attempt to visit all establishments, the census reports for any state or city should show a larger number of employés than those of the factory inspector. We find, however, that the factory inspector has often discovered a much larger number of females and children in a few establishments than census officials have found in the whole number of establishments.

Comparing the census of the cigar and tobacco industry in Jersey City we have the following:

	Males	Females	Children
1890 census report, - - - - - -	112	—	3
Factory inspector's report, - - -	500	2500	260

The establishment reported by the factory inspector is the well-known one of Lorillard & Co.

We find by referring to Colonel Wright's latest report on strikes and lockouts that in this year there were involved in the strike June 23 to 30 in this industry in this city 400 males and 1600 females classed as "pluggers." In this same report on strikes we find that in this city and industry there were involved in the strike of June 14 to 27, 1877, 700 males and 2800 females. For the state of New Jersey the census and the factory inspector's report for this industry are as follows:

	Males	Females	Children
Census report, - - - - - - -	1006	123	53
Factory inspector's report, - - -	832	2799	273

The census has included a number of smaller establishments not visited by the factory inspector, but has omitted the more important ones employing large numbers of females and children.

As the factory law of New Jersey places under the supervision of the inspector mercantile as well as manufacturing establishments, the total number of employés found in all industries is not comparable with the number reported in the census.

In the report of the New York factory inspector we find, however, included only manufacturing establishments, and the number reported is, as in the Eleventh Census, the average number. Because of the limited number of deputies, the New York inspection in 1890 extended to but 6197 of the 65,840 establishments included in the census. In 1891 the inspection was extended to 10,112 establishments. The number of operatives found are here compared with the number of operatives reported in the census:

	Establishments	Males	Females	Children
Census, - - -	65,840	545,453	194,350	12,263
Factory inspector 1890,	6,197	211,452	116,426	14,669
Factory inspector 1891,	10,112	281,517	140,553	17,495

Those under sixteen are reported by the inspector as children. The establishments inspected were undoubtedly, as a rule, those having the largest number of women and children, but it may be noticed that in 10,112 establishments the factory inspector found 43 per cent. more children than census officials found in six and one-half times the number of establishments. Taking the city of Troy, which is one of the cities reported as showing a large decrease in the percentage of children, we find that while census officials were able to find but 190 children in 840 establishments, the factory inspector found 318 children (average number) in 67 establishments.

In the tobacco industry in New York city the factory inspector found 7299 females and 401 children in 142 establishments though the census reports but 6772 females and 164 children in 1295 establishments. In 1892 the New York inspectors visited but 8959 establishments, and reported 14,105 children. With the period of depression the number of children decreased, although the number of establishments visited was greater. This fact seems to have led the New York inspector to believe that, as a result of the inspection law, child labor was rapidly decreasing. The factory inspector of Pennsylvania seems, however, to furnish the most plausible explanation of the same thing in that state.

The census of 1890 reports 22,419 children in Pennsylvania, while the factory inspectors found 30,437 in the establishments inspected. It should be explained that the factory law of that state placed under the supervision of the inspector all establishments, both manufacturing and mercantile, employing ten or more women and children. In 1892 the inspectors found 33,217 children under sixteen, but in 1893 the number had fallen to to 27,181. This decrease the inspector, in his reports, attributed but in part to the act of 1893 prohibiting the employment of children under thirteen years of age, and stated that the business depression had resulted in a temporary suspension of children in certain lines of manufacturing, notably the cigar trade. He says: "During a dull season adults prefer to work for less wages

rather than remain unemployed; hence, when they accept a child's wages, they get the child's work."

The Massachusetts factory inspector's report for 1890 furnishes farther evidence of the defectiveness of the census in the enumeration of both women and children, but the discrepancy in regard to children is most noticeable. In Lowell 1206 children were found by the inspector in 42 establishments, while the census reports but 612 children in 853 establishments. In Holyoke 794 children were found by the inspector in 74 establishments, while the census reports but 452 children in 493 establishments. In Fall River 1514 children were found in 74 establishments, and 1226 by census officials in 397 establishments. Lawrence furnishes the only instance which the writer has discovered in which the factory inspector did not discover more children in a few establishments than the census reports in all establishments. In that city the census reports 472 children in 583 establishments, and the inspector 212 in 25 establishments. In Springfield the inspector found 247 children, and census officials but 77. In Cambridge 89 children were found by the former and 34 by the latter; in New Bedford, 662 by the former and 387 by the latter.

The Massachusetts factory reports, while thus furnishing evidence of the defectiveness of the Eleventh Census, are, as we shall find, of greatest value in this discussion because of the classification of children, the number under fourteen and the number from fourteen to sixteen being reported separately.

The law provides for the inspection of mercantile as well as manufacturing establishments, but the number reported are chiefly those employed in manufactures. In the foregoing comparison with census figures care has been taken to omit establishments of a character not included in the census; their number, however, outside of Boston is insignificant.

Instances of glaring defects in the census as to the number of women and children reported are too numerous for us to attempt their presentation in this article and it seems unnecessary for the reason that while in his *Record* article Colonel Wright based his contention of a decreased employment of children upon

manufacturing statistics, in his recent report he furnishes the tables of occupation as proof.

The following table and accompanying remarks are from pages 25 and 26 of Colonel Wright's recent report on the employment of women and children.

The following table compiled from the censuses of 1870, 1880, and 1890, is given in order that a comparison may be made of the proportion of children at work at the three census years.

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AT WORK AT THE THREE CENSUS YEARS 1870, 1880, AND 1890.

Census years and classification of ages.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1870			
Total children 10 to 15 years, inclusive	2,840,200	2,764,169	5,604,369
Number of above at work	548,064	191,100	739,164
Percentage of above at work	19.30	6.91	13.19
1880			
Total children 10 to 15 years, inclusive	3,376,114	3,273,369	6,649,483
Number of above at work	825,187	293,169	1,118,356
Percentage of above at work	24.44	8.96	16.82
1890			
Total children 10 to 14 years, inclusive	3,574,787	3,458,722	7,033,509
Number of above at work	400,586	202,427	603,013
Percentage of above at work	11.21	5.85	8.57

This table shows that 13.19 per cent. of children from 10 to 15 years of age were at work at the census of 1870. At the census of 1880 the proportion of children from 10 to 15 years of age at work was considerably larger, being 16.82 per cent. To find what percentage were workers in 1890 is somewhat difficult, as the age period then used was 10 to 14, instead of 10 to 15, as in 1870 and in 1880. Nevertheless, it is believed that a result closely approximating the truth may be obtained, and in the following way:

The whole number of children from 10 to 14 years of age in 1890 was 7,033,509, and of this number 603,013, or 8.57 per cent. were at work. The total number of children 15 years of age in 1890 was 1,288,864, but to arrive at the number of those who were workers in that year, an estimate must be made on the basis of those 10 to 14 years of age, who were at work. Now, to have the result a general average of 8.57 per cent. at work for those of the ages from 10 to 14, it is plain that the individual percentage for each of these

ages would run about like this: For those 10 years old, 3 per cent.; 11 years, 5 per cent; 12 years, 8 per cent: 13 years, 11.5 per cent; and for 14 years, 15.5 per cent. Such an estimate of the percentage at work at each age from 10 to 14 seems to be about what is necessary to bring the general average of 8.57 per cent. at work when all from 10 to 14 years are lumped together. From this it is manifest that, of those 15 years old, about 20 per cent., or 257,773, must have been workers. Adding this to 603,013, the number of workers from 10 to 14 years, the result is 860,786. This number, or 10.34 per cent. of the whole number of children 10 to 15 years of age in 1890, represents very closely the number at work.

As it appears, there is a difference in the classification of the Eleventh from preceding censuses of one year. The purpose of this change in classification we can only conjecture. The result, as will appear, is to mislead the public.

Colonel Wright has the duty of explaining to the public the reason for changing the age classification in the tables of occupation, rendering them worthless for the only purpose for which such statistics are compiled, that of comparison.

Why are the figures of child occupation fifteen years and under suppressed? If the proper tabulation had not been made, it was in Colonel Wright's power to have it made. Why does he not give the public the facts instead of his guesses? Colonel Wright estimates the difference in the number of workers resulting from the change of classification to be 257,773, and says: "It is plain that the individual percentage for each of these years would run about like this." Surely this is not at all plain, and seems a strange manner of reasoning for one who so uniformly adopts the "true scientific method." The data furnished by the Massachusetts factory inspectors' reports furnish the basis from which to intelligently estimate the relative proportion of child workers at the different ages.

There is, however, an important element in this problem which Colonel Wright entirely ignores: that is, the fact that the classification is made from the returns made by the enumerators of population, and that the schedule of inquiry at the census of 1880, and 1870 as well, called for the age of last birthday, while the schedule of the last census called for age at nearest birthday.

This being so, the workers reported in 1880 as from ten to fifteen years of age included all child workers up to sixteen years of age, while the workers included as from ten to fourteen years of age were, in fact, all workers up to fourteen and a half. This is a difference of a year and a half, instead of a year, as Colonel Wright has estimated, and the half year difference is one that includes much the largest proportion of workers.

From the Massachusett's factory inspector's report for 1890, it appears that the total number of workers under sixteen years of age found in the establishments inspected that year was 9919, and that of these 8263 were from 14 to 16 years of age, while the number under 14 amounted to but 1656. This is a proportion of almost exactly 1 to 5. For the year 1891 the number reported was, under 14, 1489; from 14 to 16, 9864; this is a ratio of 6.6 to 1. We have, therefore, this proposition: If workers from 14 to 16 outnumber workers under 14 5 to 1, what proportion would workers from 14½ to 16 bear to workers under 14½?

By the figures of the Massachusetts report it appears that workers from 14 to 16 are five times as numerous as workers under 14. Yet Colonel Wright has added to the number reported as 14 and under (603,013) but 257,773 to represent the number as he supposes from 14 to 15.

As we have already shown the number 603,013 reported in 1890 is the number under 14½ while the number reported in 1880, 1,118,356 practically includes all workers under 16 (it cannot be supposed that there was a significant number of workers at either 10 or 10½). If the proportion of children found in the factories of Massachusetts be considered as representative, instead of adding 257,773 to the 603,013 reported in 1890, Colonel Wright should have considerably more than doubled that number. Even if we assume that workers under 14 equal workers from 14 to 16, as is the exceptional case in Fall River, we still should be unable to discover the decrease which Colonel Wright has figured out.

Fall River can, however, hardly be assumed as representative for the whole country, it certainly is not representative for Massachusetts — for we find the proportion of children from 14 to

16 to those under 14, to be in Lowell 17 to 1, in Lawrence 22 to 1, in Holyoke 19 to 1, in Springfield 122 to 1, in Cambridge 15 to 1, and in Boston 11 to 1. Only in New Bedford do we find conditions as to the employment of children anything like those existing in Fall River. In this city we find 331 children under 14 and 373 from 14 to 16 while in Fall River the proportion was 765 of the former and 749 of the latter age.

Possibly the writer is mistaken in the conclusion which he draws from the figures of the Massachusetts inspectors, report and those of the census that they demonstrate a very considerable increase instead of decrease in the proportion of child workers for the Massachusetts statistics may not be representative. He has, however, resorted to the only method at his command of ascertaining the truth. As an investigation regarding this matter has been made by the government at a very considerable expense the public is entitled to the information. Is this suppression of the facts a part of the same plan — to mislead the public that seems to have been adopted by Colonel Wright in his *Atlantic Monthly* article in which to demonstrate the improved condition of the working people he compares statistics of annual earnings the incomparability of which he has himself admitted? Colonel Wright's article appears to have misled Secretary Gage who quotes it in his recent address at Peoria as showing the error of the popular opinion now prevalent which he admits many things open to common observation seem to justify. Secretary Gage declares Colonel Wright an authority acknowledged as good by the laboring classes. As one belonging to what is commonly termed the laboring class the writer desires to here enter his emphatic protest against Colonel Wright's misuse of statistics.

Some of the statistics quoted by Colonel Wright in this article disprove his conclusions and those of Secretary Gage, that is they would had he quoted them more fully.

Quoting the Aldrich report on prices and wages Colonel Wright says: "The report deals with seventeen great branches of industry, and they are the principal ones in the country."

How far this statement is from the fact will be seen when it

is discovered that the Aldrich report has not even a solitary wage quotation for our greatest industry agriculture. "By it (he says) we find that, taking 1860 as the standard at 100, rates of wages rose from 87.7 in 1840 to 160.7 in 1891; that is an increase of 60.7 per cent. from 1860 and of 73 per cent. from 1840. Taking the average according to the importance of the industries, that is to say, of each industry relative to all industries, it is found that the gain from 1840 to 1891 was 86 per cent." Colonel Wright here misses the point entirely for there has been no contention that there had been no improvement in conditions since 1840 or 1860, but that in recent years the rich have been growing richer and the poor poorer.

Had he quoted the report more fully his figures would have shown that almost the entire increase in wages was prior to 1872 and 1880, and that the increase during the period when census figures show the greatest increase in earnings was comparatively insignificant. That the increase in rates of wages shown by the Aldrich report are exaggerated as a result of the fallacious methods of the statistician is capable of demonstration, in fact has been demonstrated, as Colonel Wright is aware, by an able statistician, Mr. Fredrick C. Waite.

In the foregoing quotation of Colonel Wright's article may be noticed a blunder that seems inexcusable in a statistician. An increase in relative wages from 87.7 in 1840 to 160.7 in 1891 is not, as Colonel Wright states, an increase of 73 per cent. An operative receiving 87 cents in 1840, and $1.60 in 1891, would have an increase in wages of 73 cents; not of 73 per cent., but of over 83 per cent. The increase, according to importance, as is seen by reference to the Aldrich report, was not as Colonel Wright states, 86 per cent., but 104 per cent. While the Aldrich report shows a great increase in rates of wages from 1840 to 1891 the increase from 1872 to 1891 was less than 6 per cent. by simple average. Averaged according to importance the increase shown is 10 per cent.

After the panic of 1873, as shown by this report, the rate of wages fell and had but partially recovered in 1880 so that the

increase from that year to 1890 was 12 per cent. by simple average and 17 per cent. averaged according to importance. The increase in average annual earnings shown by the census from 1880 to 1890 is over 39 per cent.

Colonel Wright's report on the employment of women and children, having been, as we have seen, discredited by himself, seems hardly worthy of extended criticism. As far as it may be relied upon as showing anything at all, it indicates a decided increase in the employment of both women and children.

One of the eccentricities of this investigation is that it takes eighteen years of age as the line of division between adults and children, rendering its figures incomparable with those of the census reports or those of the labor bureaus and the factory inspectors of the various states.

It fails to indicate the extent of the increased female and child labor, because, as has been already shown, a statement of the increase of such labor in establishments that existed ten years ago and at the present time takes no account of what is claimed to be the fact, that establishments employing a large proportion of women and children have increased in number more rapidly than establishments of a different character.

As a complete canvass of the whole country could not have been accomplished with the funds at Colonel Wright's disposal, it would seem that the end sought would have been more nearly attained by a complete canvass in one or more localities that might be considered fairly representative. This has not been attempted, but, instead, a canvass has been made of establishments variously located that are claimed to be representative.

An investigation of the character and location of these establishments seems hardly to substantiate this claim. We find Illinois represented by but eighteen establishments, having 889 employés in the former and 1290 in the latter period, while Georgia is represented by fifty establishments, with 4297 employés in the former and 9189 in the latter period. South Carolina also outranks Illinois in importance, being represented by three times as many employés in the former and five times

as many in the latter period. This matter of location is, however, of less importance than the character of the establishments. Less than 23 per cent. of our people having gainful pursuits are engaged in manufacturing industry, yet of the total number of employés in the establishments investigated over 90 per cent. are thus engaged. We have separated the establishments engaged in other than manufacturing industry, and in the following table present the total of all establishments and of manufacturing and non-manufacturing establishments separately.

The increase per cent. by classes of employés by each class of industry is also contrasted with the increase shown for the whole number of establishments investigated:

	Former period				Present period			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	18 years or over	Under 18 years	18 years or over	Under 18 years	18 years or over	Under 18 years	18 years or over	Under 18 years
No. employés in 931 establishments	26,479	4,175	27,163	6,743	43,195	7,540	45,162	12,751
No. in manufacturing industry, 775 establishments....	24,432	3,780	25,052	6,468	39,748	6,858	40,750	11,979
No. in other industries, 156 establishments	2,047	395	2,111	275	3,447	682	4,412	772
					Increase per cent.			
All industries..	.....	.....	.....	.....	63.1	80.6	66.3	89.1
Manufacturing industries....	.....	.....	.....	.....	62.7	81.4	62.7	85.2
Other industries	.....	.....	.....	.....	68.3	72.6	109.0	180.0

From the foregoing it seems apparent that the result of Colonel Wright's investigation depended altogether upon the character of the establishments investigated.

With a fair proportion of non-manufacturing establishments the showing would probably have been a very much greater increase in the percentage of females and female children—

that is if the non-manufacturing establishments are at all representative. That they are not fairly representative the writer is convinced, not because they exaggerate but because they fail to fully show the increase of female and child labor.

"Dry Goods, etc.," is represented by seventy-eight establishments with 2715 employés in the former and 5651 in the latter period. The whole seventy-eight establishments have but about as many employés in the latter period as three of Chicago's largest department stores. In the list we find a number of establishments classed as department stores, but not a single representative establishment such as Wanamaker's in Philadelphia or the Fair or Boston Store in Chicago. In the professional class we find three public libraries, an insignificant medical institute with 4 employés in the former and 8 in the latter period, and teaching. This teaching establishment is located in Delaware, with 59 male and 61 female teachers in the former and 40 males and 97 females in the latter period. According to the report of the Board of Education, but slightly over 8 per cent. of the teachers in Chicago schools are males. In Benton Harbor, Mich., but 5 per cent. of the teachers are males. As an indication of the proportion of females and children in mercantile establishments, and the relative importance of such establishments, we present the results of a canvas of the larger establishments of this character in Chicago, made last August by the Illinois factory inspector, Mrs. Florence Kelly, who by act of the last legislature was given supervision of such establishments, and also the number of employés in manufacturing establishments as given in the factory inspector's report for 1896:

MANUFACTURING STATISTICS.

CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY.

Under 16		Over 16		Children
Girls	Boys	Females	Males	
168	1,112	1,509	22,131	1,280

CHICAGO MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS.

	Total No. at work	Males	Females	Males under 16	Females under 16	Under 14
Mandel Bros.	1,400	900	500	90	6	..
Marshall Field	2,500	1,300	1,200	190	0	..
Schlesinger & Mayer	1,000	250	950	60	25	1
Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co.	900	450	450	19	11	2
Frank Bros.	450	125	325	14	90	1
Siegel, Cooper & Co.	1,800	1,000	800	22	18	..
A. M. Rothschild	1,800	600	1,200	13	258	..
The Fair	2,000	633	1,367	2	246	2
Boston Store	1,775	575	1,200	47	297	..
The Hub	200	150	50	13	3	..
Evan Lloyd	150	25	125	3	2	1
New York Dry Goods Store	400	100	300	8	27	1
Sol Klein	155	57	98	6	25	3
L. Klein	261	109	152	9	42	2
P. F. Ryan	75	25	50	4	6	..
West-End Store	125	40	85	3	15	..
Lion Store	150	50	100	1	16	..
John York Co.	150	75	75	1	5	..
Total	15,293	6,464	8,827	505	1,092	11

As an attempt to discover the facts as to the employment of women and children this investigation seems an utter and absurd failure.

If, however, the purpose of Colonel Wright's report is concealment, it must be admitted to be a most effective document.

H. L. Bliss.

THE LAW RELATING TO THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENTS.[1] I.

THE public is under obligation to relieve and support all indigent residents of the community, who, because of old age, sickness or other disability, are unable to support themselves, and who have no relatives upon whom this legal obligation of support rests. The word "residents" is used because in some states the obligation does not extend to "non-residents." The provision for this latter class will be spoken of later. Here we speak only of the *resident* poor.

[1]This is the first of a series of articles based upon a study of the laws concerning the care and treatment of the dependent and defective classes. The credit for the general plan of the work is due Professor C. R. Henderson, who has also done much in collecting the material here used. The series will contain articles on (1) "The Law Relating to the Relief and Care of Dependents," (2) "The Law Affecting Immigrants and Tramps," (3) "The Law Relating to the Care of Dependent Children," (4) "The Law relating to the Education and Treatment of the Defective," and (5) "The Public Supervision of Charities." It will be closed with a sixth article tabulating the laws of the several states.

This is a study merely of the law and not of its actual administration. From a study of the statutes and available decisions, we attempt merely to give the present legal provisions of the several commonwealths. Doubtless an extended study of the poor laws as administered would throw much light upon the present study. Perhaps to us seemingly unimportant points, when taken in connection with the administration of relief, may be very important, but are unnoticed by us. We shall be very grateful to any who may be able to correct any mistakes which may have been made, or who may be able to suggest new points, if they will send us their corrections and suggestions.

In this study the law has been brought down through the statutes and decisions to, as nearly as possible, the present time. We have succeeded in bringing it down to 1897 in Indiana and Nebraska; to 1896 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Ohio, and Washington; to 1895 in New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, Oklahoma, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, and California; and to 1894 in Vermont, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Iowa, and Utah.

The obligation of relatives needs further comment. The parent must care for his minor child. The earnings of the minor (where no limitations have been made) may be taken and used by the parent. Between the parent and the minor the duty of support may be said to be reciprocal. This, in many of our commonwealths, has been extended so as to include more distant relatives, and to include parent and child under different conditions. This reciprocal duty has, in a number of states, been extended to parents and their indigent adult children and to adults and their indigent parents.[1] In West Virginia and Oregon a further extension is made so as to include not only the parent and the child of the indigent, but also his brother and sister.[2] In other states another extension is made so as to include grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren.[3] And, finally, in seven states it is extended so as to include all in the direct line from grandparents to grandchildren as well as the brothers and sisters.[4]

There are limitations to this duty of support on the part of

[1] This extension has been made in the seven states of New York (secs. 147–159, p. 2279, Birdseye's R. S.), New Jersey (secs. 1, p. 2510, Gen. Stat.), Georgia (sec. 764, Clarke, Cobb, Irwin's Code), Michigan (secs. 1741–1744, Annotated Stat.), Wisconsin (1503–1506, R. S.), North Dakota (2787, Rev. Code), and South Dakota (2612, Territorial Code of Dakota).

[2] See sec. 18, ch. 46, the Code of West Virginia, 1891, and 3944–3945, Hill's Annotated Laws of Oregon.

[3] This is the case in Massachusetts (secs. 6, 8, 9, 10, ch. 33, R. S.) New Hampshire (sec. 12, ch. 83, R. Pub. Stat. S.), Vermont (secs. 2822–2824, R. S.), Maine (sec. 17, ch. 24, R. S.), Rhode Island (secs. 5–13, ch. 79, Gen. Laws), Connecticut (sec. 3318, Gen. Stat. as amended in 2893), Pennsylvania (sec. 1700, Brightly's, Purdon's Digest, as amended in 1895), Delaware (sec. 14, ch. 48, Rev. Code), Alabama (sec. 1466, Code of 1886), Mississippi (sec. 3148, Thompson, Dillard & Campbell's Annotated Code), and Iowa (secs 2117, 2118, 2120, 2137, McLain's Annotated Code) — eleven states in all.

[4] This farthest extension is found in the seven central and western states of Illinois (secs. 1–3, ch. 107, Hurd's R. S.), Minnesota (secs. 1951–1952, R. S.), Nebraska (secs. 3926–3927, Compiled Stat.), Montana (secs. 3201–3202, Annotated Stat.), Colorado (sec. 3388, Mills' Annotated Stat.), Nevada (sec. 1982, Bailey & Hammond's Gen. Stat.), and Washington (secs. 1596–1597, Laws and Code of 1896).

[Hereafter when the revised code of a state has been once mentioned, it will not be repeated, but the reference will be given by sections only.]

relatives, however. Such an obligation cannot be enforced against those living in another state. Where the duty extends to brothers and sisters, an exception is usually made in favor of married sisters. And, finally, this obligation is frequently absolved by misconduct, vice or drunkenness on the part of the indigent person. In Illinois, Minnesota, and Nebraska no relative is under obligation to support one who has become indigent through drink or misconduct; while in Montana, Colorado, Nevada and Washington the duty is, in such a case, limited to parent and child.[1]

The duty of support does not rest equally upon all relatives. Where it extends further than to the parent and child, the order in which the obligation devolves upon the several degrees of relatives is sometimes stated in the law. Usually, where the obligation extends to those in the direct line from grandparents to grandchildren only, the matter of who shall pay for, and what each shall pay toward, such support, when enforced through the court, is left to the decision of the court. In the seven states where the duty extends beyond this to the brothers and sisters, it devolves upon them in the order of child, parents, brother and sister, grandchild and grandparents.

When an indigent who has relatives under legal obligation to support him, applies for relief, it is the duty of the relieving officer to secure the enforcement of this obligation through the court. Usually the amount to be paid by the relatives in such a case and the mode of caring for the indigent are left to the decision of the court. In a number of states, however, a fixed amount is forfeited by relatives upon refusal to support, the forfeit being used to assist the indigent relative.[2]

In case, however, an indigent has no relatives of sufficient ability against whom this legal obligation of support can be enforced, he is to be relieved and supported by the public.

[1] See references given above for these states.

[2] In Pennsylvania and Colorado the payment to be made for the support of an indigent is $20 per month; in Montana, Oregon, Nevada, and Washington, $30; in Minnesota $15, and in Alabama, $8. In Nebraska it is not to exceed $10 per week.

This is done through the county, town, or municipal governments.

States are said to have the "town" or the "county system" according as the town (or township) or the county is responsible for the care of the indigent. The county system is prevalent, as it exists in every state, save one,[1] west of the Mississippi, in all south of the Mason and Dixon line, and in Pennsylvania. The New England states, save Maine and New Hampshire, have the town system. In Maine and New Hampshire the town cares for those having a town, the county for those having a county, but no town, settlement. In New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, and Indiana the town, township, or hundred, as the case may be, is responsible for the "out-door," the county for the "indoor" relief.[2] In the five states of New York, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota there is a "mixed system," the town system in some cases, the county system in others being found. In all these states, however, the latter predominates, and provision is made for changing from the town system to it.[3]

Usually some special provision is made for cities. Sometimes the system of municipal relief is distinct from and completely independent of that of the county or town. This seems to be the case in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, where the municipal corporations possess powers like those of the towns, and in Louisiana where they possess (in this respect) the same power as the parish.[4]

[1] This state is Minnesota, which is later given as having a mixed system.

[2] If the several counties do not make almshouse provision, the towns have the exclusive superintendence of the poor, and provide for them as in the town system.

[3] In New York (11, p. 2258) and Wisconsin (1519) the county board of supervisors may change from the town to the county system upon a majority vote. In Michigan (1808) it requires a two-thirds vote of the board to change from the town to the county system or from the county to the town system. In Illinois (35, ch. 107) the town system in any county may be abolished by a majority vote of the electors. Lastly, in Minnesota (1984), after receiving the recommendation of the state board of charities and corrections, the county board may, in accordance therewith, submit the question of changing from one system to the other to a general vote.

[4] 3, ch. 84 and 3, ch. 88; 1, ch. 46; 19; p. 560, vol. ix, Pub. Am. Economic Association; 1517; 1972–1973; and Art. 163, Constitution of Louisiana.

In New Jersey (cities of more than 1500), West Virginia (cities of more than 5000), Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa, cities may establish almshouses and provide a system of outdoor relief.[1] Frequently, as in South Carolina and Washington, cities have authority to provide for the poor conferred upon them by special charter.

Where the county system prevails the power to care for the poor is usually vested in the county commissioners, or county supervisors as they are sometimes called, or in the county or probate court. Where the town system prevails, it is vested in elected or appointed overseers or in the selectmen. In cities it is vested in elected or appointed overseers or in the city council. This point will receive further consideration in the discussion of the administration of relief.

Indigents may be (1) given relief in their homes, or (2) removed to institutions and cared for there, or (3) "farmed" or "bound" out, or (4) "boarded" with private families. In this discussion this division will be observed, the first being demoninated "Relief in Homes," the second, "Institutional Care," the third, "Farming and Binding Out," and the fourth, "Boarding Out." As has often been remarked, the old terms "indoor" and "outdoor" relief are defective and insufficient; and that is the reason for our preference of the four terms employed here.

I. RELIEF IN HOMES, COMMONLY CALLED "OUTDOOR RELIEF."

By "relief in homes" is meant that which is given from the public treasury to the indigent person or family to be used or consumed in the home. The family life is not disturbed, nor is the individual receiving relief under the surveillance of the public officials. Such relief is almost universally provided for.

In the three New England states of Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode Island, the system may be adopted or rejected by the overseers or by the town at its regular meeting.[2] The legislature

[1] Act of 1879, pp. 1022–1025, Gen. Stat. of New Jersey, 1896; 2555 (^{32}); 2563; 1692 (^{23}), Gaiques R. S. of Ohio, 1890; 3115, Horner's R. S. of Indiana, 1896; and 803.

[2] 2, ch. 84; 2815, 2816; 2, 3, ch. 79.

of New York has abolished it in the three counties of Kings, New York, and Onondagua.[1] In twenty-four states the authority is explicitly vested in the relieving officers to give such relief subject to the regulations prescribed by law.[2]

In several of the western states and a few others, the general power to care for the poor is vested in the county commissioners or supervisors, or in the county court. Nothing whatever is said in regard to their power to give the relief in question. But as a rule, the authority is so general and so unlimited that it would seem the officers might, at their discretion, give or refuse to give such relief. Here we should name the states of New Hampshire, Maine, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorada, Arizona, Oregon and California.

While the provision for relief in homes is general, the provision that it shall be temporary or furnish only partial support is almost equally general. The statutes of Connecticut, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois, explicitly provide that such relief shall be given in cases where only temporary relief, or where only partial support is needed.[3] In the two Dakotas all *permanent* charges are to be sent to the almshouse.[4] In Delaware such relief is to be given when the person cannot well be removed to the almshouse.[5] Similarly, in Virginia, such relief is to be given only in case it is "injudicious, to remove the applicant to the almshouse.[6] The West Virginia statutes declare that such relief shall be given

[1] Prohibited by an Act of 1887.

[2] These states are Connecticut (3296); New York (Act of 1894, ch. 663); Virginia (881, 882, Code of 1887); West Virginia (7, ch. 46); Delaware (11, ch. 48); New Jersey (5, p. 2517); Pennsylvania (9, p. 94); Mississippi (3153); Georgia (762); Tennessee (2128, Code of 1884); Oklahoma (3651, Code of 1893); Michigan (1984); Indiana (6073, 6114[a]); Ohio (1499); Illinois (23, ch. 107); Minnesota (1962); North Dakota (1500); South Dakota (2147); Iowa (2154); Nebraska (3924, 3946); Kansas (4036, Taylor's Gen. Stat. 1889); Idaho (2175, R. S., 1887); Nevada (1992–1995); and Washington (1587–1598).

[3] See secs. 3296; 6073 and 6094; 1499; and 23, ch. 107, of these states respectively.

[4] North Dakota, Revised Code, 1483 and 1500, and Dakota Territorial Code, 2150 and 2167.

[5] 11, ch. 48. [6] 881, 882.

only in cases of "emergency" and "necessity."[1] A similar provision is found in New Jersey.[2] In Mississippi and Georgia, it is to be given only until the indigence of the applicant can be established or proven untrue and the applicant accordingly sent to the almshouse or dismissed.[3]

A more definite limitation is had where the amount to be given in such relief is limited. The statutes of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Oklahoma, authorize the relieving officers to give relief in homes, but in no case is the amount to exceed the cost of maintaining the person at the almshouse.[4] In New York an overseer of the poor cannot in any one year grant in relief to an indigent more than $10 without the written permission of a superintendent of the poor.[5] A similar provision is found in Michigan, the limit being $20 instead of $10.[6] In Iowa those whom the township trustees and overseers think should not be sent to the almshouse, may be relieved, but such relief is in no case to exceed $2 per week for each individual.[7] And, lastly, in Minnesota, the amount is ordinarily limited to $20 per year, but in some cases the higher limit of $50 is authorized.[8]

In a number of states the law provides for such relief in the form of yearly allowances, virtually pensions, to certain classes. These are all limited, however, to what is necessary to maintain the person in the "usual" or "customary" way, that is, in the almshouse. The provision in Oklahoma reads as follows: "The board of county commissioners may, in their discretion, allow and pay to poor persons who may become chargeable as paupers and who are of mature years, and sound mind, and who from their general character will probably be benefited thereby, and also the parents of idiots and of children otherwise helpless, requiring the attention of the parents, and who are unable to provide for such children themselves, such annual allowance as will not exceed the charge of their maintenance in the ordinary mode[9]

[1] 7, ch. 46.

[2] 64, p. 2518.

[3] 3153 and 762 respectively.

[4] 9, p. 94; 2128; 3651.

[5] Acts of 1894, ch. 663.

[6] 1762.

[7] 2148 and 2152.

[8] 1962, 1974.

[9] 3651.

. . . ." Similar provision is found in Tennessee, Kansas, the Dakotas, and Iowa.[1]

A few states have adopted measures to discourage application for relief on the part of "frauds." In Nevada the applicant must make a written application for relief. This application must assert the applicant's indigence, give his name, age, residence, etc., and must be sworn to by two persons who are in position to know the facts of the case. The application is placed on file and an investigation made. Furthermore if the applicant is able-bodied, he may be required to work upon the streets or elsewhere for the aid received.[2] A similar application sworn to by the applicant must be made in Idaho and Arizona.[3]

The best method of regulating relief is in the provision for a "work test." But few provisions of this kind are found. The whole matter is usually passed over by the law in silence. In some cases the relieving officers or the town may prescribe the conditions upon which relief may be given. By Act of 1894 we find that in Ohio applicants for relief may be required to work for it.[4] A similar act was passed in Massachussetts in 1895. In Iowa, where a similar provision is found, "residents" may be required to work for their relief at the rate of not to exceed sixty-five cents per day. "Transients" may not be given more than forty cents per day in relief and they may be required to work for it at the rate of five cents per hour.[5] The law in Nevada has just been cited above.

The most stringent law of this kind in so far as it applies, is found in Wisconsin. An Act of 1891 authorized the commitment of any who are unable because of old age, sickness, drunkenness or other infirmity, to support themselves, to the almshouse, either definitely or indefinitely, whether they be permanent or only temporary charges.[6] An Act of 1895 imposes the duty upon all counties containing cities of the first-class (all cities of over 150,000) of erecting and maintaining either stone yards or wood

[1] 2128; 1480 (N. D.); 2147 (S. D.); 2154.

[2] 1995.

[3] 2173–2175; Act of 1891 as amended in 1893.

[4] Act of February 14, 1894.

[5] 2148 and 2152.

[6] Ch. 241, Acts of 1891.

yards, with shelters in connection, to which all persons not incapacitated for labor applying for relief shall (except in great emergency), be sent to work for any relief received.[1]

While relief in homes is thus intended to be only temporary or to furnish only partial support, we do find a few exceptions to this in the treatment of indigent soldiers and sailors and their families. In New Hampshire, indigent soldiers and sailors and their families are not to be removed to the almshouse, but are to be cared for in their homes or elsewhere.[2] Like provision is found in Maine, Michigan and Wisconsin.[3] In Iowa indigent soldiers are not to be removed to the poorhouse without their consent, while in Washington and Illinois, they are not to be removed without the consent of the "relief committee" of the Grand Army of the Republic.[4] Michigan and Washington provide for special taxes for the relief and care of such.[5]

Sometimes special provision is made for medical attendance on the sick. Sometimes they are given hospital treatment in the almshouse or the hospital. If not so treated, they are usually given medicine and furnished with a physician when necessary, as a part of the "out-relief" system. Some states have what is known as the "county physician" or "poor doctor," whose duty it is to visit and prescribe for the indigent sick. Among these states may be mentioned Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Minnesota and Nebraska.[6] Ohio

[1] Ch. 205, Acts of 1895.

[2] 9, ch. 83.

[3] Acts of 1885, 1887, 1889 and 1891; 1984; 1524. In Wisconsin this is not mandatory, but merely authorizes temporary relief (outside the almshouse) for this class.

[4] 2148–2149; 1587–1598; 146–147, ch. 23.

[5] In Michigan the relief of this class is in the hands of a committee of three, of whom two are soldiers, and a tax of not to exceed one-tenth mill may be levied for such relief. In Washington the county commissioners are authorized to levy a special tax of from one-fifth to one-fourth mill for the relief of soldiers and their families. It should be noticed here, also, that many states, including some of those referred to already, have state institutions for the care of indigent soldiers and their orphans. These institutions, while they cannot in any respect be regarded as a part of a state's relief system, and are consequently unnoticed by us, do diminish the burden on the relief funds.

[6] 870; 4, ch. 46; 26, p. 96; 892; 1860; 3929. Most states have "county" or

has "city physicians," while in the country districts physicians are paid by the township trustee for attending indigents if the cases are reported to him within three days.[1]

There is general agreement, spite of occasional criticism by reformers, that "outdoor relief," or "relief in homes," is good if limited and well administered. The duty of administering relief devolves upon officers of many kinds. Usually in the North and East a special officer (or officers) appointed for that purpose, administers it, while in the South and West the township trustee, county commissioners, or some judicial officer administers it as one of his several duties.

In the six New England states where the town system exists, the poor law is administered by the selectmen or by elected overseers. The selectmen are the overseers in Connecticut,[2] and may so act in most of the other states. In Vermont one overseer, and in Rhode Island as many as are required, are elected at the annual town meeting.[3] In Maine in those cases where the selectmen do not act as overseers, overseers are likewise chosen at the annual meeting.[4] The towns of Massachusetts have three overseers serving for three years, one being chosen each year.[5] In all these cases where special overseers are elected, their salaries are fixed by the town. In New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania, elected overseers are also found.[6] In the former state the town overseers are elected as they are in the New England states. In Virginia an overseer is annually elected in each magistrative district, and he receives $2 per day (not to exceed $20 per year) for the time spent in the performance of his duties. The relief system of Pennsylvania is vested in a board of five directors in each county. These are elected for two years and receive $100, $200 or $250 per year, according to the population of the county. Each county is divided into five districts, one of these directors serving as the "director of the poor" in each.

"poor doctors" but they are usually "awarded" the "county practice" under the general authority of the commissioners or others to provide for the poor.

[1] 1494. [2] 3299. [3] 2666, 2734; 1, p. 162. [4] 12, p. 79. [5] 78, p. 235. [6] 70, p. 3083; 95, 96; 17, p. 96.

A number of states have appointed overseers. Thus, in New Jersey relief is administered by a town overseer appointed by the township committee; while in Maryland it is administered by the county commissioners or by the "trustees of the poor" appointed by them.[1] Delaware, West Virginia and Tennessee have special officers appointed by the court.[2] In Delaware, one is appointed for each hundred and serves for three years. In West Virginia one is appointed for each magistrative district and serves for two years. Tennessee has three "commissioners of the poor," one appointed each year and serving for three years. We find, too, that in Georgia, the ordinary may appoint a commissioner to assist him in the administration of relief.[3] In North Carolina and South Carolina, the county commissioners appoint, in the former case, one overseer for their county, serving two years, and in the latter, one or more overseers serving for only one year.[4]

New York and Michigan each have three superintendents of the poor who care for the county poor and overseers who care for the town poor.[5] The superintendents are appointed by the county boards of supervisors, in New York, annually, in Michigan, triennially. In Michigan, the town supervisors act as overseers, while, as has already been seen, in New York, overseers are elected. In Illinois the "county board" appoint "county agents" to relieve the county poor. The town supervisors, or an overseer appointed by the "county board" at their request, act as overseers where the town system is in vogue.[6] In Minnesota, the county commissioners serve as overseers where the county system, the town supervisors, where the town system, exists.[7] Similarly, in Wisconsin the "county board" or three superintendents appointed by it, cares for the county, the town supervisors, for the town, poor.[8]

[1] 1, 7, Art. 25. Gen. Laws, 1888.

[2] 2, ch. 48; 1, ch. 46; 2681.

[3] 760.

[4] 3540, Code of 1883; 881, Gen. Stat. and Civil Code, 1882.

[5] 2, 3, p. 2256; 1756.

[6] 18, 19, 20, ch. 107.

[7] 1955, 1974.

[8] 1520, 1521, 1499.

Most of the above states have special officers for the administration of relief. In the remaining states (with some few possible exceptions), civil or judicial officers administer it as one of their many duties. In the four states of Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and Kansas, this function is performed by the township trustees.[1] In Nebraska, it is performed by the justices of the peace;[2] in Idaho, by the county commissioners, probate judges and justices of the peace, who are all "overseers of the poor."[3] In the four states of Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri and Utah, it is performed by the court.[4] In the remaining sixteen states it is performed by the county commissioners, who sometimes, as in the Dakotas, receive extra pay for it.[5] In Colorado, however, the clerk of the board acts as commissioner, while in Nevada and Washington, the boards are authorized to appoint agents to assist them.

In many cases what has been said does not apply to cities. They usually have some special provision for the administration of relief. In most of the cities of Massachusetts, the overseers are chosen by the city council.[6] In Vermont, in all towns of more than 5000, the overseers are appointed by the civil board.[7] In the cities of New Jersey, the overseers are selected by the council.[8] In the cities of Ohio, the mayor with the approval of the council, appoints not more than one overseer for each ward, such overseer serving without pay. An exception is made of the cities of the first class (three) where

[1] 6066; 1491; 2148; 4027, 4028. [2] 3929. [3] 2173, 2174.

[4] 3933, Barbour and Carroll's Stat., 1894; 861, Sandell and Hill's Digest, 1894 7331, R. S., 1889; 187, Vol. I, p. 299, Compiled Stat., 1888.

[5] These states are Mississippi, 3143; Alabama, 1465; Florida, 578(4), R. S. 1892; Louisiana (doubtful); Texas, 9, art. 1514, Sayles' Stat., 1888; Oklahoma, 3649, 8645 8647; North Dakota, 1475, 1476, 1479; South Dakota, 2143; Montana, 3200; Wyoming, 1953, Stat. of 1887; Colorado, 791; Nevada, 1981, 1984; Arizona, 397; Washington, 2696, 3087; Oregon, 3943; California, 4046, Deering's Code and Stat., 1889. Louisiana is marked doubtful as nothing was found save the injunction placed upon the parishes of supporting their poor, found in art. 163 of the Constitution of 1879.

[6] I. Cummings, Ph. D. "The Poor Laws of Massachusetts," Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IX, pp. 539–540.

[7] Acts of November 25, 1884 and November 26, 1890.

[8] 96, 101, p. 2524.

the cities are divided into six districts and an overseer appointed for each of these at a salary of $600 per year.[1] In Virginia, Louisiana, Minnesota, and Kansas, the councilmen, or the councilmen and mayor, act as overseers in their respective cities.[2] Special officers are also found in those states where the municipal charities are separate and distinct from those of the town or county. Most of these have already been referred to. Others are New Hampshire, New York, West Virginia, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Washington.[3]

From all these confusing details, it is seen, (1) that all officers administering relief serve for short terms; (2) that in the great majority of the commonwealths, relief is administered by officers as one, and a minor one, of their many duties; (3) that relief is administered by councilmen, selectmen, township trustees, county commissioners, justices of the peace and county judges, who are not elected for that purpose.

Little need be said concerning the records to be kept and reports to be made of relief given. Records are to be kept and accounts rendered to the town, to the court, to the county commissioners, or to the county auditor, as other accounts are kept and rendered. Where the relief system has been placed under the supervision of the State Boards of Charities (this will be seen later), reports of the "outdoor relief" as well as of the almshouses must be made.

The statutes of many states prescribe a number of points which the records kept by the overseers shall show. Little, however, has yet been done toward securing uniform records. Taking advantage of their power to prescribe the form of records to be kept, the Board of State Charities of Indiana, the State Board of Charities of New York, and the State Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, have prescribed systems of uniform records to be kept by the relieving officers.[4] Reports are made

[1] 2173.

[2] 876; Louisiana, art. 163. Const.; 1974; 4027, 4028.

[3] See references given above.

[4] This power could be exercised by a number of the other state boards, as their authority is sufficiently broad.

from these records to the state boards. In Michigan it has been made the duty of a commission of three, composed of the secretary of state, the attorney-general and the secretary of the State Board of Corrections and Charities, to prescribe such a system of records to be kept by all the relieving officers.[1]

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[1] Act of 1885 (1809, *a to e*).

POPULISM IN A STATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, THE KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

REQUESTED to give the story of a raid of partisanship upon the Kansas State Agricultural College, I shrink from the task for several reasons. I dislike the appearance of a personal plea, such as any one suffering in the attack must seem to be making; I recognize the danger of biased testimony from lifelong interest in the institution as it was, while the necessary statement of facts in the upbuilding of the college may be taken for self praise; and I still retain such an interest in the college and some of its faculty as to desire in no way to injure its future. Yet, so evident is the danger to all state educational institutions that I must accept the necessity, and I do it with greater ease in that I may help fair-minded men to do justice to my past associates who have been publicly traduced.

The Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan was organized and maintained under the land grant act of 1862, according to which, "the leading object shall be, without excluding, etc., to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." In 1879, after fifteen years of experience in the Michigan State Agricultural College, I took up the work of developing the Kansas college to the ideal of a college of industries for the people, and with such success as to win confidence in both the ideal and the methods from the mass of the people and the majority of educators. The college had grown from being one of the smallest to the largest of its kind. Its financial management was accepted by every state administration as without question. It was visited by experts from all over the United States, and

many of the younger institutions of the West were purposely modeled after it in general course of study and adaptation to the preparation given in common schools. The four years' course, leading to the degree, Bachelor of Science, was thoroughly disciplinary in matter and methods, but at the same time so combined with training of hands and stimulating of purpose, as to lead evidently into the industries. Agriculture and horticulture in all their bearing had chief place, as was proper in an agricultural state, while mechanics had recently grown to a rank but little lower. For special preparation of teachers, investigators and expert workmen, postgraduate courses adapted to the special needs of each were devised.

Nearly seven hundred undergraduates were in this single course and more than forty graduates, several from university courses, were taking special training. These represented seventy-six counties of the state and 70 per cent. were from farm homes. Attendance was growing at the rate of 13 per cent. per annum. Graduates took highest rank as students in university courses at Ann Arbor, Cornell, Chicago and elsewhere, and as teachers and investigators all over the Union. Its plan of organization was published with approval in the proceedings of the National Educational Council, and its officers held highest places in the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations. Its station work was commended by the best experts for purpose and accuracy. The form of its bulletin, adopted in 1890 was in 1897 commended by a special committee for all the stations of the Union. Adverse criticisms came only from boomers of special enterprises or from agricultural editors who mistook the station for a bureau of miscellaneous information in agriculture.

The faculty of twenty-four teachers and sixteen assistants, foreman and minor officers, had been selected because of special aptness for their positions as instructors in such a school. They were in thorough sympathy with the ideal of the college as related to agriculture and mechanic arts and more than one-half of the twenty-four teachers had been identified with its upbuild-

ing for from ten to twenty years. The few who were not specialists had been chosen for their success as teachers in the best schools of the state. All temptation to ape university requirements was met by the knowledge that the state university held its own place and rank at Lawrence. This was the College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts.

The equipment in library, museums, laboratories, shops, and plantations was inventoried at $415,000, though still behind the plans already approved by regents and legislature. It was the admiration of educators for economical adaptation to purpose, and for scientific quality.

Such was the institution which party politicians sought to capture for a school of socialism. The attack began with the victory of the people's party in 1892, which gave to that party four of the seven regents in 1893, six in 1894, and by accident of the legislature meeting a week before the inauguration of a republican governor in 1895, continued their majority to April 1896, and their representation by two members to April 1897. Immediately after the election of 1892, Hon. Harrison Kelley, who had left the republican party upon expiration of his term as congressman in 1891, attacked the state institutions of learning through the press as neglecting entirely political economy in their courses of study. Upon his appointment as a regent of the State Agricultural College he made the same charge in board meeting, and insisted that lectures be introduced, to continue through the course, in addition to the full term's work always required in the senior year. The first series of lectures in the fall of 1892 was given by representatives of various political parties selected by unanimous consent of a committee of three; but as these were "not well attended by students," it was resolved "That the course be discontinued for the present with a view to establishing at some future time a lectureship on economic topics." In April 1894, Mr. C. B. Hoffman, who had long been prominent in socialistic agitation, as well as for connection with the notorious community attempted at Topolobampo, Mexico, became a regent and an ardent supporter of

Regent Kelley in his plans for teaching "the new school of political economy." In a lengthy resolution offered by Mr. Hoffman, the board ordered in place of the established Friday lectures by members of the faculty in rotation, the introduction of thirteen lectures on political economy to "treat of the subject consecutively, commencing with the primary concepts of the science." "The principles maintained by the advocates of land nationalization, public control of public utilities, and the reform of the financial and monetary system shall be fairly stated and candidly examined, with a view of leading the student to grasp the principles involved in the science of production and distribution without bias or prejudice." This resolution was adopted after much debate in caucus over a proposition to reorganize the college upon the basis of the "new school of political economy" with the *Industrialist*, the weekly paper published by the faculty, as an advocate.

In June 1894, the president and faculty were directed to so rearrange duties and positions as to fill the position of the professor of physics, who had been granted leave of absence, "and leave vacant instead some full chair which shall include political economy." This took from my duties the teaching of political economy, in which I had taken pride as a teacher because of utmost freedom of discussion from all points of view, though my personal opinions did not accord with those of the board. At the same time the committee on employés was authorized to open correspondence "for the purpose of securing a competent professor to fill the chair of political economy." Regent Hoffman undertook the correspondence, and at the suggestion of Mr. B. O. Flower, then editor of the *Arena*, invited Professor T. E. Will to meet the board in July at the expense of the college. Professor Will was a Harvard graduate, who after two years of experience in college work at Appleton, Wis., had lost his place, and was lecturing as opportunity offered in Boston upon social and economic questions.

Professor Will was installed in September, 1894, to teach political economy in the course, including the thirteen lectures

already provided for, and to do such other teaching as should not interfere with the regular duties of his chair. His lectures were received without opposition, although they were evidently contrived to give the sharpest criticism to certain accepted views and to present others of socialistic tendency, as if they were beyond criticism It was also noticeable that statements of doubtful authority, newspaper clippings and the like, were sometimes made the basis of reasoning, though more often of innuendo. The lectures occasioned more friction when the lecturer, having charge of classes in rhetorical work, required reports of these lectures as exercises. The republican press of the state assumed Professor Will to be the exponent of the views of a populist board, and so referred to him. The board fostered this view by giving to the binennial report of that year a partisan bias in mentioning the extension of economic science. A decrease of thirty in attendance is said to be "due to the prevailing financial depression caused by the policy of dominant political parties." A further quotation will better show the exact disposition of the board, or rather of the committee, Regents Kelley and Hoffman, who prepared the report.

"Your board of regents, in coming in contact with the sons and daughters of the farmers of the state, who constitute a large portion of the students, have realized more than ever, that it is not a lack of industry or unfavorable methods of farming or the unfavorableness of climate, which have caused the widespread and steadily increasing poverty among the agricultural and laboring classes. The unremitting toil of the farmer in which sons and daughters take part even during childhood, has indeed yielded him large quantities of grain, great numbers of cattle, hogs, horses, and other domestic animals. He has produced enough of the useful and necessary things of life that with fair, equitable exchange would bring prosperity in place of poverty, comfort in place of humiliating drudgery, and content and patriotism in place of unrest and dissatisfaction.

"It is hoped that giving more attention to the study of economic principles which govern the distribution of wealth will

stimulate a healthy inquiry among the people into the causes that depress industry and paralyze agriculture. With this purpose in view, the board of regents has instituted the general course of lectures on political economy, already referred to, and has ranked the study of political economy in the postgraduate course, commensurate with its importance."

No further steps were taken during the winter, except to secure the confirmation of regents by a populist senate before the inauguration of a republican governor; but in April 1895, the faculty was directed by resolution of the same regents to submit a plan for so changing the course of study as to "give not less than six terms" study of economic sciences, including one term of history, one term of civics, and one term of psychology." The faculty made a full and clear statement of the difficulties, claiming that the course was already full; that to crowd so short a course with additional terms in these studies by excluding others or by electives would reduce the effectiveness of the course for its prime purposes; and therefore urged a compromise by offering a course of five years with electives in the last two. This plan, after some hesitation, was accepted by the board; but the movers of the resolution and Professor Will, were much disappointed and held the older members of the faculty responsible for their failure.

April 1896, brought a republican majority on the board of regents, but no change was made in the course in political economy, except to restore the chapel lectures by members of the faculty in rotation, which had been displaced for the lectures in economics. The committee on employés, of which Mr. Hoffman was still a member, recommended and the board agreed, that no change be made in the list of employés for the college year ending September 1, 1897.

In all the three years of control by a board of populists, very little criticism of teachers or of methods had come from the regents. Satisfaction with both the men and the work was publicly expressed by various members. A few charges from outside had been considered, and most of them judged

unfounded. Every department of the college was brought into close scrutiny, all accounts being audited in itemized bills, and no purchase, outside of ordinary current expenses, being made without direct authority from the board. At each quarterly meeting, board and faculty held a joint session, in which every teacher presented the condition and needs of his department, with the exact work going forward, and answered freely all questions as to means and methods.

During the campaign of 1896 some feeling was aroused in political circles through an address given by Professor Will upon the Coinage Act of 1873, in which he showed by an elaborate chart the progress of the bill, and by artful insinuations of motive claimed to prove Hon. John Sherman, author of "The Crime." The chart, without insinuations, was printed in the college paper. After the announcement of victory for the fusionists Professor Will publicly challenged several local politicians to a debate of the question, flippantly hinting that they might even secure the aid of Hon. John Sherman himself.

At various times Regent Hoffman was closeted with Professor Will in long conferences, and Mr. Leedy, candidate for governor on the fusion ticket, in a public address, while complimenting the students' Free Silver Club, said that with the present professor of political economy, all would soon be for free silver.

When the campaign was over, threats were frequent from various sources of an entire change in the college. The county and senatorial district had given a republican majority, and leaders blamed the college. Students quoted the son of Regent Hoffman, himself a student, as authority for such rumors. A former regent, seeking endorsement from the county committee of his party for reappointment, was informed that another prominent local politician had been selected, in order that they might "get rid of" certain members of the faculty.

In the legislature of 1897 the needs of the college were treated somewhat grudgingly by committees, and Regent Hoffman, as a member of the legislative committee of the board, urged the keeping of Professor Will in the lobby most

of the winter, where I trusted him fully with all information. Two bills passed in which the form was fixed by Regent Hoffman and Professor Will; one secured a majority of populists upon the board for four years; the other reduced salaries from 10 to 20 per cent., but in such a way as to leave the board much liberty in the distribution. Professor Will was very active in securing the final passage, and immediate publication of the former, and has since explained to me in Mr. Hoffman's presence that he knew a reorganization of the college to be determined upon by the state administration, and that Mr. Hoffman would not accept the task unless the four years of power was assured, while many politicians less able would not shrink even in the two years' lease of power.

The five regents appointed under this law were the two ex-regents who had already given bias to the chair of political economy, a local politician once associated with Mr. Hoffman in the Topolobampo scheme, the wife of Governor John P. St. John, and an ex-congressman. All these were pledged before confirmation to the reorganization planned, and would not have been appointed without such pledge. Of this I am informed by their leader.

At the meeting in April last, after caucus of the new members, while three officers of the board waited, the majority proceeded upon the assumption that the new legislation destroyed the continuity of the board, and undertook a temporary organization, ignoring the fact that my official act as secretary was their reason for being present, and that my office could expire only by election and installation of my successor, as provided by law. The steps of reorganization soon followed. First was a resolution, after defining the term "school year" used in one of the acts of legislature, "that the term of employment of all present employés is hereby declared to expire on June 30, 1897." The precedent of thirty years and printed regulations had settled that employés "after satisfactory trial, hold their places till resignation or removal for cause, with due notice on either side;" and the action of the board in April 1896 had fixed the

salaries till September 1897. This violent stroke at the continuity of the college, reducing the engagement of professors to the ordinary basis of common schools and ignoring definite contracts, I had opposed, as detrimental to any institution, assuring the board that any teachers who might not be acceptable would doubtless resign if asked. The minority regents also opposed the resolution, and after its passage offered a protest which was denied a record.

It being proposed to defer further action till the summer vacation in June, I, after a night of deliberation, urged immediate action by reappointment of acceptable members; and to relieve any embarrassment on personal accounts declined to be a candidate for the presidency, or to accept reëlection if tendered. I was then told that the majority had decided upon action at once, intending to request my withdrawal, but I had anticipated them. Mr. Hoffman was eulogistic upon my management of college matters, saying that they could not expect to find another as able to carry the details of the executive office; but stated that I differed from the board upon fundamental principles of distribution of wealth; that the party had been twitted in the campaign with being the party of the ignorant, and it was time to show the people that leaders in education could be found to sustain the party movement from a state institution.

The work of reorganization was carried on by a committee on which no republican member was named, and every action was settled in caucus before being reported to the board. The election of Professor Will was followed the same day by the selection of eight former teachers "for such positions as the board may hereafter designate," and next day by the naming of seven more "for chairs and positions hereafter designated by the board." Later several subordinates were named. Those selected were invited before the committee to express their acceptance of the places offered, and of the new régime to be inaugurated. One professor and one stenographer declined, and one superintendent has since resigned for reasons connected with the reorganization.

The others, though almost universally opposed to the action, agreed to attend to duties as usual, and in this I encouraged them.

The result is that twelve of the twenty-four teachers and ten of the sixteen subordinates are retained. Most of the older members of the faculty are dismissed, the average term of the twelve leaving being eleven and one-half years and of the twelve remaining eight and one-half years. This may be accounted for by the part taken by most of the older teachers in sustaining the stability of the course of study.

The great body of alumni, incensed at the violence to their alma mater passed resolutions of disapproval. But the board by resolution on their minutes called the annual meeting of alumni, three hundred strong, "a body of republicans met for purely political purposes." Yet numerous populists voted for the resolutions of disapproval, very few against them, and some of the resolutions were written by populists. These resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That we, the alumni of the Kansas State Agricultural College, today assembled at our old home, express our pride at the growth and greatness of our alma mater. Whatever may be our fears, our hopes, our individual opinions, we are proud of its past history and its present high place in the company of like institutions. We honor and revere the names of the men who have been inseparably connected with its growth and development. The honor brought to the institution by reason of its competent president and faculty, we feel to be an honor to us individually, for which we are profoundly grateful to our friends, the faculty.

Resolved, That we view the recent action of the board of regents, in dismissing the president and members of the faculty with regret, with sorrow, with indignation, and express for the act our unqualified condemnation. We regret that any attempt should be made from any source to belittle or besmirch the character of the president or any member of the faculty, and we pledge ourselves to defend their honor and good names as loyally as we would defend the honor of our own homes and families.

Resolved, The policy of the institution, heretofore maintained, has been one that adhered strictly to the legitimate function of training its students for the shop, the farm, and the home, as well as for the advancement of science and agriculture, and carefully avoided giving any attention to political prob-

lems that lie wholly without the province of such institutions; and by the unusual proceedings of the recent legislature and the present board of regents this policy has been overthrown, officers and employés of admitted efficiency have been dismissed, and a policy has been mapped out which makes party fealty the primary test for purely educational and scientific positions. We recognize in this change of policy a dangerous precedent, and pledge ourselves to labor by all honorable means for the divorcement of our state institutions from political influence and control. We regret the disastrous effects that must necessarily result in the experiment station connected with the college from the unavoidable break in the continuity of the series of experiments now under way.

Resolved, That we again urge with added emphasis the appointment of one or more members of the alumni to the board of regents. For the retiring members of the faculty, we express the hope that their lines may fall in pleasant places where their good qualities may continue to exert an influence in the enlightenment and upbuilding of such as we. For our alma mater, we will labor as we have done in the past, that its influence for good may bless many more of the young men and young women of the great state of Kansas.

Resolved, That the president of this association be directed to appoint a committee of five alumni to devise a plan to secure the appointment in the future of regents of the college, in such manner and by such authorities that political considerations shall have the minimum possible influence in determining the policy of the college and the personnel of the faculty.

Resolved, That the committee thus created be directed to present such plan with recommendations at the next annual meeting of this association, and that they be authorized to publish their plans at any time previous to such meeting if they see fit.

Up to this time little had been said as to other than political reasons for any action of the board. A few counter charges of political partisanship against myself were offered by local politicians, but were so utterly unsupported as to strike back. A single professor who insisted that a statement of cause for dismissal was due, received from Regent Hoffman notice that he was "discharged for general inefficiency" and a minute to that effect was afterward entered upon the records, though the salary of this professor alone had been increased, with Mr. Hoffman's approval in committee, one year before.

The payment of salaries to September 1, as contracted, was

demanded by the outgoing employés, and after a delay of two months conceded. But about the middle of July three regents in session without a quorum, issued in the name of the board a statement of reasons, attacking most libelously the entire past management of the institution. The charges were published without a single inquiry, and without the knowledge of at least three members of the board, while every one of them is abundantly disproved by the official records. Charges of incapacity, of neglect of duty, and of unfair distribution of responsibility, rest upon the clearest misrepresentation of facts. Lack of special preparation is contradicted by the fact that all were experienced teachers whose success in specialties had brought their repute. If the lack of high-sounding degrees from eastern universities is ground for such a charge it may be noted that the most of those who lacked the stamp of extended college training are retained, while of the twelve newly elected members, few, if any, have yet gained repute by teaching. Were this the proper place, I should like to show the individual training and experience of the retiring faculty, several of whom are widely known; but it is unnecessary.

I am glad to know that not one of the retained faculty, aside from Professor Will, sympathizes with the statement; and I am confident that not one of nearly forty regents, of all parties, associated with me in the past eighteen years believes it.

The fanatical spirit of the attack was carried out in printing the catalogue of officers and students for 1896–7 without the officers of that year, and later offering correction by a loose sheet.

The bias of the new course of study is shown by introduction of additional required work in economic science at the expense of mineralogy, zoölogy, physiology, psychology, and logic, while industrial training in agriculture and horticulture and all agricultural study after the second year are made optional. Of the new faculty four are notable contributors to the *Arena* and the *New Time*. The college weekly *Industrialist* is already recognized as a party organ.

To sum up, the partisan and fanatical spirit of the attack is shown by persistent effort of mere politicians to turn economic science into a party tool; by manipulation of party leaders to capture not only this, but other state institutions; by partisan methods in reorganization; by treatment accorded the displaced faculty, as to standing contracts; by cunning misrepresentation of the college's past record; by the trend of its new course of study; by the acknowledged attitude toward existing institutions of those who are managing the matter; and by the repute of a few chosen standard bearers in the new faculty. It is not strange that the partisan press have taken up the controversy in such a way as to perpetuate the evils of partisanship, whichever party wins. I tremble for the future of state educational institutions. Perhaps, however, it may be left for Kansas to furnish the one example which will deter other boards from attempting to make colleges and universities the football of politics. If by any means the management of state institutions can be brought under rules of civil service, excluding partisan contrivance, the cause of truth and true education will be served.

GEO. T. FAIRCHILD.

REVIEWS.

The Social Spirit in America. By C. R. HENDERSON, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. The Chautauqua Century Press, Meadville, Pa., 1897. $1.00.

TESTED by its adaptation to the avowed and everywhere self-evident purpose, this volume is to be regarded as a marked success. Prepared as one of the five text-books required in the course of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle for 1897 its aim is to inspire general interest in and train the popular mind for the observation and study of social phenomena; to center attention upon the many things of common concern rather than to emphasize the points of controversy over class differences or economic and social theories; to enlist the personal activity and coöperative effort of all our people of every grade and occupation in manifold endeavor for social progress. It would be difficult to imagine a volume of 350 pages in which such a vast variety of topics are treated with more unity of design, so much concrete, and statistical information is given in such a flowing and readable style, and so many controverted points are touched upon with less stir of the controversial spirit. This result could hardly be achieved except at the loss of thoroughness of treatment and at the expense of apparent superficiality. But however little the technical knowledge imparted on any one of the great variety of complex subjects considered, it is so accurately stated, and so carefully safe-guarded as not to prove "a dangerous thing." Indeed, as in the treatment of industrial reform, the author is so intent upon promoting "social peace," that scarcely enough emphasis is laid upon the class differences and interests involved to account for, much less explain the social situation under review. Those receiving their first impressions of the trades-union movement from these chapters could hardly assume a friendly or helpful relation to it, or more than a tolerant attitude toward it as an evil, the necessity of which is more than questionable. This is the more to be regretted because the otherwise excellent and pacific treatment of the factors of industrial reform would have tended to interpret, and thus promote intelligent sympathy

and coöperation with the labor movement which will enable it the more rapidly to become in America what it has long been in England, a recognized force making for industrial peace and social progress. This however is frankly admitted to be the ultimate outcome of the organization of labor.

On the other hand there is enough information given and interest promoted on all points, even in this case, to quicken the desire to acquire more. Impulse to further reading and study is given by the attractive phrasing of the chapter headings, by the rarely pertinent and suggestive excerpts from sociological literature with which each topic is made more luminous and winsome and by the bibliography in the appendix which refers the reader of each chapter to a few readily accessible and authoritative volumes. It would greatly facilitate the group-study of the topics in the family, church, school, club, labor union, or Chautauqua circle, if in addition, to the running marginal analysis, there should be added to each chapter a list of review questions, themes for essays, questions for discussion, subjects for collateral reading with titles to bibliography added in immediate connection therewith. Besides the uses thus suggested, a place may well be given this volume as a reference text-book on practical theology in our seminaries and schools for training the ministry and laity of the churches. To meet the wide demand for a first book introductory to the study and literature of social phenomena and practical progress, "The Social Spirit in America" may be unqualifiedly commended. Professor Henderson and the Chautauqua Press are to be congratulated upon having so satisfactorily supplied the long-felt want for just such a book.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

Woman and the Republic. A Survey of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in the United States and a Discussion of the Claims of its Foremost Advocates. By HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON. D. Appleton & Co. 1897. Pp. 327.

IT is remarkable that the most forcible and elaborate dissent from the woman's suffrage movement should come from a woman. Mrs. Johnson regards civilization as a status reached and maintained by force, or a show of force, and believes that the male has been and will continue to be the bearer of social force, while woman enjoys benefits proportionate to the degree of socialization effected by man. "The

greatest danger with which this land is threatened comes from the ignorant and persistent zeal of some of its women. They abuse the freedom under which they live, and to gain an impossible power would fain destroy the government that alone can protect them." In return for man's brute advantage in point of force, and protected by the system of order in which this force expresses itself, woman is at an advantage in her more intimate connection with the reproduction of life, and and her superior moral and psychic opportunity in connection with offspring and with the race. Woman's position is, therefore, really the enviable one, since the content of life is more precious than the forms regulating life.

In twelve well written and outspoken chapters the author asserts that woman's suffrage is not in accord with true democratic principles, and has historically been allied with despotism, monarchy, and ecclesiastical oppression; that it was in no wise an aid, but rather a hindrance to the movements of anti-slavery and temperance; that it was not instrumental in opening the trades to women; that it has extended its sympathy to socialistic and unsound-money agitations; that it has agitated not for education but for coeducation, and that woman's access to educational opportunity was wrought through the influence of women opposed to the woman suffrage idea; that in relation to the church and the ministry, woman has exhibited qualities rendering her peculiarly dangerous as a public leader; that woman is unable to meet the necessary duties of the voting citizen—in connection with jury duty, police duty, and office holding—and that this has been demonstrated in the Western states; and that the movement strikes a blow squarely at marriage and the home.

Aside from its polemical interest and the merits of the doctrines espoused, this book is a valuable contribution to the history of thought in America.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

Outlines of Elementary Economics. By HERBERT J. DAVENPORT. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. 280.

THE author has succeeded in making an elementary text-book readable and attractive. An interesting pedagogical device is that of placing questions at the beginning of the chapter to provoke curiosity as well as at the end for review and reflection. The text itself is compact and well reasoned, written by one who looks straight at the

facts of daily business life and seeks to account for them. A good example of clear statement is the presentation of Böhm-Bawerk's theory of interest.

The definition of the scope of economics is worth considering: "Political Economy treats of men in their commercial and industrial activities from the standpoint of markets and values." The object of consideration is not things, goods, wealth, but human beings in a certain aspect, that is, as engaged in the pursuit or use of goods and services which have a market value. This is surely wide enough field for one discipline and there is distinct advantage in sharply distinguishing it from other fields. Of course room is left, after the science of wealth has marked out its plough land, for a "science of welfare." This is clearly expressed (p. 25): "The commendable character of the desire in question or the good sense of its satisfaction is not suggested in the economic use of the word utility . . . . As long as men are influenced by evil purposes, or by ignorance, to buy and sell foolishness and evil, so long the student must recognize these desires as economic facts, and the commodities as of market standing. Whether we like it or not, utility, as an economic term, means merely adaptability to human desires." This frankly recognizes the urgent and pressing need for an objective, systematic investigation of social utility in the deepest sense, of the conditions essential to a welfare which is not deceptive, of desires which are not based on foolishness and evil. The "budding science" of sociology is an honest effort to supply this demand of rational and practical interest. It is to the praise of economists that in delimiting their own vast territory they reveal the need of a new method of regarding human life and even suggest its problems.

C. R. HENDERSON.

L'Évolution régressive en Biologie et en Sociologie. Par MM. JEAN DEMOOR, JEAN MASSART et ÉMILE VANDERVELDE. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1897. 1 vol. in-8°, de la *Bibliotheque scientifique internationale*, avec 84 gravures dans la texte, cart. à l'anglaise. Pp. 324. Fr. 6.

THE biological analogy has here borne fruit in a volume by three Belgian professors, in which regression and atrophy of organs in plants and animals are compared in detail with the decay of social institutions and usages. The authors insist that the word evolution

implies no idea of progression or regression but denotes all forms of transformation, whether favorable or unfavorable, and state their general conclusions as follows:

1. All evolution is at once progressive and regressive. The transformations of organs and of institutions are always accompanied by regression. The same is true of transformations of organisms and of societies: all existing forms, organic or social, have undergone transformations, and in consequence of these transformations have lost certain portions of their structure. This universality of regressive evolution may be proven either by comparison or by showing that all organisms bear reduced organs and that all societies contain survivals.

2. Regressive evolution does not operate in a predetermined order and does not involve a return to a primitive state. It is sometimes true — when the same cause of dissolution operates with equal intensity upon all parts of an institution or organism — that the most complex and fragile structures disappear first; but we cannot frame a general law that the most complex structures are at the same time the most recent, and that regression consequently transpires uniformly in the inverse order of progression. When an institution or an organ once disappears it does not reappear. An institution or an organ reduced to a vestigeal state cannot develop anew and resume its former functions, and cannot assume new functions.

3. Regressive evolution is caused by a limitation of means of subsistence — nutriment, capital or labor. In biology its principal or sole factors are the struggle for existence between organs and the struggle for existence between organisms. In sociology artificial selection plays a preponderant rôle, natural selection a secondary rôle. Occasional causes of regressive evolution are inutility of function, insufficient nutrition or resources, and (in biology alone) lack of space. An institution or an organ which has ceased to function and lost its utility, direct or indirect, may nevertheless persist if one or the other of the factors of atrophy — variability or selection — does not operate.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

CONDUCTED BY A. T. FREEMAN, H. A. MILLIS AND J. C. FREEHOFF.

The Gill School City: A New Educational Idea.—Mr. Wilson L. Gill, of New York, has worked out a plan for the organization of children in the public schools into a miniature municipality or "school city." The plan was successfully carried out during the months of July and August with the twelve hundred children in a vacation school in the east side of the city of New York. The children were organized into "a perfect miniature municipality, governed exactly like large cities, with a mayor, alderman, police, street-cleaning, and health departments." The officers were elected or appointed as they are in New York, and they performed their duties under the rules of the several departments of the municipal government of that city. The plan not only solves the questions of discipline and control within the school, and of keeping the school buildings and grounds in sanitary condition, but is of the greatest value in teaching by "doing" the duties of citizenship. The plan is now being introduced into two or three of New York's schools and into the Hoffman school of Philadelphia. It is hoped to extend it to the schools of all the large cities of the country.—*Public Opinion*, August 26, 1897.

The Philosophical Basis of Economics—A word to the sociologists.—the acts of men in society, social institutions and social changes are the creations of the choices of individuals. Individual choice, however, is governed by the economic law—greatest satisfaction with least sacrifice; greatest utility at least cost." This makes economics the fundamental science of man's activities in society. Utility is simply the principle of evolution seen upon its psychical side—teleological evolution. "Economic selection expresses the evolutionary process of psychical life."

I. *The Psychical Nature of Man's Activities, both Individual and Social.*—Modern science is essentially physical science. It has neglected psychical phenomena. These are as real as the physical phenomena, and are separate from them. A denial of this involves a denial of the possibility of any knowledge, for they rest upon the common basis of all knowledge—the unproved but universal assertion of individual minds.

"All factors in a result are causes, and the human will which organizes physical and social forces to achieve certain results, is clearly one of these causes." Psychical causation must be written in terms of human will. "The efficient cause is man's choice. To make social activity intelligible to us, therefore, science must so explain it. . . . . Man's will thus becomes the dominating element in social causation."

II. *The Individualistic Nature of Psychical Activities—Social Organization Created by the Individual.*—"The individual, with his wants, his choices, and his self-directed activities, is the starting point in the scientific investigation of social phenomena and the end of all social science as well. The reason for this lies near at hand. Since human choice is the large, the controlling force in social causation, we must perforce take the individual as the integral unit, for there is no choice, but individual choice. . . . . The individual recognizes himself in a threefold sphere of relations, viz., (1) to himself, (2) to others like himself—the social environment—and to (3) his physical or cosmic environment."

"All social action is a resultant of the forces set in motion by individual wills, and science can only explain these activities by tracing them to their starting point in the choices of individuals." Society must also be explained on basis of individual choice. Social institutions are merely individual choices hardened into habits.

III. *Utility, i. e., Economic Selection, the Law of Individualistic Activities; Social Causation Teleological.*—Utility is the general principle of individual choice in all activities, whether for preservation or development. As the law of psychical evolution, "utility," is identical with "fitness," as the law of physical evolution. "The direction

of social change depends thus upon the utilitarian choices of individuals, and these choices are in their last analysis economic choices. In other words, the economic law — greatest utility with least sacrifice — is the generic law of human activity, both that which is directed to preserve the status and that which aims at social evolution."

IV. *Economics, as the Science of Utility, the Master Science of Psychical Activities.*— "The separation of phenomena by our consciousness, in its primary judgment, into the two classes, physical and psychical, compels a corresponding division of the sciences." All classification must be relative to the forms and modes of human thought.

The multitude of the special sciences, for example, which deals with the physical world have been gradually brought into a system under three general or master sciences, physics, chemistry, and biology." "The aim of psychical science must be to choose such general points of view that the relations between them are naturally understood. This necessitates master sciences which have a body of fundamental principles forming the framework of all the special sciences. This does not imply a division of the field among master sciences, but rather the assumption of characteristic standpoints. Economics is the science which deals with the fundamental principles of psychical activity, and is therefore inherently the master science of society.

The following simple yet sufficiently comprehensive classification of the sciences is proposed:

A. *Physical Sciences.*
Studying phenomena from the standpoint of matter (unconscious) and in motion (fortuitous or non-teleological).

- Physics — General sciences or master sciences, the principles of which apply to many special sciences.
- Chemistry — A group of chemical sciences, for example.
- Biology — Certain special sciences may be composite and belong, in part, to two or more master sciences.

B. *Psychical Sciences.*
Studying phenomena from the standpoint of mind (conscious) and its activities (teleological).

- Psychology,
  Master science of mind as knowing.
- Economics,
  Master science of mind as utilizing.
  Science of utility.
  Science of practical life.
  Includes:
  - Æsthetics, *i. e.*, the science of motive sensations,
  - Economics, in the narrow sense of the science of adjustment of environment to subject, and
  - Ethics, the science of adjustment of subject to environment.

V. *Sociology, one of the Special Economic Sciences.*— The leading tendency of sociology has been (1) "the assumption of the physical standpoint, and (2) the assumption of 'groups' — of a vaguely conceived society — as the primary fact to which the individual appears as secondary."

The contrary is true for economics. "The economic individual initiates action, he uses society or the social group as his means and he achieves an end for himself — an end fore-ordained by himself. . . . Social institutions and groups persist or change according as they have utility — fitness, that is, not in the physical sense, but fitness as seen by the individual. Individuals, thus, are the primary fact, and society exists by them and for them, while to the sociologist the primary fact is society which makes the individual and whose ends the individual serves."

Sociology cannot be a master science inasmuch as it simply studies man with reference to his association with other men. "If there were only one man in the world there would be no place for a science of sociology," but all the fundamental concepts of economics would still remain. "Goods, utility, value, labor, capital, wealth, wants, consumption, production, dynamics. These are facts in the economic life of every man, not only as a member of society, but as a solitary individual."

Sociology is the science of social organization. "As such its endeavor is to explain the relation of the individual to society, to trace out the workings of the psychic acts of individuals as they build up groupal structures, establish social institutions, and lead forward social change. As such it also studies the reactions of social groups, social institutions, and social change upon the individual."

Sociology is the master science of a large group of special economic sciences, those dealing with the methods of human association. Human association is a process of economic selection, and the groups which constitute the concrete forms of organization are held together by the economic choices of individuals. Utility is the causal principle running through all social processes. Utility is an economic principle. Hence economics is the master science of psychical activities.

"To make society intelligible we must accept the principle of economic selection, or utility, as the universal law of social causation, and, in our science of society, we must abandon the unscientific attempt of the earlier sociology to wrest the laws of physical causation into an impossible explanation of the teleological phenomena of men in society."—SIDNEY SHERWOOD, *Annals of the American Academy*, September 1897.

Public Baths in Europe.—In 1794 Liverpool established a bath house at public expense for the benefit of the people. Since then they have been very extensively established in England and on the continent of Europe.

"Within two years appropriations have been made by New York, Chicago, Boston, Buffalo, and the town of Brookline, Mass., for the erection and maintenance of public bath houses. It is probable that the policy thus inaugurated will become general and popular wherever in this country large numbers of people are crowded together under conditions unfavorable to cleanliness, comfort, and health."

European experience points to the fact "that the establishment of public wash-houses in connection with bath houses of the combined swimming and cleanliness type is not so common as in the early years of its movement. The experience of Glasgow . . . . at least suggests the advisability, where public wash houses are provided, of making them numerous, small, self-contained, and of locating them in the heart of thickly settled districts. The success of the movement in Germany for establishing people's and workmen's baths of the shower bath type suggests that the multiplication of the simpler and less expensive forms of baths establishments is the wisest policy to be pursued by American cities in their first attempts to provide the working classes who have not bathing facilities in their own homes with adequate baths for cleansing and refreshment."—EDWARD MUSSEY HARTWELL, *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, July 1897.

The Mob Mind.—"A mob . . . . is a crowd of people showing a unanimity due to mental contagion." It is marked by mental instability and is under the influence of suggestion.

"The inhibitive power which measures our ability to go our own way undisturbed grows with the variety and number of suggestions that reach us." Yet men who can readily throw off the thousand suggestions of everyday life will be quite swept away by the reiteration of a single idea from all sides.

The first orientation of minds is brought about by some object, spectacle, or event. Three results follow: "(1) By mere contagion the feeling extends to others till there is complete unanimity; (2) each feels more intensely the moment he perceives the rest share his feeling; (3) the perceived unison calls forth a sympathy that makes the next agreement easier, and so paves the way for the mental unity of the crowd." Mob formation thus takes time. Presence is not necessary. City populations exhibit the familiar characteristics of the mob apart from any thronging.

"With the telegraph to collect and transmit the expressions and signs of the ruling mood, and the fast mail to hurry to the eager clutch of waiting thousands the still damp sheets of the morning daily, remote people are brought, as it were, into one another's presence. Through its organs the excited public is able to assail the individual with a mass of suggestions almost as vivid as if he actually stood in the midst of an immense crowd." Formerly no large population could at the same moment be

in a like degree of agitation. The almost instant consensus of feeling or opinion works for ill if it issues in immediate action. Wholesome deliberateness disappears with the vanishing of slowness in focusing and ascertaining the common will due to improved facilities of communication.

"Mob mind working in vast bodies of dispersed individuals gives us the *craze* or *fad*. This may be defined as that irrational unanimity of interest, feeling, opinion, or deed in a body of communicating individuals which results from suggestion or imitation."

Vogue can often be explained in terms of novelty, fascination, and mob mind. Even the new which can make its way by sheer merit does not escape becoming a fad. Persistence in consciousness is the test of reality. Mere novelty must ever yield to a fresh sensation, while the genuine improvement, on the other hand, meets a real need and therefore lasts.

The fad does not spread in a medium specially prepared for it by excitement. It owes half its power over minds to the prestige that in this age attaches to the new. "The great mass of men have always had their lives ruled by usage and tradition." Today people ape the many instead of their forefathers. "Except where rural conservatism holds sway, mob mind in the milder forms of fad and craze begins to agitate the great deeps of society."

Half-education has supplied many with ideas without having developed the ability to choose among them. Power to discriminate between ideas in respect to their value lags behind their power to receive them, and so a half-education leaves the individual with nothing to do but follow the drift. "Formerly people rejected the new in favor of wont and tradition; now they tend to 'go in' for everything, and atone for their former suspiciousness by a touching credulity. The world is abuzz with half-baked ecstatic people who eagerly champion a dozen different reforms in spelling, dress . . . . each of which is to bring in the millenium all at once. . . . . Had these ripples a real ground swell beneath them the world might soon be made over. But, alas! they are only ripples."

"The remedy for mob mind, whether presented in the liquefaction of our city folk under modern conditions of mental intimacy, or in the mad rush of the public for the novelty of the hour, is not in replanting the hedgerows of custom. We must go forward, keeping in mind, however, that the chief present need is not to discredit the past but to discredit the mass. The spell of ancestors is broken; let us next break the spell of numbers. Without lessening obedience to the decision of majorities, let us cultivate a habit of doubt and review. In a good democracy blind imitation can never take the place of individual effort to weigh and judge. The frantic desire of frightened deer or buffalo to press to the very center of the throng does not befit civilized man. The huddling instinct has no place in strong character. Democracy's ideal is a society of men with neither the "back"-look on the past nor yet the "out"-look on their fellows, but with the "in"-look upon reason and conscience. We must hold always to a sage Emersonian individualism, that, without consecrating an ethics of selfishness, a religion of dissent, or a policy of anarchism, shall brace men to stand against the rush of the mass."—EDWARD A. ROSS, *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*, July 1897.

Natural Selection, Social Selection, and Heredity.—"Natural selection is the outcome of certain physical facts: (1) Environment: the complex of forces, such as soil, climate, food, and competitors; (2) heredity: the tendency of offspring to follow the type of the parent; (3) variation: the tendency to diverge from that type; (4) overpopulation: the tendency to multiply offspring beyond the food supply; (5) struggle for life: the effort to exclude others or to consume others; (6) consciousness of kind: the tendency to spare and coöperate with offspring and others of like type; (7) survival of the fittest: the victory of those best fitted to their environment by heredity, variation, numbers, and consciousness of kind."

The above physical facts underlie human society, but self-consciousness enters with novel results. Self-consciousness is the product of evolution — biological, as seen in the prolonged plastic and unfolding state of the brain, and sociological, as is

seen in the resultant possibility of education. "Education is preëminently a social activity." "In social selection society enters between the individual and the physical environment, and, while slowly subordinating the latter, transforms its pressure upon the individual, and he alone survives who is fitted to bear the social pressure." "Personality is the final outcome of social selection. When once liberated it becomes a new selective principle to which all others are subordinated."

"Social selection is partly natural and partly artificial. It originates artificially in the self-consciousness of dominant individuals. Struggle and conflict ensue, out of which private property survives in its various forms as an intended control over others. This control is then transmitted as the various social institutions to succeeding generations, and becomes for them natural and unintended. These social institutions then constitute a coercive environment, not over wholly unwilling subjects, but over those whose wills are shaped by education and social pressure to coöperate with the very institutions that suppress them."

"Social evolution . . . . is the evolution of freedom and opportunity on the one hand, and personality on the other. Without freedom and security there can be no free will and moral character. Without exalted personality there can be no enduring freedom. The educational environment, therefore, which develops personality must itself develop with freedom."

"With education and opportunity the higher forms of human character will naturally increase and survive. With the independence and education of women sexual selection becomes a refined and powerful agent of progress. With the right to work guaranteed the tramp and indiscriminate charity have no excuse, and the honest workman becomes secure in the training and survival of his family."

"We hear much of scientific charity. There is also scientific justice. The aim of the former is to educate true character and self-reliance. The aim of the latter is to open the opportunities for free expression of character. Education and justice are methods of social selection. By their coöperation is shaped the moral environment where alone can survive that natural, yet supernatural, product, human personality."—JOHN R. COMMONS, *Arena*, July 1897.

The Penal Question from the Ethical Point of View.—I. From the moral point of view two objects are sought in dealing with an offense—to protect the injured and to bring the offender to reason. Both have the same moral source—the sentiment of sympathy or compassion. The principle that we are brought into moral relations with both parties is opposed by two sorts of adversaries: those who recognize only the rights of the injured to protection and redress (the popular opinion), and those who admit no form of violent dealing with the criminal. II. The doctrine of vengeance has a real historic explanation. Punishments actually employed present a transformation from the primitive principle of blood vengeance. Vengeance has been taken from the hands of the individual in turn by different social groups—the family, gens, tribe, and finally the state. The state considers crime as social and takes vengeance for the violation of its laws. III. The fact of historic development from primitive vengeance, however, furnishes no logical justification for the vengeance theories still in favor among many philosophers and jurists. It cannot be admitted that by injuring the criminal the negation of the crime is secured, since the crime is an accomplished fact, and the mere succession of two negatives does not make a positive. IV. The absurdity of the doctrine is again evident when it is seen that, with few exceptions, existing punishments bear no relations to their corresponding crimes. The cruelty of punishments is above all the immoral element. There is a manifest tendency in penal law to maintain cruel punishments. This tendency finds its empirical support in the principle of intimidation, which is fundamentally connected with vengeance. If intimidation is maintained it carries with it logically all forms of torture according to their efficiency for the purpose. If not thus maintained it must be entirely renounced as immoral in its essence. V. While the moral point of view has penetrated the domain of law and removed the most efficient forms of intimidation, there still remain many useless cruelties in our penal systems. The moral law forbids making man merely a means for another's good. It is then an immoral act to punish

the offender even with a view to the good of society. VI. Punishment, in the form of reprisal, is not ethically justifiable, because man is denied the privilege of existence, the possibility of moral regeneration — an inherent right — and is made a passive instrument for the safety of others. But moral law, moreover, demands an effective reaction against crime and defines this reaction as a legitimate field of active charity, which restrains the manifestation of bad volition, not only in the interest of society, but also of the offender. Thus punishment is complex in nature, yet entirely subject to the moral principle of charity, embracing both injured and offender. VII. The positive problem of punishment is not the infliction of physical pain, but correction. A public trusteeship of offenders, composed of competent men, is the only idea of punishment permitted by ethical principle. A penal system founded on this principle would be more efficient, as well as more equitable and humane. than the existing system.—WLADIMIR SOLOVIEFF, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Juillet, 1897.

Christian Socialism.—Democratic movements have hitherto been anti-religious. Christian Socialism aims at an order based on natural rights and on divinely revealed rights. It ignores historic rights. But historic rights fix the bonds of society, and their continuity is necessary to its life. They may be transformed. In Christian societies they change with conditions, but the change is progress only when historic continuity is kept. Present evils are social as well as individual. God has made man social. Society is the means necessary to perfect him. The better the instrument, the greater the improvement, the more rapid man's ascent. The social state is not of human invention, neither are its forms. Then there remains nothing to invent, but only to adapt to conditions the essential laws of society and the laws peculiar to the historic formation of a society. The programme of Christian Socialism puts the religious question aside by claiming for the church only the rights of any private association. This is probably not due to a principle, but in order not to be isolated from the general democratic movement. The historic school says that neither in theory nor practice can we ignore that society is historically Christian, and that the Revolution was the dechristianization of society. The programme, of course, calls for religious liberty, but can the state live without a public guardian of its faith, and without fixed relations with this authority? By "religious liberty" is generally meant a neutrality tolerant of all religions and of all forms of irreligion, the state without God, or at least without the God of Christians. In other points we accept the programme, universal suffrage, administrative decentralization, the referendum, etc. The apostles of democracy treat the higher classes as enemies and seem to fancy that the Fourth Estate ought to be the whole of society. Society has always been, and will always be, an organization of classes. With the re-establishment of Christianity, classes will be diversified by their functions, but not therefore subordinated. Le Play summed up this coördination of the elements of society in the formula, "Theocracy in souls, democracy in the community, aristocracy in the province, monarchy in the family and the state." These elements are constantly present, but with varying acceptation in each nation and each age. The political problem lies in determining their form and interdependence for the present hour.—MARQUIS DE LA-TOUR-DU-PIN CHAMBLY, *L'Association Catholique*, Aout 1897.

The Psychological Bases of Sociology.—I. Social phenomena lend themselves to a double method — the scientific and the teleological. This duality is apparently contradictory, the inflexible law of causality being incompatible with conscious effort of the human will toward what ought to be. The moral side of social life appears as the consequence of historic causes, and prolongs in an interminable series antecedent phenomena which render absolutely necessary the appearance of certain facts. The social ideal of the future ceases to be strictly ideal and becomes the necessary resultant of historic development. The solution of this methodological contradiction has been sought in a violation of the evolutionary method by a division of phenomena into two categories — those which are subject to determinism, and those which are not. Such division, however, is merely arbitrary. It is likewise only an evasion to maintain that conscious effort, though it cannot change, may accelerate

social evolution. The solution of the apparent contradiction must be found outside the domain of phenomena themselves. The rule of causality is exclusive in the domain of pure phenomena, whether physical or psychical. But all phenomena enter the ethical form when looked upon in their relation to the subject, the thinking being. II. The essence of phenomenality is possibility of representation as an object of thought. "Existence" is equivalent to possibility of becoming an object of thought. The object of thought contains implicitly the notion of the thinking subject. Intuition itself is in complete accord with the negative character of the subject. The negative side of consciousness, the thinking subject, is that which, necessarily conditioning all phenomena, is not itself phenomenon and thus eliminates causality from itself. III. The nature of the object of sociology. Social phenomena, being first of all phenomena — objects of thought — are included in the two forms of our intuition. In the domain of social life a phenomenon cannot be social without being at the same time either material or mental. Nevertheless social phenomena possess a specific attribute. Physical phenomena become social when they become bearers of human wants. A psychic phenomenon becomes social when it ceases to be merely an inner state of consciousness and acquires an objective character — a desire raised to the dignity of a social fact. The specific attribute of social phenomena is the synthesis of the physical and psychic categories. Physical phenomena spiritualize in becoming social; psychic objectify; both become psychic facts. IV. By reason of this psychico-objective character of social phenomena there has been formed the hypothesis of a super-individual collective consciousness, corresponding to the hypothesis of "elementary sensations" in the individual, which is a synthesis of individual consciousnesses. Both hypotheses, however, are founded upon a philosophical error. They forget the fact that the human mind, by which everything manifests its being, cannot be translated into something else than itself, and that it is useless to seek explanations outside of human thought, that is, attempting to put phenomena into ultra-phenomenality. (*Continued*).—EDOUARD ABRAMOWSKI, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Aout-Septembre, 1897.

Disorganization of the Family and its Social Consequences. — The constitution of the family is the essential element in society. Upon its character depends the quality of the whole social life. Decadence commenced for the Greeks and Romans when the organization of the family was weakened. In the last quarter-century tendencies toward disorganization in the French family have become clearly apparent. There are five general causes of this disorganization, which hold for all classes of society: (1) Destruction of religious belief, which has carried with it weakening of moral principles; (2) the general desire, to which parents often sacrifice everything else, to raise their children to a higher position than their own; (3) weakening of the authority of parents and of the respect which their children show them; (4) thirst for pleasure; (5) abuse of divorce. Among the causes which apply specially to particular classes of society are the following: (1) the passion for money-making, particularly apparent in the *bourgeoise*, which leads to neglect of the education and care of children and inculcates in them a spirit of selfishness; (2) the instability of the life of the laboring classes in cities in the matter of housing, occupation and wages; (3) the alcoholic habit. Some of the social consequences of the disorganization are: (1) increase of the crime of infanticide: (2) increase in the number of acts of brutality committed by parents on children; (3) increase in the criminality of children and young poeple. Energetic remedies must be applied to meet the evil of family disorganization. Religious beliefs must be brought back to the family. To this end the school must be favorable to religion. Religious neutrality in schools has proved to be an impossibility. Parents must act in the family in such a way as to secure the respect of their children. A distinctly moral education must be added to the intellectual instruction both in the school and the family. Finally, divorce should be made attainable only in extreme cases. — ERNEST PASSEZ, *La Réforme Sociale*, 1er Septembre, 1897.

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November—for July-October.

CONDUCTED BY C. H. HASTINGS.

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A. Arena.
AA. American Anthropologist.
AAC. Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle.
AAE. Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia.
AAP. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
AC. L'Association Catholique.
ACQ. American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AE. Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen.
AGP. Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR. American Historical Review.
AIS. Annals de l'Institute de Science Sociale.
AJP. American Journal of Psychology.
AJS. American Journal of Sociology.
AJT. American Journal of Theology.
ALR. American Law Review.
ALRR. American Law Register and Review.
AMP. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Séances.
AN. American Naturalist.
Ant. L'Anthropologie.
AOR. Archiv für öffentliches Recht.
ASA. American Statistical Association, Publications.
ASAr. Allgemeine statistisches Archiv.
ASG. Archive für sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.
ASP. Archiv für systematische Philosophie.
BDL. Bulletin of the Department of Labor.
BG. Blätter für Gefängnisskunde.
BML. Banker's Magazine, London.
BMN. Banker's Magazine, New York.
BOT. Bulletin de l'Office du Travail.
BS. Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt. Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée.
BUI. Bullein de l'Union Internationale de Droit Pénale.
ChOR. Charity Organisation Review.
ChR. Charities Review.
CoR. Contemporary Review.
DL. Deutsche Litteraturzeitung.
DR. Deutsche Revue.
DRu. Deutsche Rundschau.
DS. Devenir Social.
DZG. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
EcJ. Economic Journal.
EcR. Economic Review.
EdR. Educational Review.
EHR. English Historical Review.
EM. Engineering Magazine.
F. Forum.
FR. Fortnightly Review.
GEc. Giornale degli Economisti.
GM. Gunton's Magazine.
HLR. Harvard Law Review.
HN. Humanité Nouvelle.
HZ. Historische Zeitschrift.
IAE. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
IJE. International Journal of Ethics.
JAI. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of G eat Britain and Ireland.
JEc. Journal des Economistes.
JFI. Journal of the Franklin Institute.
JGV. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft.
JHS. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.
JMS. Journal of Mental Science.
JPE. Journal of Political Economy.
JNS. Jahrbücher für National-Oekonomie und Statistik.
LC. Literarisches Centralblatt.
LG. Labor Gazette.
LoQR. London Quarterly Review.
LQR. Law Quarterly Review.
M. Monist.
MHM. Mansfield House Magazine.
Mi. Mind.
MIM. Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
MR. Municipal Reform.
NA. Nuova Antologia.
NAR. North American Review.
NC. Nineteenth Century.
NS. Natural Science.
NW. New World.
NZ. Neue Zeit.
PhR. Philosophical Review.
PSM. Popular Science Monthly.
PSQ. Political Science Quarterly.
PsR. Psychological Review.
QJE. Quarterly Journal of Economics.
QR. Quarterly Review.
RCS. Revue de Christianisme sociale.
RDI. Revue de Droit internationale.
RDM. Revue des deux Mondes.
REA. Revue mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris.
RefS. Réforme sociale.
ReS. Revue Socialiste.
RH. Revue historique.
RHD. Revue d'Histoire diplomatique.
RIF. Rivista italiana di Filosofia.
RIS. Revue internationale de Sociologie.
RiIS. Rivista italia na di Sociologia.
RISS. Rivista internazionale di Scienze Sociali.
RMM. Revue Metaphysique et de Morale.
RP. Revue philanthropique.
RPe. Revue pénitentiaire.
RPh. Revue philosophique.
RPP. Revue politique et parliamentaire.
RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
RRN. Review of Reviews, New York.
RSI. Revisita Storica italiana.
RSP. Revue sociale et politique.
RT. Revue du Travail.
S. Sanitarian.
Sc. Science.
SP. Science Progress.
SR. School Review.
SS. Science Sociale.
VSV. Vierteljahrschrift für Staats- und Volkswirthschaft.
VWP. Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
YR. Yale Review.
ZE. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZGS. Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaften.
ZPK. Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik.
ZPO. Zeitschrift für das private und öffentliche Recht.
ZPP. Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane.
ZVR. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZVS. Zeitschrift für Volkswirthschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung.

[The titles of articles selected from periodicals not in this list will be followed by name of periodical in full.]

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III JANUARY, 1898 NUMBER 4

THE JUNIOR REPUBLIC. II.

ALL industries, hotels, and even the schools, are let to contractors. The adult teachers have no authority whatever, cannot punish for failure in lessons; they are simply advisors and attendants. Some enterprising citizen, for example, will take a contract to prepare a history of the War of the Revolution at a certain sum of money. The history must be accurate in all points, grammatically and legibly written, and bound for preservation. The contractor is fined on all defects in his work. He hires assistants and divides the field according to the capacities of his employés. The little company engaged on this particular work then ransack all the books, magazines, and cyclopedias to be found in the library of the Republic. And so this one contract becomes a school in history, reading, writing, punctuation, and self-reliant research. Similar methods are followed in all the branches. The bank cashier lets contracts for sums in arithmetic based on his dealings with customers. Maps and surveys are bargained for, and the entire range of learning is reduced to a mercantile basis. As a result the outside visitor is amazed both at the fund of knowledge gained by the youngsters and the bombardment of questions aimed at him concerning all the subjects which they are studying. The motive of all this is, first, the necessity of earning wages for food and shelter, and, second, the desire to excel and become an

authority on some subject. Such excellence is closely bound up with pecuniary advancement. One boy fond of study, having borrowed all he could and being pressed by his creditors, announced a course of three lectures on "Moses," "Abraham Lincoln," and "Tompkins County." The proceeds paid his debts and gave him leisure for another season. Another boy who had collected animals, plants, and stones from the neighborhood, and had vainly tried to interest his fellow-citizens in this branch of inquiry, finally advertised a dime museum. At the hour appointed a line of two hundred citizens, each with his dime, was waiting at the door. They marched through the museum, examined the very specimens they had spurned, and voted the show a success. Other boys have given stereopticon lectures, concerts, and athletic exhibitions. Many examples might be given, showing the marked individuality of this system of education. The law is the chief road to eminence. Boys who in New York are dodging the police are here in the corners studying the statutes of New York, codes of procedure, or Reed's parliamentary rules. In the first two years there was a large amount of civil litigation, and the lawyers made good fees. Gradually, however, the citizens discovered that the court's awards were so light and the legal expenses so heavy that in 1897 there were few civil suits. The richest boy in 1897 was the most successful lawyer, who left in the fall with an accumulation of $53. His practice was wholly in the defense against criminal charges. The district attorney, elected by popular vote, receives a salary.

CARPENTER SHOP

The industrial classes in carpentering, farming, and so on, are

all conducted by boy contractors with the advice of skilled mechanics. Mr. George, however, is acting as his own contractor in the building of a model cottage now under construction. Wages here are the same as in the schools. Certain boys on their own responsibility have set up a barber shop, shoe shop, and tailor shop. Others have gone into retail merchandizing of all kinds. Out of this grew the tariff contest.

BUILDERS

The legislature in 1895 had granted the privilege to "go out of bounds," to citizens who could pay a license fee of $5. In 1897 this was repealed, and a commission was created to grant passes for each day, on examination based on fitness and a record of industry for the day. In either case these boys brought in apples, candies, and other products which they had bought or begged from the neighborhood, and sold them to citizens. A few of this class of speculators became wealthy. The local dealers, who had purchased their supplies from the government, protested. The agitation became popular, the legislature listened, and a 35 per cent. tariff was levied on all imports. As the citizens were nearly all Tammany democrats, the inference is that a condition and not a theory confronted them.

SEWER DIGGING

The Republic has had its trusts and monopolies. In 1896 a senator and his partner secured contracts for the three hotels — Delmonico's, patronized by aristocrats, where meals were twenty-five cents, and Sherry's and the Cortland, where meals were ten cents. They

doubled the charges. Then followed an uproar, and a candidate arose among the masses in contest for the senator's seat at the ensuing election. His platform had one plank—down with the trust. The senator foresaw the outcome and dissolved the trust after one meal. Woman's suffrage has had varying fortunes. The girls in 1895, early in the season, mildly agitated for the ballot. The legislature without much discussion granted it. Then a young politician, a smooth "ladies' man," persuaded the girls that voting was unladylike. The girls actually petitioned the president to veto the bill. He did so. Soon, however, the boys assessed a new tax for a certain project, of which the girls were to pay one-half. The girls, being only one-fourth of the population, felt the pressure, but had no voice in controlling it. They now petitioned again for the ballot. After a warm discussion, it was granted by a succeeding legislature. When the amendments to the state laws were abrogated, July 1, 1896, this one went with the others; but the legislature reënacted it, and a girl sat in the senate during that summer. The abrogation of 1897, on the other hand, found the large number of disqualified summer citizens already mentioned; and these, knowing that the girls would vote with the conservative "residents'" party, prevented the reënactment of the suffrage law. The defenseless position of the girls in legislation in 1897 places them also at a disadvantage in the courts and in appointments to responsible positions. They claim that they are generally persecuted. And their claim seems sound, for they do not have fathers, brothers, and husbands to represent them in voting, as do the women of the larger republic. The rage with which I heard a girl denounce the police, the judge, and the boy who paid her fine to keep her out of jail,

THE PIGGERY

revealed the sense of injustice always ready to burst into expression.

The treatment of criminals in the Republic sometimes meets with that maudlin sympathy from outsiders characteristic of

SEWING CLASS

prison sentiment in other quarters. It seems cruel for boys to condemn their fellows to stripes (bed-ticking), to bars and bread and water, to ten hours' hard work every day, and to terms as long as a month. But we must remember that these boys are hard cases. Over half of the winter residents have been convicted of crime, some have served in prisons, and two or three are now under suspended sentence. Then, too, they have trial by jury of their peers; and Mr. George says that he does not remember a case where the sentence has not been conscientiously just. The longest sentence yet imposed—one month—was for a crime, sodomy, which the law of the state places as high as twenty years.

A study of the boys who have been on the ground a year or more will remove any hasty sympathy. In the majority of cases those who now are of the highest character were the most inveterate convicts during their early citizenship. When they first came they boasted of their crimes, but the citizens, instead of adoring them in proportion to their villainy, as is the well-known sentiment in prisons and among the craft in general, were shy of them, and those who had money held on to their pocketbooks. Now these same boys are keenly sensitive over their past record, are chagrined at any reference to it; and their sensitiveness is honorably respected by all. To be judged by one's peers goes to the very heart of the moral being. There is none of that glory in it which sustains the culprit in the face of the ordinary police and courts. The Junior Republic is the only agency that has, as yet, been able to reach that most personal and deadly of all the vices that have thus far confounded the managers of prisons, reformatories, orphans' homes, and schools, namely, masturbation. The boys took this matter in hand themselves without any suggestion from Mr. George. A bill was carried through the legislature making it a crime and prescribing punishment. The law-makers reasoned that such a culprit was an injury, not only to himself, but to the Republic. The first arrest and conviction on this charge so humiliated the criminal in his own estimation that within twenty minutes after being locked up he had torn a sheet in strips and hanged himself by the neck to a rafter. Only the outcry of other prisoners and the quick action of the jailer saved his life. The solemn effect of this tragic event on all the citizens has continued permanently, and only the very newest arrivals are ever arrested

JAIL CORRIDOR

for a like offense. Many boys who had been addicted to the practice have been completely cured, and have become energetic and promising citizens. Any social arrangement which can thus reach the inmost springs of moral character, where famous reformatories have confessedly failed, certainly contains powerful agencies for good.

CHARLEY AND HIS GUARDIAN

Of course there are wide differences in the susceptibility and educability of those who come to the Republic. The most hopeless cases are those who come from the orphans' homes. These show the mechanical, unimpressionable limpness of the de-individualized, institutional product. They are indeed pitiful, compared with the rushing vigor of the other citizens. The most hopeful cases are the leaders of the gangs of toughs, the despair of the city police. Their crimes are more often the natural expression in their environment of their love of adventure and excitement. Given the avenues and ambitions of the Republic, and they become the ablest chiefs of police, lawyers, students, and workers. Such boys have already taken high rank in schools and business outside the Republic, and several of them are preparing for college courses.

The legal age of citizens is twelve to twenty-one years. A little fellow nine years of age was sent down from Syracuse, through the efforts of the present writer, on parole from a reform school whither he had been sentenced on five charges of arson and two of burglary. He was too young for citizenship. One of the boys had some time before suggested: "I tell you wot Mr. George the trouble here is that the boys don't have anyting to love and care fur. I tink every feller ought ter be

compelled to adopt a cat." This suggestion was now transferred to Charley. A foster parent was found in a boy of eighteen, who had served two years in a state prison for horse-stealing. His theory of parentage was the disciplinary one, and in applying the rod Charley was filled with homesickness and ran away. This was what the police of Syracuse said of course would happen, for Charley was plainly a born criminal. After two weeks he was captured. This time a new foster parent thirteen years old, the boy who had suggested the adoption of cats, was secured. He took Charley to his room. "Charley," he said, "I love you. You have been a bad boy. But I want to make a man of you. We will pray for help." And down on their knees they began their mutual obligations. Six months later Charley was leading the prayer meeting, and is today the best loved and hardest working, chubby, red-headed urchin in the Republic.

POLICE COURT

It is sometimes questioned whether the strong emphasis in the Republic on money-getting may not induce self-aggrandizement and those very qualities of selfishness which reformatory work should overcome. There have, indeed, been symptoms of this result, especially in the summer of 1896. Well-to-do citizens, being elected to the legislature, successfully obstructed income taxes and taxes on savings, but imposed heavy poll taxes. Instead of providing by taxes for the payment of the public debt (incurred through a decision of the court against the government awarding $200 to contractors for violation of contract), they continued the debt at 6 per cent. a week to their own advantage as creditors. Later, however, the boys discovered in a text-book on public finance the device of the sinking fund, and by adopting this means the debt was paid off in thirty weeks. Mention has already been made of the excessive speculations and sudden

riches of the millionaires during the period of fluctuating currency. This had so demoralizing an effect that in 1897, as already shown, the democratic features of citizen enterprise were abandoned in part, and the industries were monopolized by Mr. George himself as a successful means for obviating such evils.

CHIEF OF POLICE

While such was the case on the one hand, there was on the other hand a marked development of a feeling of responsibility for the good character and the personal welfare of each other. The citizens, being individually responsible for the government, are not willing, as in ordinary institutions, to leave the moral training and personal integrity of their fellows to the adult management. The officials, by virtue of their office, have this responsibility brought directly home to them, and their knowledge of their fellows makes their methods keenly discriminating. An adult chief of police had vainly struggled with the problem of vermin. When a boy was appointed, he drew up the thirteen policemen in line and said: "The first feller I find with a louse on him, I'll fine him ten cents a louse, see." The vermin disappeared. What is true of vermin is true of all other personal evils, physical and moral, with which the officials are required to deal.

THE KEEPER

The same is true of citizens. The dignity of citizenship is here a pervasive fact. A visitor who was being shown the grounds by a young citizen said: "I suppose you are very proud

OFFICERS OF THE BATTALION

of your institution." "Institution, ma'am, I'll have you know this is not an institution — this is a republic."

It is difficult for anyone trained in the traditional charity, no matter how enthusiastic his support of the Republic, to enter fully into its spirit. One of the helpers, a woman of sincerest devotion and popularity among the citizens, who, like the others, served gratuitously, was frequently shocked by their independence towards the helpers, and even Mr. George himself. She called it insolence, whereas it was only the equality of common citizenship, for Mr. George submits himself consistently to all their laws and their business methods. On one occasion, after witnessing a peculiarly trying expression of this independence, this woman upbraided a girl in the true spirit of the extant charity: "You

are utterly ungrateful; you do not appreciate a particle of all that is being done for you. You do not seem to realize that everything you get here is given to you. You ought to show some gratitude." "Is that so?" said the girl, "Why, I thought we were earning our living," and the cruel insistence on her pauperism crushed the girl's heart, and in tears she sought consolation from Mr. George. This is the noble distinction of the Republic that it has no place for that current charity which makes of the recipients fawning paupers or dogged criminals, and of the givers complacent philanthropists. It is in truth a republic, and this is the secret of its manliness and strong sense of mutual responsibility.

WHO ARE WE?

The spirit of the Republic is condensed in its slogan, composed by the boys, and yelled with fervor:

"Sszz! Boom! Hear Ye This!!
Down with the boss; down with the tramp;
Down with the pauper; down with the scamp.
Up with the freeman; up with the wise;
Up with the thrifty; on to the prize.
Who are we? Why- We- are-the CITIZENS of the G. J. R.
We love our land and we would die
To keep Old Glory in the sky."

Though Mr. George is a devoted Christian and a Methodist with missionary zeal, yet church and state are clearly separated. The boys and girls themselves organized a voluntary prayer meeting, and the funds collected were devoted to the poor. When the evils of pauperism came to be appreciated, this disposition was abandoned, and a citizen missionary was employed to engage in work among the others. The prayer meetings would serve as models for many churches. The contributions for religious work

are large. Boys often pay the fines of those who have been severely mulcted, and even the greediest speculators have shown generous traits in befriending others.

It is especially in the relations between the sexes that the good results of this feeling of citizenship and mutual responsibility come strongly into play. It may be said that girls here are safer than on the streets or under their mothers' control, where they are not kept closely at home. Several cases have occurred where girls with bad records have, on their first arrival, made overtures to boys of similarly low and weak character. Immediately the better class of girls have seen the situation, and, without suggestion from the management, have taken it upon themselves to make friends of the newcomers and to stay by them until the general public opinion of the community had taken strong enough hold to make them self-reliant. I have myself seen the transformation thus wrought within a year upon a peculiarly wayward girl of this type, who had been expelled from an institution solely for girls, on account of surreptitious escapades with boys. She is now one of the finest characters in the Republic. Another girl said to a woman visitor: "My ambition is to have the same influence for good over the girls that Jakey (the president) has over the boys."

AWKWARD SQUAD

Here in the Republic there is no glamour of poetry over the opposite sex. The frailties and meannesses of all are too well known. Poetry must be blind to such. The boys, to be sure, are at the "woman-hating" period of life. They either ignore the girls or respect them. Taken altogether, the community seems to contain within itself a sufficient number of individuals of upright life, and enough consciousness of responsibility for others to make the relations between boys and girls more sensi-

ble and straightforward than could possibly be the case under the ordinary management by adults.

It is sometimes objected that the prominence given to the police, to courts and litigation, in the Republic will have evil

BASEBALL NINE

tendencies; that among the class of people from whom the children come these are already too prominent, and are the means for increasing petty spites and neighborhood dissensions. Such may, indeed, have been at first the case, but I have mentioned above the decrease in civil litigation, owing to the experienced costliness of the proceedings. As for criminal cases, the fact that in 1896 the police force numbered fourteen, while in 1897 the number was only two, indicates a falling off in crime. Without doubt arrests are made through spite and retaliation on the part of the prosecuting witnesses. I have seen such on the ground, and have heard charges of others. But that the spite and retaliation would be lessened through the

abolition of the boy police and judiciary, and the substitution of adult administration, by no means follows. The alternative is between orderly, law-abiding settlement of disputes through what is essentially arbitration, and disorderly settlement through fights and "gangs." Resistance to an officer is punished as heavily as other offenses. But officers are amenable to the courts for abuse of power. The chief of police who first organized the force and held office for two years with highest efficiency was at last removed by the commissioners on his first offense of striking a boy whom he was trying to arrest. I have seen a couple of cases where a citizen who, being unjustly assaulted, took the *Faustrecht* into his own hands, was as severely fined by the courts as the original offender. Here the youngsters apprehend the inside rationale of police, courts, and law, namely, the protection of the community. There is no honor in being condemned by a jury of one's peers. In more than half the cases the culprit pleads guilty, and the fine is imposed by the judge without trial. The entire administration of justice is such a matter of fact and so remote from the city police court that it is difficult to see how anything but a true sense of the dignity and responsibility of citizenship can be fostered by it.

THE PRESIDENT

The Republic is as yet plainly in the experimental stage. It has by no means been reduced to a system so that it could be put in operation anywhere by anybody and then be left to work itself. The experience of Mr. George with adult helpers has convinced him that not more than one or two of all who have

been with him would be able successfully to conduct a republic. On the other hand, he would be willing to place any one of a dozen of the older boys themselves at the head of independent colonies. The secret of success is a masterly non-interference. When matters go wrong, when fights and brawls are rampant, when injustice is done, the adult is eager to descend like a dramatic *deus ex machina* and set things right. But the spirit of democratic government insists that the citizens must learn from their own failures, and, further, that individuals must occasionally suffer from wrongs done by the community of which they personally are guiltless. In this alone is the vitality of growth and improvement. That the Junior Republic will develop rationally and soundly no one can doubt who studies it carefully on the ground. The plans now under way provide for cottages accommodating ten or fifteen citizens, instead of the existing large barracks and tents. Thus the individual will be more clearly separated from the mass. These cottages are each to have an adult housekeeper, but citizens organized as a business corporation in each will be independent of other cottages, will own and cultivate their separate tracts of land, provide their own table, and so on.

MIXING MORTAR

The Republic is legally incorporated under a board of trustees, and it is purposed that new "states" be organized in other parts of the country under the general supervision of Mr. George. Property worth a half million dollars in Pennsylvania is already placed at the disposal of the trustees for the purpose. It is to be hoped that Mr. George will not be drawn away from his Freeville experiment, for here is a truly growing organism capable of manifold development, and as it continues to be shaped under his guidance, it will reveal new devices and suggestions which

can then be readily applied in institutions, schools, and republics throughout the land.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY.

A MINOR—10 YEARS OF AGE

STUDIES IN POLITICAL AREAS. II.[1]

INTELLECTUAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF LARGE AREAS.

THE spaces into which we must fit our political ideas and plans are measured by the general space in which we live. Therefore we find special conceptions on a large scale and on a small; and it is to be observed in the individual as in the nation that these ideas expand or contract with the environing space without regard to the general law of the growth of political areas with civilization. A great territory invites to bold expansion; a small one engenders a faint-hearted huddling of the population. The range of the inward as of the outward vision is capable of being increased in every individual; and while he gauges the extent of his geographical space by his freedom of movement and his right to enjoy it, he shapes accordingly his ideas and habits: and so as a whole does a people. We see the statesman who is animated in his transactions by the spirit of his nation, measuring all claims for territory by the same standard by which the farmer lays out his fields. The Dalrymple farm near Fargo, Dakota, is just as characteristically American as the three and a half million square miles area of the United States. The political territory which has thus been acquired can be broken up again, but the idea of its greatness endures, often to be brought down after centuries from the realm of political ideals and planted again in the awakened political consciousness as a new territorial conception, and so to bear fruit, as in the recent history of Germany and Italy.

Geographical space in general, not a particular region, is estimated according to the power which must be expended for its conquest; and this power, in turn, is measured in terms of

[1] Translated by ELLEN C. SEMPLE.

this space, and will always grow with the expansion of the same from age to age. When Clausewitz, in his *Campaign of 1812 in Russia*, says: "The idea prevalent in Berlin was that Napoleon must founder on the great size of the Russian empire,"[1] or when Ralph Waldo Emerson, the New England sage, says, in regard to the United States of America, that it is particularly easy for their people "to originate the broadest views," the fundamental thought in such expressions is this space, which passes over into the spirit of the people, lending it wings or making it crawl. In this sense space is a political force, and not, as otherwise understood, merely a vehicle of political forces. In every great general or ruler we find a largeness of spacial conceptions often far ahead of his time, such as is quite familiar to us in the plans of an Alexander, a Cæsar, a Charles the Great, or Napoleon. The quality that transforms the hero into the statesman is the insight into what is spacially possible; but the discoverer becomes famous by proving the reality of that which had been deemed spacially impossible. And the discerning historian detects behind the events themselves the glimmer of their spacial conditions, and these he brings out to our view.

Roads, the implements of war in this conquest of space, constitute one of the titles to fame of great rulers; these have been always builders of highways, canals, and bridges. The importance of the shortest routes of communication over a great territory has been first recognized by the prince and general, certainly not by the merchant who passively adapts himself to the given conditions. Not the Russian tradesman, but the Czar Nicholas I, connected St. Petersburg and Moscow by the rectilinear road which has been so often ridiculed, but is in such a high degree statesmanlike. However much an expanding trade, with its peaceful methods, may have contributed to the extension of the commercial field, still war has ever been a great school for the faculty of mastering space. When generals gain the greatest results by unexpected marches, we see in such an achievement not merely a physical exploit, but a purely intellec-

[1] *Posthumous Works of General Karl von Clausewitz*, Vol. VII, p. 28.

tual element of superior spacial conception. This gain has often been lost, but in the case of Alexander and Cæsar it was preserved to the posterity, whose horizon it broadened. Again and again in history the fact is made evident that every larger land presents greater problems, and that he triumphs who finds the solution for them. Summed up, they mean a struggle for room, whereby the conception of space continually grows. In our century, North America has taught even greater lessons in the conduct of war than has Russia. In the Civil War the necessity impressed itself on both sides of making use of railroads and telegraphs in an unprecedented degree, of overcoming the wide distances with ever larger masses of cavalry, and even of returning to the old institution of winter quarters. Significant is the fact that the Confederate armies of the Southwest often consisted in half of mounted troops.

The school of space is slow. Every nation must be educated from smaller to larger spacial ideas, and this ever anew, for a lapse from the one stage into the other constantly reoccurs. National decay is in every instance the result of a deteriorated conception of space. The vacillating policy and inadequate military methods of the Romans in the first Punic war indicate the progress of the young state from a doubtful to a sure territorial dominion, destined to be led as she was by the guiding hand of historical events by way of Sicily to Libya, and thence to Iberia. Many a territorial conquest of the young Rome was forced upon her; and only her undesigned supremacy over the lands of the Mediterranean led to her final control of that which, in a political sense, constituted the world. The still unsubdued regions to the north and east were, according to Mediterranean ideas, a dangerously big country; but even then one of the weapons with which Rome conquered Greece was its superior capacity for territorial control. It is very interesting to follow the changes in spacial conception from lands of such clearly defined boundaries as Sicily and the Iberian peninsula. In the eyes of Rome they had already become comparatively small; measured by the standard of the Middle Ages, they were as

large as they had formerly seemed to Carthage; now they are again ordinary provinces and medium states.

The school of space is made easier by the fact that a growing state of the same dimensions as one whose territorial development is arrested will, nevertheless, always seem greater; for a part of its future greatness is added, in the sight of our mind's eye, to that which we actually behold and comprehend. The possibility of growth magnifies the image of the expanding state, for never is it seen with sharply defined outlines, but stretching out from its hopeful present indefinitely into the future.

Finally, we must not forget the effects of space which have to do only with relative extent. Contracted mountain districts lend a feeling of nearness to nature to their inhabitants, so far as these do not huddle together in the valleys. In contrast to the townsman, the countryman enjoys the possibility of a more free development of his personality, since he has more room and comes less often into contact with his fellow-men. The historic characteristics of the German forest folk, of the agricultural village community, and the city-state, have a certain connection with the wider or narrower area at the disposal of the clan and the individual.[1]

The capacity for territorial conquest, which forms one element in "the qualities of a ruler," or in "a talent for organization," must meet a similar endowment in the people, if it is to lead to an enduring extension of political area. The combination of ability for far-reaching territorial dominion on the part of individuals, with activity and adaptability in the masses, attains the greatest results. From it the historical achievements of a people derive both a certain swing and permanence, as was formerly shown by the German colonization in what forms today the northeast of Germany, and later by the Anglo-Saxon settlements in North America and Australia. As the territory has grown, this combination has come to be a system, whose methods and

[1] Von Wietersheim traces the contrast between the Roman government and the German clan-community back to the narrow and broad territories from which they were respectively sprung. *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, Vol. I, p. 347.

aims are shown with unusual clearness by the history of the United States. There we see the expansive policy of the state, not merely supported, but also prepared for, by the bold advance and spread of farmer and merchant, as well as of discoverer and soldier. The spirit of expansion goes through the whole people, who, as they spread industrially, clear the way for political extension. This combination became historic when the economic system peculiar to the southern plantations, with their ever-growing demands for fresh territories, stamped upon the policy of the United States the expansive tendency which rapidly, one after the other, drew into its political control the Mississippi basin, Texas, and the whole West as far as the Pacific Ocean, and, except for the rupture with the northern states, would have pushed still farther south towards Central America and the West Indies. Here the political expansion went far in advance of the industrial. But, if today we see European statesmen inclined to look upon the Pan-American schemes of the North American as political phantasies, on the other hand we must consider the growing economic influence of the citizens of the United States, especially in Cuba and Mexico. He who takes cognizance of this situation and preparation does not get an impression of something chimerical, but much rather calls to mind how the colonial policy of the Germanic races in particular has always possessed a certain character of health and endurance, just because it advanced on soil industrially prepared, or went hand in hand with industrial expansion, never forgetting "the immense size of the physical problem." From this point of view greater significance is to be attached to the railroad lines of northern Mexico, built with North American capital, to the mining and industrial investments of the North Americans there, and to the Panama and Andes lines. We think we see in them the veins through which political influence finds its way. A similar cause explains the success of the Chinese in welding to their old empire, which was the smaller, the lands of Mongolia and Manchuria, with an area nine times that of Germany. It was the slow, thorough work of these smallest forces, politically

directed and protected, which conquered with the plow these 2,170,000 square miles, and took such deep root there that France since 1883 has been attacking them in Tongking in vain.

To the historians of Roman, German, and English expansion an air of health seems to breathe through those times when political policy stood in close connection with the labor of the people; but they are often unable to give any explanation of its nature. The element of health lay just in this connection. Whenever we see industrial expansion proceeding upon a soil where it immediately leads to political results also, as is still the case in America today, there we first recognize the causes of so many barriers and restrictions in Europe, where history has become a crowding process and where industrial interests and politics must be scrupulously held apart. In a similar way we see the statesmen and geographers of Europe trying, in non-European questions, to get rid of the small conceptions which Europe inspires. Sir J. Strachey, in his lectures on "India" (1888), designed for the use of practical politicians, emphasizes again and again the necessity of conceiving India as a world in itself, between whose countries and peoples a greater difference obtains than between those of Europe.

It is very instructive to compare the history of the German races in North America with that of the two great Latin colonial powers, Spain and France, whose settlements have been almost everywhere separated from the former. Spain sent out enough bold and industrious colonists, who rapidly spread out to California and to the La Plata; but the political organization which it gave to these lands was never adequate to the needs of young communities widely scattered and living under entirely different conditions. The federative movement which broke out at the beginning of this century is clearly the necessary rebound from the absurdity of dividing a mammoth empire, which extended through one hundred degrees of latitude, into three sub-kingdoms—Peru, Mexico, and New Granada, which was not added till the eighteenth century. France, on the other hand, showed a profound understanding for the organization of a truly con-

tinental power according to the geographic conditions; but she lacked the colonists with which to carry out completely her beautiful plan of connecting the river basins of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi through the inland sea of the great lakes.[1]

An energetic people quickly spreads over a wide territory, seeking out first the places with highly favorable conditions and using most rapidly those advantages which are most accessible. Something of the power which is employed to overcome the distances is applied to the industrial undertakings, which in turn derive therefrom a greater degree of activity. The general advantageous conditions for production and trade, with their large profits and big wages, are still more stimulating in their effect. The resources of the new soil are ruthlessly exploited. Superficially and monotonously, cultivation and exhaustion follow, and in field, forest, and mine quickly degenerate into the most wasteful exploitation. All the early processes of production in North America are those of a landowner who, with little labor, works an immense area for quick, high returns. In Russia, as in North America and Australia, therefore, we see the same phenomenon: every new branch of production after a few years falls into a crisis as a result of feverish over-production in "the hot-house air of colonial enterprise." And in these countries, as in all similar regions, we hear the demand for more routes of communication, because the exploitation of the ground spreads more rapidly than the highways and railroads, and it tries to find markets for its redundant products. Finally it wants more ground when that which is available will no longer yield enough with the superficial methods of cultivation employed; that is, it seeks political expansion. In this light, the question of the agricultural competition of North America with Europe is essentially a question of space. Max Sering says that one of the chief tasks of his report on the agricultural competition of North

[1] "Throughout their effort in North America the French showed a capacity for understanding the great questions of political geography . . . . They seemed to have understood the possibilities of the Mississippi valley a century and a half before the English began to understand them." U. S. SHALER, in the introduction to Vol. IV, of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, p. xxiii.

America is "to show how much room in North America is still available for colonization, and under what conditions the cultivated area can be still farther extended."[1] And in North America itself the question how much farming and pasture land can be reclaimed by artificial irrigation from the prairies of the arid West is just as vital as fifty years ago was the question of the acquisition of new territories to replace the Virginia and Carolina tobacco and cotton fields which had become too small and to a certain extent exhausted. Irrigation and immigration are two nearly related problems of the North America of today.

When set to the task of filling and using a wide territory, a people transforms itself into a great industrial organism of exploitation, and in all the outward forms of its national life can be detected the influence of this economic ideal. Someone has said of the North Americans that only religion and business share with one another in the interests of the people.[2] An economic kernel crops out in all political questions. Even the profoundly agitating conflict between the free and slave states was, in the last analysis, made inadjustable by the parallel antagonism between the industrial and commercial northern states, and the plantation states of the South, who were for free trade. In the work of cultivation the impulse towards expansion is the great power-wheel whose force is communicated to all activities of life, drawing these along with it in its train. It is constantly trying to make politics subservient to itself, and this latter tendency particularly, working after the manner of world-powers, is always a menace to states of medium size.

[1] *Die landwirthschaftliche Konkurrenz Nordamerikas in Gegenwart und Zukunft*, p. 62. 1887.

[2] The same thing is true of Australia. "The politics of Queensland are so essentially the product of the development of its natural wealth that it is impossible to speak of them without beforehand describing the country. With few exceptions the best men of the colony are employed in developing its resources. Most of the political questions have their origin in the material needs of at least a part of the colony. No political agitation lasts long unless it brings material loss or gain, and none appears unimportant as soon as it does this."—Letters from Queensland by the *Times* special correspondent, London, p. 93. 1893.

The broad area of a Russia or United States exerts an influence not merely through its own greatness, but also through the greatness of that which it embraces. Russia unites to our conception of its immense superficial extent the imposing monotony of its plains, the massive heights of the Caucasus, unparalleled in Europe, the greatness of its river systems and lakes, and the largest inland sea in the world, all of which only help to magnify the general impression. The larger a geographical space is, so much a truer picture of the earth does it form, even in regard to the proportions of the different telluric phenomena which are to be found within its area. This fact contributes to the development of a certain breadth of view in the spirit of the people who inhabit and rule such a land. Still truer it is that the larger their territory, so much the more diverse is their contact with nature. The problem of gaining the mastery over space brings man every moment face to face with the things of nature; the result is a literal and material tendency of thought. "To see in everything the immediate purpose and the reality of life," the Russians say, is the effect of the work of cultivation upon Russian soil. The same practical quality goes through the North Americans and the Australians. People from large territories are, therefore, better practical geographers than those from small countries. England and the United States, as formerly Rome, have a politico-geographical insight which contrasts singularly with their meager knowledge of theoretical geography. In a great stretch of territory, differences in the character of the country and in nature as a whole become less conspicuous; many disappear altogether against the broad horizon. Not only the mind's eye sees them so, but the will of the people in political matters tends to regard them in the same way; it attaches to them no importance, rather ignores them. Because France and Spain are destined for separate political existences by the pronounced articulation of the outline of southwest Europe, the Pyrenees perform the function of mountain barrier. Germany, so poor in natural boundaries, lays stress upon the importance of the Vosges. But

the Ural mountains lose their height between the broad plains of northeast Europe and northwest Asia. Further, because of the similarity of the country on both sides of the Urals, this barrier exerts still less effect; it is simply a dividing line between the two halves of the empire, which in point of land and climate are one, and are in a fair way to become one in point of population also. The fact that it is the most undivided of all continental powers contributes to the marked character of Russia.

Just as the struggle for existence in the plant and animal world always centers about a matter of space, so the conflicts of nations are in great part only struggles for territory; and in all wars of modern history acquisition of land has been the prize to be gained by victory. In every historical age nations may be classified according to their idea of political space. That "magnificent understanding and organization of affairs," in which Mommsen found the Romans in the beginning inferior to Pyrrhus and Mithridates, is the political sense of space which enabled the Anglo-Saxon races in the old and new worlds to get the best and largest colonial lands. It produces in North America a broad territorial policy, which almost from the beginning has been awake to territorial advantages. These it is always trying to increase, and in the process, unconsciously, an excellent practical geographical understanding has been shown in great projects, like those in Nicaragua, Hawaii, and Alaska, as also in small questions of boundary, like that of the Haro Strait. This sense can never become so developed in western and central Europe on account of the impossibility of acquiring larger territories. The European system of small, but intensively utilized, areas is inferior to the former just because it cannot be the system of the future, which, without intermission, today and for centuries, has been aiming to produce greater territories. The larger spacial conception necessarily falls into conflict with the smaller; but even when it has been defeated, its principle has always carried off the victory, for the successful smaller territory has enlarged its area. As a rule, though, a small territory in conflict with a larger one is doomed to an early over-

throw. We see the European colonists in the two Americas appearing upon the scene, armed with a superiority in which their larger conception of space very soon made itself felt as the quality most fraught with victory. The Indians were fettered by their limited ideas in this regard; the Europeans came with designs upon stretches of country reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and only one hundred years after the first discovery their different governments tried to divide up the two continents.[1] The Indians were powerless against the mere spacial magnitude that was developing here, for which they lacked both comprehension and standard of measure. Voluntarily they relinquished much land which had for them no value, filled out the empty border regions between the tribes, and recognized too late how the separate acts of withdrawal followed fast one after the other, according to a plan to them unintelligible, like the threads of a net whose meshes rapidly grow smaller. Two hundred years after the first modest settlements of the whites, the Indians had lost even the Alleghanies, and warning came that not even the Mississippi was the natural boundary of the new government.

Still greater was the chasm between the two conceptions of political area in other regions, particularly in Australia and New Zealand. The colonists came there in the early years of the nineteenth century with even a broader geographical horizon and with more efficient means of transportation and communication; and they found natives who did not see out beyond their hunting district. In a much deeper sense than that of its usual application in European history does the saying become true here that two ages meet, one fast bound in narrow spacial conceptions, and one soaring on the wings of its big territorial ideas; and in this conjunction lies the destructive and recreative force in the history of these youthful lands.

A similar contrast is to be found between pastoral peoples, who are accustomed to a wide range of country, and permanent settlers, who live close together. The former want land on the

[1] The treaty of 1629, which gave to France Canada, Cape Breton, and the boundless region of Acadia, really prepared the way for the division of North America.

scale of their thinly populated steppes. In times past the Germans appeared with the large demands of a sparse nomadic population before the Romans, Celts, and others, who were already crowded in their territory and about to fall into decay. The kingdoms of the extensive highlands of Asia Minor and Iran loomed up upon the horizon of the Greek mind as states of unheard-of magnitude, and the impression left by these new territorial dimensions was a profound one. Lydia had been an enormously big country to them; Persia seemed to them a world in itself. They learned too late that the fundamental lack of their city-states was their limited area.

The expansion of a state is growth, and, in so far, an organic change which necessarily has a retroactive effect upon the whole. At first an external phenomenon, in the course of time it will without fail penetrate into the interior. This holds good even of the process of growth, which involves the expenditure of force externally with a corresponding diminution of internal achievement; but much more is it true of the condition which ensues at the end of a period of growth. The more the energies of a people are directed towards an outside aim, the less conscious do they become of any internal friction. Here lies the secret of the wonderful air of health that breathes through the history of the Hanse towns; during a period of lamentable decay in the rest of the German empire, they were held firmly together by the bond of a common interest in their expansion along the Baltic. The new territory into which a people grows is a spring from which the feeling of nationality draws new life. If it permits extensive colonization it rejuvenates a people by drawing off the redundant population. The ancients knew the healing power of emigration for internal evils; and no country has experienced this effect more than England, whose existence cannot now be thought of apart from its uninterrupted expansion and the consequent peaceful internal development of the land itself. Undertakings aiming at extension of territory simply possess the advantage of being easily understood. If they result in an improvement of the geographical situation, they tend to

strengthen the union of the whole, as in the case of Russia's expansion to the Black Sea or that of the United States to the Pacific through the acquisition of one and a half million square miles of territory. The disintegrating tendencies in the extreme east and west of Canada did not abate till the Dominion had learned to value and utilize, both politically and economically, the huge, continent-like territory which lay between the two oceans. The strength of a space not yet filled up lies in the future, in its wealth of hopes and plans. Russia's great territory in the north, east, and southeast must make amends for much that is unsatisfactory in the condition of the older, more densely populated provinces. The great dreams of its endless possibilities awaked by its possession lure the judgment far away from the hard circumstances near at hand, which the people feel they may at any time throw off by migration.

Conflicts, which in narrow, congested quarters are always working deeper, tend to become more superficial when they find room to spread out and make different combinations. In larger territories racial differences and prejudices are less pronounced, and particularly true in this sense is the expression, "the rationalism of colonial peoples." Germans and French are not so antagonistic to one another in Africa as in Europe. Only where the home governments purposely carry their political principles into their distant territories also do these come to a clash, as, for instance, when the Seven Years' War was transplanted to the shores of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The great enterprises of colonizing England promoted the union of England and Scotland, just as the wide field which Russia offered in Asia caused many a German, Polish, and Armenian arm to devote itself more willingly to the service of the empire. The colonial policy of Germany, too, has in this sense a national importance. Even in the unnecessarily noisy foreign policy of the United States it is difficult to get rid of the thought that this, also, is intended to draw off the ever active forces of political disintegration from mischief. In the earlier decades, when the conflict between the North and South had not yet been fought out, this

was undoubtedly the animating cause of the expansive policy which found vent against Mexico in 1848.

The larger a compact territory grows, the simpler become its foreign relations, the smaller in proportion its periphery, and the greater its internal equilibrium. In this century the United States have pushed France, Spain, England (in the Oregon claim), Mexico, and Russia, one after the other, out of the present federal territory; and even in such a narrow region as the San Juan de Fuca Strait they have simplified their situation. Consequently, in their internal development we find no conflict of different influences emanating from neighboring states. Even the various European influences, so diverse in their origin, unite on their way towards the west, like a backward flowing Gulf Stream, into one single current of European civilization. The United States compare themselves in point of civilization with only a single Europe, for they themselves form just as great a whole. For such a country the questions of its foreign policy are larger, more enduring, and simpler. Kriegk[1] is right when he says of Russia that for that country the foreign policy is more important than for any other state of Europe, with the exception of England; but the cause of this lies not so much in the immense size of Russia as in the great multiplicity of its European and Asiatic neighbors. In this regard, too, the United States have a decided advantage and for that reason form without doubt the most fortunate type of the "new country." They border on British Canada and Mexico; Russia, on Sweden, Norway, Germany, Austria, Romania, Turkey, Persia, several small states of central Asia, China, and Corea — something like twelve neighbors as compared with two.

But in spite of this important difference, for both of these countries the law holds good that the length of the frontier line becomes relatively smaller with the increase of political area. If larger states have in proportion shorter boundaries than small states, then they necessarily meet all external disturbances with a greater power of resistance. Consider how rapidly the wounds

[1] G. C. Kriegk, *Schriften zur allgemeinen Erdkunde*, p. 213. 1840.

of the Crimean war and of the Civil War in North America healed; how undisturbed the war of 1812 with England left the development of the United States towards the West. In all these cases, only a small part of the whole could suffer directly from the depredations of war.

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SUICIDE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT STUDIES.

PROFESSOR DURKHEIM'S recent work on suicide[1] is, as the author himself declares, intended to illustrate his well-known conception of the social phenomenon, as unfolded in his previous essay on the *Méthode Sociologique*."[2] It deserves the most careful examination, since it offers a conclusive document for the complete appreciation of a doctrine which has raised the fiercest criticisms and has remained the manifestation of a solitary thought in the contemporary movement of social studies. Instead of answering his critics with theoretical dissertations, Durkheim has certainly done better in testing the value of his social interpretations through the study of a well-defined order of facts. Even if his attempt be a failure, and result in the demonstration of the inefficiency of his sociological conceptions, it is nevertheless true that his present researches on suicide lead to the most exhaustive exploration ever attempted since Wagner and Morselli of that phenomenon which seems to reflect, in a very typical way, the contrasts that imperil the life of modern societies. Thus, not only from a theoretical point of view, but also as an effective contribution to a scientific ascertainment of facts, the French professor's recent book commands the greatest interest.

I.

Durkheim commences by determining, above all, the notion of suicide. According to his definition, suicide is "every case of death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act accomplished by the victim itself, with the knowledge of its producing just that result."[3] This definition has the

[1] *Le Suicide*, Étude de Sociologie, Paris, Alcan. 1897, pp. xii–462.

[2] *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*, Paris, Alcan. 1895, pp. viii–186.

[3] *Le Suicide*, p. 5.

advantage of eliminating the vague and uncertain criterion of the so-called "freedom" of the act, substituting for it the character more directly ascertainable of a prevision of the consequences of the act itself. It thus permits us clearly to distinguish suicide from every other manner of death, in which the agent, as in the case of insane suicides, is himself the unconscious means of his own destruction, and also permits us to include, in the notion of suicide, all cases in which death is accepted as the inevitable condition of the attainment of an aim; as, for instance, that of the soldier who sacrifices himself in order to save his regiment, or of the believer who calmly meets death for the triumph of his own faith.[1]

At first sight, observes Durkheim, one is inclined to consider suicide as an act of the individual depending exclusively on individual factors. But, if we consider the *ensemble* of the suicides committed in a given society, we ascertain that the total thus obtained is not a mere sum of independent unities, *un tout de collection*, but that it constitutes, by itself, a new fact and, *sui generis* having an individuality of its own, consequently its own nature, which is, moreover, eminently social. In fact, being given a society, as long as we do not trace our observations too far back, the result is almost always invariable, the reason being that from one year to another the circumstances in which social life develops remain remarkably unchanged.[2] In proof of such a relative stability of the suicidal rate, Durkheim quotes the statistics of suicide for the principal countries of Europe (France, Prussia, England, Bavaria, Denmark, Saxony) from 1841 to 1872.[3] According to Durkheim the relative invariability of the suicidal rate is greater than that of the chief demographic phenomena; as, for instance, the general mortality which, from year to year, shows more oscillations than suicide. We cannot obtain a relative stability in general mortality without comparing the averages of long periods, instead of the total amount of successive years. In this case, however, the regularity results from the attenuation of the accidental changes

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 3-5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 8. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

occurring every year. Thus it is clear that the general death rate only attains such regularity by becoming something general and impersonal, that cannot be called upon to characterize a given society. In fact, it shows a remarkable similarity in all those nations that have more or less reached the identical state of civilization. On the contrary, suicide exhibits from year to year a stability equal to, if not greater than, that which general mortality only reveals from period to period; while the suicidal rate shows very marked differences from one society to another, the difference being as 1 to 2, to 3, to 4, and even more. Thus, concludes Durkheim, the rate of suicide is peculiar to every social group in a much higher degree than the general death rate. It is even so intimately connected with that which is most deeply constitutional in every national temperament that, in respect to it, the order in which the different societies are classed remains almost rigorously the same at very different epochs.[1] The relative stability from one year to another in one and the same society, and the great variableness from one society to another in the same period, prove, according to Durkheim, that the rate of suicide is a definite fact corresponding to an order of causes entirely distinct from those that concur in determining suicide in every particular case.[2] It expresses the suicidal tendency which collectively affects each social group. Every society, says Durkheim, is predestined to furnish a determined share of voluntary deaths. To look into the causes of this collective tendency, that finds a numerical expression in the proportion of the absolute number of voluntary deaths to the population of every age and sex, is the problem Durkheim has undertaken to solve in his study on suicide.

II.

The first book of Durkheim's work deals with the question, whether such a collective tendency to suicide be the result of extra-social factors, like the organico-psychical predispositions,

[1] *Le Suicide*, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

or the character of the physical environment. Durkheim comes to the following conclusions :

1. *Insanity.*—Durkheim refutes as well the theory according to which suicide is nothing but a kind of monomania (Bourdin) as the theory which considers suicide an episode of one or many forms of insanity, not liable to appear in sane people (Esquirol). As to the former of these theories, Durkheim remarks that, in the present state of mental pathology, the existence of monomania can no longer be maintained. The hypothesis of monomania was based on the conception of distinct mental faculties which has given way to the conception of the organic unity of mind. Clinical experience has not yet ascertained the existence of one uncontested case of monomania. There is always in the so-called monomania a general morbid condition of the mind which is the root of the disease, the delirious ideas being but its superficial and temporary expression. Durkheim remarks that Esquirol's theory cannot be admitted without radically restraining the notion of suicide. There are suicides, and they constitute the majority, which are committed consciously, *i. e.*, with the full knowledge of the consequences. These cannot be included in one of the four types of insane suicide generally admitted by alienists : maniac, melancholic, obsessive, and impulsive suicide. Statistics prove, however, the absence of any connection in the manner in which suicide and insanity are respectively affected by age, sex, conjugal condition, race, nationality, and degree of civilization.[1]

2. *Alcoholism.*—Durkheim denies the existence of any connection between the suicidal rate and alcoholism on the ground of the negative results shown by the comparison of the number of suicides with that of the *délits d'ivresse* of the cases of alcoholic insanity, and with the consumption of alcohol.[2]

3. *Race.*—Durkheim also refutes the theory which explains the different intensity of suicidal tendency by the influence of the racial factor. Above all, in the actual state of science the word "race" is a vague formula to which nothing definite may

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 20–46.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–53.

be found to correspond. On the one hand, the original races can only be said to belong to palæontology; while the more limited groups, now called races, are nothing but peoples, or societies of people, brethren by civilization more than by blood. The race thus conceived ends by identifying itself with nationality; consequently Durkheim is brought to contest the well-known theory of Morselli which distinguishes four different groups of peoples, each corresponding to a hereditary type of its own: the Germanic, the Celto-Roman, the Slav, the Uralo-Altaic; which should be classified, according to their suicidal tendency, in the following way: (1) Germans, (2) Celto-Romans, (3) Slavs; the Uralo-Altaic not being considered, as too divergent from the European type of civilization. Above all, observes Durkheim, there are some remarkable extremes in the suicidal tendency among peoples of the same race, while the high rate of suicide attributed to the so-called German race decreases or disappears when the German is transplanted from his own social *milieu*.[1]

4. *Heredity.*—Nothing is less proved, says Durkheim, than the heredity of suicide, considered as a direct and integral transmission of the suicidal tendency from parents to children, so as to constitute a psychological automatism. All observed instances of repeated suicides in the same family originated in insanity. This is perhaps the disease which is most frequently transmitted, and one may well ask if it be not this latter rather than the suicidal tendency which is inherited. Such considerations, however, do not suffice to explain why in certain insane families there is an endemic tendency to suicide, why there should be "des souches de fous qui semblent destinées à se détruire."[2] To explain this fact, Durkheim substitutes, for the factor of organic heredity, that of the contagious power of example. However, the thesis of the heredity of suicide is invalidated by two facts revealed by statistics: (1) the different contribution of the two sexes to suicide, which could not be explained in the hypothesis of an organico-psychical determin-

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 54–68.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

ism; (2) the increase of suicide with age, which proves that the cause of suicide is not a congenital and organic impulse. In this hypothesis, being governed by the rhythm of life, the suicidal tendency should pass through the successive phases of growth, immobility, and regression.[1]

5. *Cosmical factors.*—The influence of climate on suicide is emphatically denied by Durkheim. As to the influence of temperature in the different seasons, he refutes the seductive theory of Morselli by which the increase of suicide in the canicular months is explained by the mechanical action of heat on the nervous system. Durkheim remarks that such a theory presupposes suicide to be necessarily the outcome of a state of nervous excitement, while it, very often, results from great depression. Heat cannot act in the identical manner on the two forms of suicide. If temperature be the cause of the variations in the suicidal rate, then the changes in the two series should be parallel. Statistics prove the contrary. In general, and in all countries, suicide increases regularly from the beginning of the year and reaches a maximum in June, *i. e.*, not in the hottest months. It then decreases, reaching a minimum in December (Table XII). Besides, Morselli's explanation is unable to account for the low rate of suicide in southern Europe. According to Durkheim, the monthly oscillations of suicide are the result of "social" causes, as proved by their parallelism with the increasing length of days (Table XIII), and by the fact that suicides are generally committed in daytime, *i. e.*, when collective life is most intense. Thus for the action of cosmico-natural causes, as identified by Morselli with the changes of temperature, Durkheim substitutes the influence of the collective life, which undoubtedly increases in intensity with the lengthening of the days.[2]

III.

What are now the *social* causes of suicide? We find this question answered in Book II of Durkheim's work, that which

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 69–81.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–106.

contains, as it were, the nucleus of his researches. In this short sketch it is, of course, impossible for me to follow all his interesting developments. I must, therefore, refer the reader to the book itself for the statistical data and their detailed discussion. The following are the conclusions Durkheim arrives at. There are three principal types of suicide:

1. The "egoistic" suicide, comprising *all cases of voluntary death caused by relaxation of social ties, be they religious, familial, or political, i. e., by a morbid development of individualism.* Protestantism, in fact, shows a higher rate of suicide because of the stronger spirit of individualism by which it is dominated. It is, as Durkheim textually says, a less "integrated" society than the Catholic.[1] Marriage, likewise, shows a beneficial influence on suicide according to the greater or lesser degree of "integration" offered by the familial society. It is not the so-called "matrimonial selection" (Bertillon) which accounts for the relative immunity of the married as compared to the single, the widowed, and the divorced. Bertillon's hypothesis would render it difficult to explain either the different degrees of immunity shown by the married, according to their various ages, or the unequal immunity of the two sexes. The cause of immunity does not even lie in the fact of marriage itself, because (1) while the marriage rate has slightly changed since the beginning of the century, suicide has increased from 1 to 3; (2) the immunity is insignificant for the married without children. It is entirely due to the influence of the family as a social group and varies with its degree of "density" or "integration."[2] The same law governs the life of political societies. Suicide undergoes a real and general decrease at all epochs of political crises. Such a regression, first noticed by Morselli, is due to the strong degree of integration that societies reach through political perturbations. Great social commotions, like great national wars, stimulate the collective feelings, revive party spirit and patriotism, and concentrate individual activities towards a unique aim.[3]

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 149–73.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 174–214.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 215–22.

2. The "altruistic" suicide produced *by a violent predominance of society on individuals to the degree of destroying the consciousness of their own personality.* Under this head Durkheim studies (1) the suicides committed in primitive societies by old or sickly men, by women on the tombs of their husbands, by clients and dependents on the tombs of their masters; (2) the suicides of savages for futile motives; (3) the suicides committed through religious fanaticism, so common in India, this latter form being termed the "acute" altruistic suicide, which finds its most perfect expression in the mystic suicide; (4) the suicides committed by soldiers in modern armies (military suicide). In all these cases Durkheim explains suicide by the brutal submission of the individual to the social group, whereby he loses the consciousness of a destiny of his own and, therefore, every interest in life.[1]

3. The "anomic" suicide, caused *by perturbations of the collective organization through which social control gives way, while individual desires lose every limit.* In fact, the limit imposed by society to the otherwise indefinite expansion of individual desires is a strong obstacle to suicidal tendency, in so far as it gives rise to that moral equilibrium which makes men satisfied with their lot and compels them to desire only that which they can reasonably expect to attain. Commercial and industrial crises do not favor an increase of suicide through impoverishment or economical uneasiness (this is the vulgar explanation), but merely by bringing about a disturbance in the collective control of individual wants which, therefore, go beyond the possibility of satisfaction.[2] The same reasons account for the high rate of suicide revealed in business and professional classes as compared to the agricultural.[3] Divorce gives rise to what Durkheim terms "conjugal anomia," by which he explains the high suicidal tendency of the divorced.[4] Here we see the intimate connection between the two forms of suicide, the "egoistic" and the "anomic." Practically, they can be considered as two aspects of an identical fact, viewed from two different standpoints.

[1] *Le Suicide*, pp. 233–63.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 264–71.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 282–8.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 289–311.

Thus Durkheim, finding a close relationship between the number of suicides and the intensity of the three causes already mentioned—(1) morbid individualism, (2) absorption of the individual by the group, (3) independence of individual from every moral restraint)—and finding that the rate of suicide varies from one country to another according to the different degree of intensity of said factors, comes to the conclusion that they are the real motives of the propensity to suicidal tendency particular to the various societies.

The individual factors (chiefly, nervous degeneration) do not have any influence on the social rate of suicide. They can only explain why one individual in preference to another should be liable to yield to the pressure of the *courant suicidogène*. The cause of the phenomenon goes beyond the individuals ("est en dehors des individus").[1]

IV.

In the foregoing summary the reader has gained a view of the main conclusions of Durkheim's researches on suicide. We do not need to follow the author in his discussion of the practical problem: as to the best means of restraining the suicidal tendency in modern societies, a question with which Book III of Durkheim's work deals. Nor do we intend to discuss the exactitude of the interpretations given by Durkheim to the statistical figures of suicide. Leaving this inquiry to professional statisticians, who will probably find much to say about some of Durkheim's statements, we only wish to ascertain whether or not he has succeeded in the ultimate aim of his studies on suicide, the verification of his conception of the social phenomenon. His conclusions on the character of the *courants suicidogènes* bring us just within the limits of his sociological theory. In the so-called "collective" causes of suicide, as opposed to the individual factors, reappears to us the favorite explanation of the social phenomenon which Durkheim has so strongly emphasized, that is to say the conception of its being

[1] *Le Suicide*, p. 366.

something "external" to the individual, endowed with a power of "constraint" upon him, therefore not deriving from him.

This theory has been bitterly criticised by Tarde,[1] who accused Durkheim of reproducing in the field of sociology the ontological delusion of mediæval realism, by conceiving society as an *essence* or a transcendental unity. We do not believe Tarde's interpretation of Durkheim's theory to be entirely correct, although it might apparently be justified by some obscure passages of Durkheim's essay on the *Méthode*[2] When Durkheim emphasizes the antagonism between the concept of the individual and that of society, he does not, of course, suppose the possibility of a society without individuals, but only means that the aggregation of human beings termed "society" represents a reality of a different order from that represented by every individual, separately and singly considered. Nothing is more scientific than such a position. The process of cosmical evolution would be really inexplicable if we should fail to find in a complex fact new properties, new qualifications, widely differing from those of its single elements. Social fact has undoubtedly properties of its own that make it quite dissimilar to the individuals producing it by their aggregation, just in the same way as the biological phenomenon shows peculiarities unknown to its vital elements. In other words, we find in collective or social life the production of forces or powers not given in the individual organism. Even from the Tardian[3] sociological standpoint, it is not permitted to deny the peculiar distinctive character of the social fact *versus* its elements, *i. e.*, the individuals. Invention, through imitation, undergoes a complex elaboration, thus reappearing in an impersonal and objective form through the products of social activity named institutions. Durkheim's error consists, I believe, in having misinterpreted the true rela-

[1] See "La Sociologie élémentaire" in *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, 1895.

[2] "L'individu écarte, il ne reste que la société." *Les Règles*, p. 125. See also pp. 9–10 and 37.

[3] For a more detailed statement of Tarde's theory see my paper in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1897.

tionship of the "element" to the "whole" in all combinations. Social fact exhibits properties of its own, but what is its point of departure, if not the combination of individuals? These latter undoubtedly are an essential factor of the social phenomenon, for the same reason that the elements of a chemical combination are essential factors of the chemical compound. Durkheim completely overlooks the fact that *a compound is explained both by the character of its elements and by the law of their interaction.* He tries to explain the "product" by the "product" itself, thus overthrowing the scientific conception of cause. It is a startling error of logic, all the more astonishing in a logician of Durkheim's subtility.

Moving from such an erroneous conception of the social phenomenon, Durkheim is necessarily misled in his interpretations of suicide.

True to his view of social fact as something extraneous to the individual and, therefore, independent of him, Durkheim tries above all to demonstrate the inefficiency of the individual factors in suicide. But even if such demonstration were possible, the way in which he carries it out seems the least apt to lead to serious results. He examines successively the relationship of suicide to insanity, to alcoholism, and to other extra-social factors, taking each one in isolation in order to ascertain a constancy of interaction in which the true cause of suicide should be seen. He completely forgets that a social fact is *never* the result of a unique cause. Social fact is a complex product resulting from a combination of different elements, mutually modifying one another. It is impossible, under such circumstances, to find the "unique" or the "pure" cause in one individual factor to the exclusion of others. As Professor Bosco, the Italian statistician, justly remarks in an interesting review of Durkheim's book,[1] "social fact being always profoundly complex, it is difficult to ascertain in every instance the working of a given cause. It suffices that its influence be ascertained in a certain number of cases, and that, above all, there be a possibil-

[1] See *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, November, 1887, pp. 378–9.

ity of explaining the fact by presupposing its action." Durkheim asks too much of statistics. They could never prove that suicide depends on insanity *alone*, or on alcoholism *alone*, or on the physical environment *alone*. The continual oscillations shown by the statistical series, however slight they may be, are just the best proof of a continual interaction of factors in the production of the social phenomenon.

Having established that none of the so-called extra-social factors is the "unique" cause of suicide—which, moreover, was so evident as to render perfectly useless such an ostentatious display of arguments—Durkheim flatters himself to be the discoverer of the philosopher's stone of the *purely* social cause of suicide.

What are, now, these alleged causes?

1. The want of social "integration" (egoistic suicide).

2. The violent absorption of the individual by the community (altruistic suicide).

3. The lack of social control over individual desires (anomic suicide).

But in all these three typical instances Durkheim necessarily presupposes a *normal* condition of equilibrium in the relationship of the individual to the community. Suicide, then, appears to be, in its three typical forms, the result of a rupture in the accommodation of the individual mind to the social environment. This rupture cannot take place without the concomitance of a predisposition on the part of the individual, otherwise we could not explain the fact that some yield to the *courant suicidogène*, and some do not. Then the three alleged social causes presuppose the incidence of an abnormal and enfeebling condition of the social *milieu*, with a predisposition to mental disturbance in the individual. If they cannot work independently of such a *rencontre*, we have the right to ask whether in reality anything corresponds to the "social" causes, as conceived by Durkheim. In so far as the three types of suicide show the intersection, as it were, of an individual organic predisposition by a collective morbid agent, we are able to verify

the first part of our statement relating to the impossibility of explaining the "compound" without taking into account the character of its elements. But the second part of the same statement, as to the necessity of taking into account, also, the law of the combination of the elements, will also be clear if we note that the "social" causes of suicide necessarily presuppose the action of society upon individuals in the only intelligible way, *i. e.*, by the way of transmission of modes of feeling, thought, and action through the imitative response to the suggestive inventiveness. Thus the so-called social causes of suicide discovered by Durkheim appear to be nothing but *verbal* entities, *flatus vocis*, if not connected, on the one side, with the individual factor of nervous degeneration and, on the other, with the general fact of the transmission of thought through "imitative instinct," which is at the very basis of social intercourse, as has been masterfully shown by Tarde and Baldwin.

Durkheim, it is true, believes that he has completely undermined the Tardian theory of imitation by demonstrating that the meaning attached by Tarde to the word "imitation" is entirely different from the usual acceptance of the word, and by giving a so-called scientific definition of imitation, which arbitrarily restricts the word so as only to indicate "acts which have as immediate antecedents the representation of a similar act accomplished before by others, *without any intellectual operation affecting the intimate character of the reproduced act ever having been inserted between the representation and the execution.*"[1] It is not necessary for me to refute a criticism of that kind, which only shows a complete misunderstanding of the fundamental idea of Tarde. What Tarde has roughly expressed by the word "imitation" is simply the fact of the influence of one brain upon another brain as incidental to the typical character of social fact, which is, essentially, a transmission of thought. A conclusive refutation of the Tardian theory should have been directed against the fact itself and not against the word chosen

[1] *Le Suicide*, p. 115; see the whole chapter "L'Imitation," dedicated to the demolition of Tarde's theory. Pp. 107–38.

to express it. The question is not whether the word indicating the fact be more or less well selected, but rather if the fact itself be true or not. After Baldwin's studies on imitation, which seem, however, to be completely ignored by Durkheim, it would be an aimless enterprise to waste words in demonstrating the efficacy of imitation in social life. The fact, moreover, is so overwhelmingly evident that Durkheim, although strongly denying it, is, at every moment, unconsciously brought to presuppose it in all his interpretations, as every impartial and competent reader of his book will undoubtedly be disposed to admit.

V.

Thus, by a strange irony, the outcome of this book on suicide is just the contrary of what the author expected it to be. Instead of demonstrating the alleged independence of the social phenomenon from the action of individual factors, it ends in the best verification of the opposite conception of social fact as resulting from the combined studies of Tarde and Baldwin. In spite of Durkheim's vigorous dialectic temper and his ability in the collection and presentation of statistical data, his desperate attempt to prove the positive character of his conception of society is a complete failure. Social causes, social influences, social integration, all the formulæ by which Durkheim endeavors to concrete his conception of the independence of the social fact from the action of individual causes, are mere words, if we do not refer them to the living element of the individuals whose mutual interaction makes society. The utility of Durkheim's work lies chiefly in the fact that it brings about the *reductio ad absurdum* of his sociological system, the most apt to mislead scientific inquiry into the field of social phenomena by its false character of objectivity and the magistral arrangement of pseudo-proofs. The way is now cleared of a great obstacle. We must, henceforth, keep straight to the path through which the greatest conquest of modern thought has been made in the line of sociological research—I mean the discovery of that law of imitation which, in spite of Durkheim's grammatical or philo-

logical criticism, remains the cornerstone of any possible interpretation of social life. We must not let ourselves be hampered by Durkheim's *simplisme;* social fact is too intricate a web to be so easily unraveled. Let us never forget the law of scientific logic stated repeatedly above, "a compound is only explained by the character of its elements and by the law of their interaction." There we have the touchstone that enables us to determine the chimerical or the scientific character of contemporary contributions to the interpretation of the social enigma.

GUSTAVO TOSTI.

NEW YORK, December, 1897.

THE LAW RELATING TO THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENTS. II.

In the last number of this Journal we spoke of the duty of the local governments of the several commonwealths to care for those indigents who have no relatives under legal obligations to do so, and stated that provision had been made in four forms, viz., (1) relief in homes, (2) institutional care, (3) farming and binding out, and (4) boarding with families. The first form, that of "relief in homes," was there discussed, leaving the three remaining forms and the burial and civic rights of paupers to be discussed in this number.

II. INSTITUTIONAL CARE.

In the consideration of the institutional care of dependents, we have chiefly to do with the town or county almshouse. As Mr. Warner has put it, "it is the fundamental institution in American poor relief." As was seen, "relief in homes" was intended to furnish at most only temporary or partial support. The almshouse is to provide a more or less permanent home.

Every American commonwealth has made almshouse or "poorhouse" provision for the destitute.[1] It is under the direction of town or county officers, according as the state has the town or county system.[2] Where the town system exists, it is under the direction of the overseers of the poor, whether they be selectmen or elected or appointed overseers. Where the county system exists, it is usually under the direction of the county commissioners or supervisors, or the county court. There are exceptions to both these statements, however.

[1] In Arizona it seems that, in the provision for indigents, the hospital for the indigent sick, rather than the almshouse, has become the fundamental institution.

[2] Rhode Island has a state almshouse under the direction of the State Board of Control, with which the towns may contract for the care of the poor, as well as town almshouses.—126, chap. 79.

In Massachusetts and Ohio boards of directors for the almshouse are elected.[1] In Massachusetts the number of directors is from three to seven; in Ohio, three. In Vermont and Connecticut it is under the direction of the town itself.[2] In New Jersey the town almshouse is under the direction of the township committee.[3] In New York and Michigan it is managed by the superintendents of the poor, appointed by the county board of supervisors;[4] while in Pennsylvania, it is under the direction of the five elected directors of the poor.[5] With a few exceptions, however, the overseers of the poor, the county commissioners, or the county court, form a board for the direction of the town or county almshouse, as it may be.[6]

The board may lease the almshouse to someone, or organize and manage it "on public account." Thus in Arkansas and Arizona the law provides that the "poorhouse" shall be leased to the lowest bidder.[7] He supports the poor for so much per year or so much per capita. The statutes in Tennessee, Iowa, and Missouri make such leasing permissible.[8] In many states

[1] Secs. 3, 4, chap. 33; Act of May 14, 1894. In Massachusetts, however, the overseers of the poor or selectmen act as a board when none are elected. In Ohio the county commissioners of the counties of Huron and Erie act as infirmary boards. (Act of 1895.)

[2] 2753–7, 2770, 2857; 3309, 3310.

[3] 5, p. 2523.

[4] Act of 1896, chap. 225, 3, 4; 1759.

[5] 17, 25, 28, p. 97.

[6] The almshouse is under the direction of the overseers of the poor in New Hampshire (2, 3, chap. 84); Rhode Island (3, chap. 79); Delaware ("trustees of the poor," 4, chap. 48); South Carolina (1879).

In the following states it is under the direction of the county or probate judge: West Virginia (4, 19, chap. 46); Georgia (756, 758, 760); Tennessee (2122, 2123); Kentucky (3925); Arkansas (856–64); Missouri (7335, 7337, 7344); Utah (178). In the remaining states it is under the direction of the county commissioners or supervisors. These states are: New York (if no superintendents of the poor are appointed); Maryland (7, art. 25); Virginia (868); North Carolina (3540); Florida (578(4)); Mississippi (3143); Alabama (1465); Louisiana; Texas (9, art. 1514); Oklahoma (3650); Indiana (6069); Illinois (28, chap. 107); Wisconsin (1522); Minnesota (1956); North Dakota (1495, 1497); South Dakota (2162–4); Iowa (2159, 2160); Nebraska (3942–5); Kansas (4051); Montana (3204–7; 3213); Wyoming (1962); Colorado (3397–9); Nevada (1990); Arizona (357); Washington (1595, 1599); Oregon (3951); and California (4046).

[7] 859; Act of Feb. 26, 1891.

[8] 2122; 2167; 7344.

the power to provide for the poor is so general that the authorities in whom it is vested may do as they please in this matter. Utah and a few other states, on the other hand, explicitly prohibit such leasing to the lowest bidder.[1]

Usually the board managing the almshouse appoints a superintendent and other necessary officers, fixes their salaries, prescribes their powers and duties, and such officers are responsible to it. Sometimes the officers are appointed for short, definite terms, in which case they usually serve one year or a term corresponding to that of the overseers, court, or county commissioners appointing them. Sometimes they are appointed and serve "during good behavior," and are removable at any time by the appointing power. In either case the offices are usually filled with partisan appointments.

The making of rules and regulations for the management of the almshouse is usually left with the board and the superintendent, in which case, from ignorance of such matters and from stress of duty, perhaps little is done by the board. Further than for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the inmates in a few cases, and the negative legislation against keeping certain classes in the almshouse, the statutes provide but little. In the following states the inmates are to be employed at suitable labor, viz., in Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, West Virginia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri.[2] In some cases the law is only permissive, but at any rate the need of legislation upon this point has been felt. Perhaps other states, by us overlooked, should be added to this list; but usually the law is silent upon this point.

Admission to the almshouse is gained through a certificate from one of the various relieving officers, or through the superintendent. In a few states the law provides that persons shall be admitted upon the certificate of certain officers only, as in

[1] 187, p. 299.

[2] 21, chap. 33; 2870–71; 5, p. 2523; 7, chap. 46; 879; 756; 2124; 3925; 1759, 1833; Act of 1891, chap. 241 (referring to stone yard or wood yard); 2163; 7336.

States	Dependent children	Education of blind	Education of mutes	Insane (acute)	Chronic insane	Feeble-minded and idiotic youths	Idiotic and feeble-minded adults	Epileptic youths	Epileptic adults
Massachusetts	×*	×	×	×	×B	×	—	—	×
New Hampshire	×*	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Vermont	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Maine	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Rhode Island	×	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	×*	×	×	×*	—	×	—	—	—
New York	×*	×	×	×	×I	×	×	—	×
Pennsylvania	×*	×	×	×	× I	×	—	—	—
New Jersey	—	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
West Virginia	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	×
Delaware	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Maryland	×*	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
North Carolina	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Florida	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Louisiana	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Alabama	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	—[1]	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Texas	—[3]	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Oklahoma	—	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	×*	×	×	×	×IB	×	—	×	—
Indiana	×*	×	×	×	—	×	—	×	—
Ohio	×[2]	×	×	×	—	×	—	×	×
Illinois	—	×	×	×	×I	×	—	—	—
Wisconsin	×*	×	×	×	×I	×	—	×	—
Minnesota	×*	×	×	×	×B	×	—	×	—
North Dakota	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
South Dakota	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Iowa	—[3]	×[4]	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
Nebraska	—	×	×	×	×I	×	—	—	—
Kansas	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Missouri	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Montana	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Idaho	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Utah	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado	×*	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	—[3]	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
New Mexico	×	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Washington	—	×	×	×	—	×	—	—	—
Oregon	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
California	×	×[4]	×	×	—	×	—	×	—

EXPLANATION OF CHART.

Where × is placed, special provision has been made.

Where — is placed, no special provision has been made.

Where ×* is placed, special provision has been made and the class excluded from the almshouse.

Under the heading of "Dependent children" only those are marked which have what may be called a *system* of child-saving.

Under the "Chronic insane" "B" stands for boarding with private families; "I" for institutional care — a special asylum.

[1] Mississippi makes it unlawful to retain children between ten and sixteen years of age in the almshouse.

[2] Ohio provides that when children are retained in the almshouse they must be kept in a separate department.

[3] Texas, Iowa, and Nevada have state institutions for orphans and half-orphans.

[4] Iowa and California have state homes for the indigent adult blind.

Delaware of one "trustee for the poor," thus apparently taking away the power of the superintendent of lodging "casuals." Thus, in Delaware, "casuals" (non-residents of a hundred) are to be admitted only upon the certificate of the "trustees for the poor" of two hundreds.[1] The almshouse is open to all indigents except those classes definitely excluded. The inmates remain until ready to leave, *as there is no provision* for their detention. In no case is their departure restricted, except in the case of vagrants, where, in a few states, they may be confined in the almhouse on definite sentence.[2]

If not explicitly excluded, or if other adequate provision has not been made for them, the dependent children and destitute defectives, as well as the ordinarily dependent, are found in the almshouse. Although it anticipates our later articles, it is thought well to append a chart here showing what special provision, if any, has been made for these classes. And, although where special provision has been made for a class it may now be inadequate, and so many are of necessity detained in the almshouse, we can by this process of exclusion obtain some idea of the classes found in the almshouses of the several states.

[1] 11, chap. 48.

[2] Wisconsin seems to form an exception to the statement here made. An act of 1891 (chap. 241) authorizes the court to commit persons who, because of sickness or other disability, are either temporary or permanent charges, *definitely* or *indefinitely*, to the almshouse. As is seen, this may apply to persons not strictly vagrant.

Upon referring to the chart, we find that in only eleven states are dependent minors excluded from the almshouse or their detention there limited to a short period. This applies only to children of sound mind and body, and so the mentally and physically defective (unless provided for as defectives) are permitted to remain in the almshouse. Other states than the eleven have provided systems of child-saving, so that detention of minors with other dependents is not necessary. But in only some seventeen states can we say that there is a public system of child-saving.[1]

We find, too, that almost every state has made provision for the education of the blind and the deaf-mutes. This removes the destitute of these classes from the almshouse during their school age. With the exception of Iowa and California, however, no special provision is made for the indigent adults thus afflicted. Every state has made more or less adequate provision for the insane classed as "curable," "violent," or "dangerous." Only Connecticut excludes the insane from the almshouse, and it is the common practice of detaining those in it who cannot be cared for in the special institutions. Only six states have asylums for the "chronic," or "incurable," insane. In two of these, and in a third state, boarding out such persons, when indigent, is permissible. Sometimes they are permitted to remain in the hospital designed especially for the "acute' cases. Usually, however, no special provision is made for this class.

Some twenty-two states have made provision for the education of feeble-minded and idiotic children. In a few states special departments are found for such as are epileptic. Little has been done by way of providing for the adults of these classes. Frequently they are permitted to remain for some time in the school. New York has a custodial home for adult idiots.

[1] It is rather surprising to find upon an examination of the census returns that it is usually not the states marked as having no system of child-saving which have the highest ratio of children to the total population in the almshouse. An examination does show, however, that usually minors form a relatively larger part of the almshouse population in these states than in those marked as having systems of child-saving.

New York and New Jersey have similar homes for feeble-minded women. Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio have special state institutions for adult epileptics. The institution in New York is the famous Craig Colony. Virginia has provided a separate department for the epileptic in one of her hospitals for the insane.

The final point to be noticed in the discussion of the almshouse is its supervision. The superintendent must keep a record of all expenditures and of persons received and discharged, and render his accounts as other accounts are rendered—quarterly, semiannually, or annually—to the town, county commissioners, auditor, or court, either directly or through the board vested with the management of the almshouse. The board is supposed to supervise the work of the superintendent. In a few cases, as in West Virginia, Ohio, and Iowa, the number of visits to and inspections they shall make of the almshouse is prescribed.[1]

Supervision from "disinterested" parties is secured in a few states through boards of local visitors. The State Board of Charities of New York and the State Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania are authorized to appoint a board of three in each county to visit and inspect all the local charitable institutions, the almshouse among others.[2] A board of six, composed of three men and three women, is similarly appointed by the State Board of Tennessee;[3] Ohio and Colorado have authorized similar boards to be appointed by the probate court.[4] In Ohio the boards are composed of five members, three of whom are women, who must visit the various institutions quarterly, and report annually to the clerk of the court and to the State Board of Charities. The boards of Colorado are composed of six members appointed for three years. They likewise report annually to the State Board of Charities and Corrections. In Indiana the county commissioners are authorized to appoint boards of three, whose duty it shall be to visit the almshouses and make an annual report to the commissioners.[5] The two Dakotas have

[1] 21, chaps. 46; 966, 967; 2167. [3] *Charities Review*, April, 1897, p. 187.

[2] 24, p. 464; 20, p. 295. [4] 779–77801; Act of 1891. [5] 6110.

authorized like boards.[1] And in Kansas the county commissioners may appoint boards composed of not more than one member from each township to visit the "poorhouse" and make an annual report.[2]

In sixteen states the State Boards of Charities have general supervision of the almshouses.[3] The state boards, or their representatives, visit and inspect them, and give advice and suggest changes that might be made. The boards are all to make recommendations to the legislatures concerning needed legislation for the almshouses, as well as for other charitable institutions. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the overseers, in Colorado the county commissioners, in New York the superintendents of the poor, in Pennsylvania the directors of the poor, must report to the state boards concerning the almshouse[4] as well as the "outdoor relief."[5] In Michigan like reports are to be made by the superintendents of the poor to the secretary of state. And, finally, in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Minnesota, and Oregon the plans for all almshouses must be submitted to the state boards for their approval.[6]

Usually the destitute sick are cared for in a separate ward, the "hospital ward," of the almshouse. Sometimes provision is made elsewhere. Cities usually have power to establish and maintain hospitals at which the indigent are treated free of charge. In some cases, as in Massachusetts, South Carolina, Illinois, and Arizona, towns or counties have the same power.[7]

[1] 1506 (N. D.); 2174 (S. D.). [2] 4062–3.

[3] In Massachusetts (3, chap. 79,) Michigan (9884), and Wyoming (Act of 1891) almshouses must be visited annually; in New York (6, p. 459) and Pennsylvania (9, p. 296), biennially. In New Hampshire (Act of 1897), Connecticut (1885), New Jersey (Act of 1884), North Carolina (2332–5), Indiana (Act of 1889), Tennessee (Act of 1895), Minnesota (460), Missouri (Act of 1897), Montana (745), Colorado (384[c]), and Oregon (Act of 1891) the state boards are authorized to visit and inspect such.

[4] The Board of State Commissioners of Illinois is also to visit all almshouses where any insane are kept.

[5] 35, chap. 84; 3312; 781[b-d]; 130, 131, p. 2276; 16, 17, p. 297. In other states, as in Tennessee and North Carolina, the state boards may require reports of the poor officers.

[6] 18, p. 297; Act of 1889; 460; 2, Act of 1881.

[7] 20, chap. 84, and Act of 1890; 893; 148, chap. 107; 357. In South Carolina and Arizona hospital facilities are to be provided at or near the almshouse.

Connecticut and Louisiana subsidize private hospitals and have the privilege of sending indigents there to be treated without pay. In some states, as in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, the poor authorities may send the indigent sick to hospitals at public expense.[1] In Texas the law provides that this shall be done if there is a hospital within the county.[2] Michigan has a hospital in connection with the medical department of the State University, to which the indigent may be sent for treatment.[3]

III. FARMING AND BINDING OUT.

In dealing with the farming and binding out of paupers, we are dealing with practically obsolete forms. In some states, as in Connecticut, New York, and North Carolina, "farming out" the poor is prohibited.[4] It is permissible in a number of states as an alternative for establishing an almshouse and maintaining the poor there. In Maine the overseers may establish an almshouse for the poor, or contract for not longer than three years for their support.[5] Similar authority is found in several states, among which we may name Tennessee, Oklahoma, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, and Idaho.[6] In the state of Mississippi the county supervisors are authorized to contract with persons for the support of paupers for their work.[7]

As to binding out, the laws are old and apply to the vagrant poor rather than to the dependent in general. Such laws are found in New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, Rhode Island, and Georgia.[8] The laws of the four New England states are very similar, so we quote that of New Hampshire. It reads:

> The overseers of the poor in any town may, by written contract, bind out to labor for a term not exceeding one year, or employ in their workhouse, every person residing in the town who lives idly and pursues no lawful busi-

[1] See reference given above; 3695; 1–5, p. 992. [2] 1520.

[3] 1776 as amended in 1889. [4] 3296; Act of 1847; 3542. [5] 13, 14, chap. 24.

[6] 2123; 3650; 1499; 6072; 21, chap. 107; 2146; 2156; 4033; 7344: 3204, 3205; 1984; 2170.

[7] 3152. [8] 4, chap. 84: 2830, 2831; 27, chap. 24; 6, chap. 198; 4560.

ness, and who is poor and stands in need of relief, is supported by such town, and shall take his wages and appropriate the same to the maintenance of such person, his family, or his children.

IV. BOARDING OUT.

The last method of caring for dependents is that of boarding them with private families. It, like "farming out," is an old alternative for care in the almshouse. It is found so now in the statutes of Georgia and Nebraska.[1] On the other hand, however, it has lately been adopted by a few states for the care of special classes of dependents. The State Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts may board the indigent chronic insane, as well as dependent children, with private families.[2] In Michigan the poor authorities may remove the harmless idiots and insane from the almshouse and board them out at an expense not greater than keeping them at the almshouse would entail.[3] A similar provision is found in Minnesota applying to the indigent chronic insane.[4] But as these are not strictly a part of the class denoted as "dependent," they will be considered in the discussion of the insane.

In North Carolina we find the provision that paupers may be boarded with families or kept at their friends, but that none are to be hired out at auction.[5] Ohio, while she does not have a law authorizing the boarding of dependents, does have one tending in a not dissimilar direction. We refer to the Act of April 27, 1896, which permits the infirmary boards to contract with other institutions for the care of the aged and the deaf and dumb at a rate per capita not to exceed that at the infirmary.

Thus much for the relief and support of the indigent. The public is not only under obligation to care for the indigent; it is also to bury the poor deceased, when they have no relatives of sufficient ability under legal obligation to do so. In some cases the poor authorities are especially authorized to bury the poor. More frequently it is done under their general power to care for

[1] 755; 3930.
[2] 1, 2, 34, chap. 87, and 23, 46, chap. 84.
[3] 1776 as amended in 1889.
[4] 3489.
[5] 3542.

the poor. Such burial is at the expense of the town or county, according as the town or county system is in use.

One further point remains to be spoken of. It is the legal disabilities of paupers — their civic relations as altered by being public charges. Usually a person loses no rights whatever upon becoming dependent. Frequently, on the other hand, he is relieved from working the roads, or paying the poll or other taxes. However, in eight states "paupers" are explicitly disfranchised.[1] In a few other states a payment of a tax is a requisite for the exercise of the franchise. This may exclude paupers from the right of suffrage; but it is more probable that it merely causes their taxes to be paid by those interested in political affairs, and, therefore, does not disfranchise them.

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[1] Massachusetts (Amendment iii to the constitution); New Hampshire (art. 27, const., and 1, 2, chap. 31); Maine (1, art. ii, const.); New Jersey (1, art. ii, const.); West Virginia (1, art. iv, const., and Act of 1893); Delaware (1, art. iv, const.); South Carolina (Act of Dec. 17, 1887); and Texas (art. 1687).

In the New Hampshire law a pauper is defined to be one who has received public relief within ninety days. Similarly, in Maine (7 M. 497), the court has held that, in the spirit of the law, one is a "pauper" who has received public relief within ninety days. On the other hand, the court in Massachusetts has held (124 Mass., 596) that one is a "pauper" only when in the receipt of public relief, and that, therefore, one cannot be debarred from voting if he has received relief within any specified time, unless that relief is still continuing at the time of the election. In South Carolina the law disfranchises only those in the almshouses and asylums. In Texas, as the law applies to those "*supported by any county*," it might be similarly interpreted.

THE ILLINOIS CHILD-LABOR LAW.[1]

It is one of the objects of the International Association of Factory Inspectors to promote uniformity of factory legislation throughout the states and provinces. Yet, after the lapse of eleven years since the formation of the society, we have today to contemplate an international hodgepodge of provisions governing the employment of children; some of the laws in states with highly developed manufacture represented in this association dating back, unchanged and unimproved, no less than fourteen years. The New Jersey law, according to which boys may be employed at twelve years of age and orphan boys even younger, dates back to 1885; and the Ohio law permitting the employment of boys of twelve seems to go back to a time such that no man knoweth to the contrary.

The following meager list is believed to contain all the states in which the lowest age of work is fourteen years for both boys and girls: New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. Yet fifteen states and two provinces have factory inspectors, all publishing official reports with recommendations, and all having a respectful hearing from lawmaking bodies in regard to legislation.

No one knows, as the factory inspector knows them, the needs of the working children; no one sees, as he sees them, the evils attending their work. If he does not take the initiative in this matter, who shall do so? If he leaves it to the trades unions, there is danger that each may think only of the need of its own membership; then the laws will, indeed, be special legislation, and the precedent of annulling them will be strengthened. Or, if union men employ children, or use their labor supplied by the corporation, then may the public wait long, but the initiative

[1] Paper read before the Eleventh Annual Convention of the International Association of Factory Inspectors at Detroit, September 1, 1897.

will never be taken. If the inspection departments wait for the philanthropists, hospitals may be built for the repair of newsboys who have been run over, but never a proposition urged that unemployed men should sell the papers and the boys go to school; vacations may be arranged for cash children, but no urgency shown that the errands be done by 'phone and tube, and the children sent to get manual training. The medical fraternity bewail the increase of consumption in the great cities, but do they help to banish little girls from laundries, or advise legislation shortening the hours and equalizing the temperature in the ironing rooms? The initiative in all these things comes best from officers of the state, who have technical knowledge, not alone of the places in which work is done, but of the law as interpreted by the courts in the course of the endeavor to enforce it.

Nothing is more sought in these days than information concerning employment; everything touching it seems to have an almost sensational charm for legislators as well as for the student and the philanthropist. But do the reports of our departments of factory inspection furnish information in the form in which it is most easily understood, verified, and used? The failure in this respect has, perhaps, something to do with the slow development of factory legislation in several manufacturing states. For the purpose of educating public opinion in Illinois, it was found valuable to publish the reports of the department in such shape that he who runs may read how many men, women, and children were found by the inspectors at work in each occupation.

Until 1893 Illinois ranked with the most backward of the southern and southwestern states in its care of the health, education, and welfare of working children; although, in the census of 1890, Illinois ranks third among the great manufacturing states of the Union when measured by the value of its manufactured product.

One reason of the delay in enacting valid child-labor legislation probably lay in the circumstance that there was no textile industry in the state; and, therefore, no strongly organized body of intelligent working people in daily contact with young chil-

dren in factories. The agitation for legislation protecting working children has, in other states, ordinarily begun among men who work side by side with children, and see the injury inflicted upon them by long hours of work, and the conditions under which they are employed. Another reason for the delay in legislation was the fact that the number of children at work in manufacture was relatively small, and the need of intervention on their behalf was, therefore, not so conspicuous as in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, where the number of children at work ran into the tens of thousands.

After years of ceaseless agitation of the subject, Illinois at last takes rank among the half dozen states in which the lowest limit of the legal age for work is fourteen years, not for manufacture alone, but for commercial occupations as well. As it stands today, after many changes and improvements, the child-labor law of Illinois prohibits absolutely the employment of any child under the age of fourteen years for wages in any mercantile institution, store, office, or laundry, as well as in any manufacturing establishment, factory, or workshop. The inspectors are clothed with no authority to exempt any child from this absolute provision, and poverty or orphanhood can no longer cloak the exploitation of young children in department stores, or in the telegraph and messenger service, if the law is enforced.

Up to July 1 of the present year, under the old compulsory-education law, the Board of Education of Chicago made a practice of issuing permits for work to children under fourteen years of age. Nominally these were mere exemptions from school attendance, but really they were never asked for or granted except for the purpose of enabling the holder to go to work. These permits were not required to be sworn to by the parent, as are the affidavits now required under the child-labor law. They were granted upon the mere assertion of the parent, and the greater the apparent wretchedness of the child, the more readily was the permit granted. After the enactment of the factory law of 1893, which prohibited the employment of children under fourteen only in manufacture, these permits were granted by the

Board of Education only to children seeking work in places other than factories and workshops. But the children, and employers too, were confused by the varying requirements; and we frequently found children equipped with these permits working in garment and cigar shops, under the legal age for such employment. The abolition of the permit system marks a long step forward in the care of working children in Illinois.

No law-abiding employer now sets at work a boy or girl under the age of fourteen years; nor one under sixteen years, unless there has first been filed in the office of the establishment an affidavit, made by the parent or guardian, stating the name, date, and place of birth of the child. At the time of the hiring there must also be made an entry in a register kept for the purpose, showing the name, address, and age of the child; and these items must be entered upon a wall-list posted conspicuously in the room in which the child is employed. The legal notarial fee for a simple affidavit is a quarter of a dollar; but affidavits are furnished free of charge by clerks in the inspector's office in Chicago for all children applying there, accompanied by a parent who testifies that the child is fourteen years of age, or older, stating the month, day, and year, and birthplace.

Since the inspectors are not required by law to furnish these free affidavits, we made the rule that none should be made for any child under the average weight of the normal school child of fourteen years of age, which is eighty pounds. We required, also, that children should be able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, although the law makes neither of these requirements. We were driven to take these precautions because the office is in the midst of the poorest immigrant colonies in the city; and children were brought to us who seemed to be not more than ten years of age, yet whose parents were ready to swear to whatever might be necessary in order to obtain the affidavit. We hope that in the course of a few years the law may require for all the children the same minimal weight and educational acquirement which we demanded of those for

whom we issued gratuitous affidavits. This is the more necessary because there is no trustworthy registration of the births of the children in the immigrant colonies; and passports give only approximate statements of the ages of the children, the exchange of a younger for an older child in the list being a perfectly simple device, easy to carry out, but impossible of verification by the inspector. Public opinion distinctly sustained this rule of the office.

In the two months, July 1 to September 1, 1897, following the extension (by the passage of the new child-labor law) of the provisions of the Factory Law to children engaged in mercantile occupations, we found in such establishments about 2000 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age who had previously been exempt from all state supervision. These children were found chiefly in the first ward of Chicago, and employed by less than a dozen corporations. The single errand boy, office boy, and store boy in retail trade formed but a trifling total after two months' search. But the telegraph and messenger boys employed by the three great companies numbered several hundred, while in five department stores are more children under sixteen years of age than fill the largest high school in the state. In July and August, the dullest months in the year, there were more than 1200 boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age in these five establishments, one of them being the largest employer of children in the state, with 461 affidavits on file.

The result of the extension was not sensational; we were slow to prosecute, and avoided making known to the press the convictions which we obtained. We have at the present time, in the office, evidence which we deem sufficient for the conviction of the managers of four out of five of these stores; and one has already pleaded guilty in three cases. The wish of these managers is to avoid fostering the hostility to department stores carefully kept alive by the competing retail dealers, one of whose stock arguments for legislation against the department stores is the excessive employment of children by them. The managers are, therefore, not contumacious. But the numbers of children

are so great, and their employment is so irregular and shifting, that no store succeeded in complying exactly with the requirements of the statute. The work of enforcing the law in the five department stores, which employ from 150 to 500 children each, requires a monthly inspection by two experienced and skillful deputy-inspectors, devoting an entire day to each store and following each inspection with prompt prosecution. On no easier terms can exact compliance with the complicated requirements of the law be obtained.

There is reason to believe that the persistent enforcement of the requirements that affidavits must be filed before the children are set at work, and records and registers revised daily, would have the same gradually deterrent effect in commercial occupations which has been observed in the manufacturing industries, in which there was a steady, though slow, reduction of the number of young employés, accompanied by a corresponding steady, though slow, improvement in the stature and physique of the children found at work.

The most marked departure in the new law, after the extension of the factory provisions to the children engaged in commerce, is the prohibition of the employment of children under sixteen years of age in extra-hazardous occupations. This provision has not yet been tested in court. We construed the words "extra-hazardous occupation" to mean any occupation in which the insurance companies are loath to insure workingmen. To begin with, there are the woodworking machines, which seem all to come under this head. The employment of children in the manufacture of explosives has hitherto gone on, unchecked; this can now certainly be stopped outright and should be stopped at once. There is no tale more hideous in the history of manufacture than that of the little boy who was turned out of a fireworks factory by order of Inspector Jensen, because the child was under the legal age for work, and, having waited for his fourteenth birthday to come, returned to work at once, only to blow up the works, killing himself and his sister. Such a horror need never again disgrace Illinois if the new child-labor law is enforced.

The laundries, too, now come under the law for the first time. In their case, however, only the initial step has been taken; for the inspectors are still powerless to order the machines guarded or the premises ventilated. While children under sixteen years of age can no longer be legally employed at dangerous ironing machines, there remains the danger of prostration by the heat, and the inspectors cannot order cold rooms heated, nor hot rooms cooled, nor wet rooms dried. The long, slow hazard of consumption, the enervation of protracted over-exertion, cannot yet be dealt with by the inspection department. We are still at the stage in which there must be conspicuous, sensational damage, visible to the naked eye, before further measures can be enacted or existing measures sustained by the courts.

The restriction, under the new law, of the hours of work of children under sixteen years of age is the first step towards retrieving the damage inflicted upon the workers when the eight-hours' law was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois, in Ritchie *vs.* the People, March 15, 1895. Although this new provision sets no limit to the night work of the children, it does provide that their hours of labor shall not exceed ten in any one day, nor sixty in any one week. Even this is a gain in a city where little girls of twelve have been required, at the Christmas season, to work in stores from 7:30 in the morning to midnight, and where the candy factories have usually worked until nine, in preparation for the same festival season. The enforcement of the ten-hours' day will, of course, involve difficulties in the sweatshops and in the department stores, where children may still be kept late at night by working a second shift in the afternoon and evening. Yet this provision is a step in the right direction. It affects probably about ten thousand children.

Previous to the enactment of the factory law of 1893, there had been two attempts at legislative regulation of the employment of children in Illinois: the compulsory-education law of 1891, repealed in 1893, and in part reënacted in 1897; and a

statute passed in 1891, known as the "Lenz" law, which prohibited the employment of children under thirteen years of age, but authorized the employment of children of any age who had *any dependent relative* and had attended school eight weeks in the year. Neither of these laws was enforced; no prosecution was ever undertaken under them.

The experience of four years confirms the conviction that that child-labor law is not enforced at all which is not enforced by the constant help of the courts; not because there is hostility to the law in the public mind, or contumacy on the part of those who violate it. Far from it; there was never a time when the child-labor law was so popular with press, pulpit, and people, so well regarded by the best employers, as it is at present. But the vice of our American citizenship is negligence, good-natured, well-meaning negligence. In Illinois, for many years, this negligence has been fostered by a prevailing policy of enforcing nothing except what was popular or seemed likely to be popular; until our negligent disregard of law and ordinance is now the wonder of travelers from countries which enjoy the benefits of good local government.

This negligence on the part of the employer who means well but fails to comply is everywhere, until the inspection department convinces the management that millionaire and sweater, personal friend, relative, alderman, legislator, and total stranger all fare alike, and pay costs, or fine and costs, before the justice of the peace for every violation of which evidence can be obtained. Fortunately the fines go to the county school fund; and there can, therefore, be no corrupt intent in the insistence upon bringing to completion all suits begun, even where there has been a tardy compliance before the suit reached trial. Public opinion sustains the literal fulfillment of the section which requires the inspector to prosecute all violations. It was found that local justices inclined to leniency if suit was brought upon first inspection; and, in visiting an establishment for the first time brought under the statute, we, therefore, gave twenty-four or forty-eight hours' notice. If the wall records and registers

were not in order at the end of that time, as well as the affidavits, suit was brought. The uniformity of this procedure depends, of course, upon the skill and conscientiousness of the deputies, and this naturally varies somewhat. That the work of the staff as a whole was efficient is shown by the fact that about two hundred employers paid costs, or fines and costs, during the first eight months of the present year, for some 350 violations of the various provisions of the statute.

A small fine, uniformly imposed, seems to be the best means of enforcing statutory provisions, and reducing the number of violations ; and it is, perhaps, not an improvement that the lowest fine has been raised from $3 to $10. In many cases the annoyance of arrest and giving bond under a quasi-criminal charge is far more severe punishment than the payment of the fine, though it is surprising to see how eagerly rich employers plead for the remission of fines of $3 and $10.

The child-labor law is supplemented by two measures of importance to working children, both enacted by the last legislature, one requiring the placing of blowers upon metal-polishing machines, and the other providing that fire escapes must be placed wherever twenty-five persons are employed above the first story of any building.

These two measures were enacted without the direct initiative of the department which had concentrated its efforts upon the passage of the child-labor law. The former is due to the efforts of the Metal-Polishers' Union, the latter to the underwriters, who had paid heavy premiums upon losses of life by fire, and insisted upon some measures of facility for the firemen in sky-scrapers and other extra-hazardous places. This law, too, incidentally benefits the children, some of the worst catastrophes, of which there have been many in the last three years, occurring in buildings in which children and young girls were employed, without either fire drill, or fire walls, or any available outside fire escape.

There are still many steps which must be taken before it can be claimed for Illinois that we are giving to the rising generation of the working class the advantages to which the wealth and

intelligence of the state entitle them. We must borrow from New York the prohibition of the work of minors at night and the prohibition of the employment of illiterate children under sixteen years of age. Especially must the street children, the peddlers and vendors, the newsboys and bootblacks, and all the hordes of nondescript occupations, be brought under systematic supervision. This ought to be the easier for every step already taken.

Finally, we must have compulsory education of the children under sixteen years of age throughout the school year. No factory law can be so good for the children as a school law keeping them not only negatively out of factory and workshop, and the teeming, tempting, demoralizing streets, but positively at school, acquiring industrial efficiency and value until they reach an age past all need of child-labor legislation.

At last we are slowly developing a compulsory-education law in Illinois. It is still very rudimentary, and has only during the present year received a workable penalty clause. Children under ten years of age are required by it to enter school in September and continue in attendance throughout sixteen consecutive weeks. Children under fourteen years must enter school before New Year, and attend sixteen weeks. It is difficult to see why they should not all attend throughout the term during which the schools are open in the districts in which they live, since they cannot legally work.

The interlocking of the school law and factory law is the usual line of evolution where child-labor legislation develops successfully. In New York state children are required to read and write simple English before they can legally be employed under sixteen years of age; in Michigan they must attend school half the year before beginning work under sixteen years; and a similar provision has recently been enacted in Pennsylvania.

In Illinois, also, it may prove possible to work positively where it has been very difficult to work negatively. It may be that the positive command, "Thou shalt go to school," will meet readier compliance than the negative one, "Thou shalt not toil in early childhood." It is, however, clear that the two laws

must interlock, and the children must be offered abundant school facilities, and compelled to avail themselves of them; or evasion of the child-labor law will be inevitable. For active boys will seem to anxious mothers, unacquainted with the temptations of factory, store, and messenger service, to be safer at work than at play. And where there are not sufficient school accommodations, and vigorous punishment of truancy, this will always seem to be the alternative.

The ideal toward which the great manufacturing states of the Union are slowly moving has already been attained in Switzerland, where the employment of children under sixteen years of age has long been prohibited, manual and technical education is systematically provided, and compulsory attendance at school is rigidly enforced.

In the light of the experience of the past four years the obstacles to social amelioration by constitutional methods in Illinois appear fundamental, but not insurmountable. Foremost among them is the undermining effect of the spoils system upon all remedial legislation.

The second serious obstacle to the amelioration of social conditions by constitutional methods is the state constitution, under which it is difficult to frame a statute not palpably unconstitutional. This state constitution, and the precedents accumulated under it, were the reasons assigned for the annulment by the state Supreme Court in 1895 of the eight-hours' clause of the factory law. The problem for the immediate present is, therefore, to draft needed statutes so skillfully that they may contain no flaw of unconstitutionality. It is easier to do this with regard to children and minors than with regard to the labor of adults; and it is in the search for the line of least resistance that those who are following the difficult path of social amelioration by constitutional methods have arrived at the policy of pushing child-labor measures only, until the constitution which has not been adapted to the changing conditions since 1870 can be modernized by a constitutional convention.

A third difficulty in the way of ameliorating social condi-

tions by constitutional methods is the profound discouragement of the wage-earners in this state as to the feasibility of this method. To them it seems that, in Utah under its new constitution, or in Massachusetts under its old, but liberally interpreted, constitution, good may be accomplished by the enactment and enforcement of statutes; or, even in New York and Pennsylvania, where parts of the labor code have been upheld by the state Supreme Courts. But the annulment of many labor statutes has convinced them that in Illinois, under our present constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court, there is no encouragement for workingmen to spend their energies in this way. This is the worst demoralization that can befall wage-earning people; for if faith in amelioration by constitutional methods be finally sapped, and energy no longer spent in this direction, what is the inevitable alternative?

Fortunately, two other agencies besides the workingmen are in the field on behalf of such legislation, and its enforcement: the educators, especially those who, living in settlements, are constantly forced to the perception that without it social conditions cannot be comprehensively and effectually improved; and the factory inspectors who, by virtue of their technical knowledge and by the very nature of their daily work, are constantly stimulated to ask for better measures on behalf of the young employés. To the initiative of these two sets of people, reënforced by the petitions and resolutions of the labor organizations, is due the present child-labor law of Illinois.

The helplessness and need of the children, the difficulty of the task, the apathy of the workingmen by reason of discouragement, and the small numerical force of those who now furnish the initiative, all appeal to the public-spirited to lend a hand by insisting that the present law be complied with, and that its provisions be so extended at the next legislature as to place Illinois abreast of those states which already possess the most enlightened measures for protection of the working children.

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SOCIAL CONTROL. XI.

I.

In the last paper it was shown how Enlightenment can redound to the social profit. But the taming of men is no carpet business. There must be provided coil after coil to entangle the unruly one that will not walk in the beaten paths. Man-quellers must have at hand fallacies as well as reasons, snares as well as leading strings, will-o'-the-wisps as well as lanterns. The truth by all means if it will promote obedience, but in any case obedience—this is the maxim to act upon. Hence, coupled with the social endeavor to clarify the individual's judgment on certain points, we detect an unmistakable effort to confuse, befuddle, and mislead it on other points. Society, taking a leaf from the policy of nature, masters the trick of deception. Of outright invention there is here no question. The fraction of a percentum that has the initiative in most social regulation has neither the common understanding nor the conscious purpose needful for outwitting men by any *fraus pia.* But we *do* find that certain appearances which mask the face of reality have been seized upon, turned, and manipulated for the management of men.

I showed in an earlier paper how, upon a platform of belief in the supernatural, various orders of extra-mundane sanctions come to be planted for the upholding of the commandments. In this paper I shall show society again making use of conviction, but in a different way. We shall examine, not creeds, but the films, veils, hidden mirrors, and half-lights by which men are duped as to that which lies nearest them — their own experience. This time we shall see men led captive, not by dogmas concerning a world beyond experience, but by artfully fostered misconceptions of the pains, satisfactions, and values lying under their

very noses. The fitting term for this, therefore, is not *control by belief*, but *control by illusion*. Of such illusions we can describe only a few leading types.

II.

Pseudo-consequence.—This grows out of the method of Enlightenment itself. The guardians of society, not content with enforcing their precepts with the genuine sanctions, often draw upon their imagination. It is so easy to exaggerate effects, to ignore exceptions, to overlook qualifying circumstances, to marshal fanciful consequences. Most moral instruction reeks with a disingenuousness which everybody excuses because it is salutary. A fine disregard for the real aftermath of heroic deeds and a shameless use of bugaboos to scare people away from the forbidden are everywhere the mark of the didactic. Sunday-school literature, for instance, plays fast and loose with the facts of life in its efforts to connect church-going with commercial prosperity, the memorizing of texts with worldly preferment, Sabbath-breaking with the gallows. It finds a mysterious causal relation between the robbing of orchards and the breaking of boughs, the Sunday sail and the capsizing boat. This rank growth of humbug for the young finally provokes the humorist to intervene with his "Story of an Ill-natured Boy," and his aphorism, "Be good and you will be lonesome."

Nor does the adult escape. It was Artemus Ward, with his "Moral Show," who satirized the American rage for edification. The social encouragement to pious fraud is seen in the tall exegesis of the biblical allusions to wine, that has become popular with us since the temperance movement. Much of the teaching as to the physiological effects of alcohol and narcotics is known to be merest rubbish. In literature romanticism, whatever troubles it heaps on the innocent, knows how to extricate them at the end and reward their virtue. Failure to do this is tragedy, and tragedy has no larger place with us than it had with the Greeks. Realism labors to banish cheap optimism, and to be at least as candid as the author of Job. But realism makes little

headway. Fairy tale, legend, and saga boldly suited the lot of man to his desert, and the fiction and drama of today, as well as most of our history and biography, do not hesitate to do the same. What better witness could there be to the divorce of literature from life than the fact that the case of a righteous man, stricken by calamity, is still held to present "a problem"?

III.

Solidarity.—Many thinkers have flattered themselves that the phenomena of interdependence present solid ground for an appeal on behalf of a social line of conduct. Max Nordau, after shattering the traditional bases of obedience, brings forward the social solidarity as the cornerstone of the morality of the future. This morality of solidarity which "has a reasonable answer to every question" meets the inquiry: "What reward, what punishment, will follow my actions?" And to this it gives the satisfying reply: "As you are a part of humanity, its prosperity is your prosperity, and its sufferings your sufferings. If you do that which is good for humanity, you do good to yourself; but if you do that which is injurious to it, you inflict an injury upon yourself. A flourishing humanity is your paradise, a decaying humanity your hell."

But the facts of solidarity have long been urged. St. Paul, in the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians, referring to the association of men to an organism, says:

> For the body is not one member, but many.
>
> If the foot shall say, "Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body," is it, therefore, not of the body?
>
> And the eye cannot say unto the hand, "I have no need of thee;" nor again the head to the feet, "I have no need of you."
>
> And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

Says Marcus Aurelius: "For we are made for coöperation like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and the lower teeth." "If thou didst ever see a hand cut off, or a foot, or a head, lying anywhere apart from the rest of the body,

such does a man make himself . . . . who separates himself from others or does anything unsocial." "Whatever act of thine then has no reference either immediately or remotely to a social end, this tears asunder thy life, and does not allow it to be one, and is of the nature of a mutiny."

And Whitman says:

> Whoever degrades another degrades me;
> And whatever is done or said returns at last to me.

This ground of appeal is at once very old and very new. We find it with those ancient thinkers who first observed the social division of labor and marked its consequences. We find it with the latest students of society, such as Comte, Carlyle, and Emerson. Moralists have written their best pages in showing our interdependence and tracing the train of reactions by which evil recoils upon the head of the evil doer, or good returns to the righteous man. Fables and parables delight in devising social circuits by which one comes to reap that which he has sown. Sermons without number have pressed home their exhortations with the facts of solidarity. Everywhere we spur the citizen to needful patriotic or civic endeavor by assuring him he cannot escape the common lot. And as the supernatural recompense grows doubtful, the more eagerly we look for natural recompense. So many unsuspected sanctions for right doing have later studies brought to light that not a few enthusiasts cherish the hope that, as the old supports decay, a scientific analysis of society, with its demonstration of interaction and solidarity, may serve to uphold the moral life.

That the undeniable solidarity that is more and more furnishes each of us with a sufficing reason for "fulfilling the law" is an illusion. It is demonstrably untrue that we thrive only when the group thrives; that, entangled as we are in a network of social relationships, we cannot fare well when the social body fares ill; that labor for the corporate welfare pays the best dividend to self. There are, of course, cases where the interest of the selfish man is identical with that of his group. When a

tribe is so hard-pressed that each of its fighters is of pivotal importance, and when the issue is either a common safety or a common ruin, each, led by his interest, will do just what his group would have him do. But in peace time people are not so closely matted together but that some may rise at the expense of the rest. The lot of the individual is sufficiently apart from the fortune of the group for him to snatch a gain for himself, just as the capitalist may profitably steal a franchise, even though he raises his taxes thereby.

The longer time we allow, the oftener may we see the transgressor sicken with the very virus he has introduced into the veins of society. So they who take the sword come to perish by the sword. But it often takes long to complete the circuit; and human life is not for the long run. The world's "judgment days" are not a success in respect to settling with the right persons. It is still *the children* whose "teeth are set on edge." The "deluge" is *after us*. The bad man profits, enjoys, and flits ere the social Nemesis arrives.

Surprising as are the interactions that enchant the social philosopher, they cannot work miracles. Curses do not always recoil on the head of the curser. Only to an Emerson does the thief "steal from himself," the swindler "swindle himself." Of tares men reap tares, but not everyone who sows tares will reap them himself. If Providence does not bring back the "bread cast upon the waters," one may well hesitate to cast it forth; for we have no guarantee that social interactions will do it. There is considerable proof that a man will *feel* the social lot, but there is no demonstrating that he will *share* it.

The solidarity notion finds a variant in the fallacy bred in the bone of jurists, legal writers, political philosophers, and moral empirists generally, that the social necessity from which requirements flow is a sufficing ground of obedience. Nearly all who have approached the moral problem from the side of social science — and they are many in these latter days — regard the common blessings of order as at once standard and sanction of social behests, and look upon those who disobey in the face of

such demonstration as a handful of passion-led men who will not hearken to reason.

It is true that I desire my group strong and prosperous. It is true that the codes, legal and moral, define the conditions of this social well-being, and hence I wish them to be generally obeyed. But — and now comes the thin ice — in any particular instance the question is not, "What if this rule be abrogated?" but, "What if I break it while others continue to obey it?" To have my way may mean much to me, may hurt society but little. Therefore I will transgress, hoping, however, for my own sake that the rest will not do the same. For the logical and consistent attitude of the self-seeker toward a beneficent social requirement is to ignore it himself in the very moment of imposing it upon others.

Recently an assemblyman, who had induced his legislature to enact a law forbidding the dynamiting of streams, was found swooning by a mountain creek, one arm torn off by the premature explosion of a dynamite cartridge. This violation of his own law throws into bold relief the contradiction between a man in his corporate capacity, judging, characterizing, and controlling the acts of individuals, and the same man in his private capacity, scheming to evade this control. Current ethics pronounces this legislator illogical, inconsistent, self-contradictory. He was none of these; he was simply a hypocrite.

The solidarity plea, therefore, may be valid for the social man who needs it least, but not for the individualist to whom it is addressed. And if it influences him — as undoubtedly it does — it succeeds only because it leads him to confuse his status as member of the controlling group with his status as controlled individual. And it is, therefore, safe to urge against Nordau, and the optimists generally, that the solidarity of society, while yielding a scientific criterion of right and wrong, gives no irrefragable reason to him who is not disposed to do the right. Their "firm foundation" for the good conduct of the future is a quaking bog of fallacy and illusion.

IV.

Asceticism.— Asceticism is a stream fed by several springs. It is a symptom of bad race temperament, depressing climate, or low physical tone. It is the resource of a rising contemplative class in getting the upper hand of rude, violent men. It is the creed of the poor, who, having no other gift to lay on the altar, bring their virginity or their natural affections as an acceptable sacrifice. It is a corollary of triumphant supernaturalism, the aspect of man's life when regarded from the far end of the theological telescope. It is the regimen of thinkers who recognize in it "an *optimum* of the conditions of highest and keenest spirituality."[1] It is the cult of pain that springs up spontaneously among serfs, peasants, sailors, or miners, as befitting the mood in which they must face the hardships of their lot. But these do not suffice to account for a phenomenon that we have learned to expect whenever a race or class touches a certain level of culture. The volume and persistence of the world's asceticism cannot be understood until we take note of its employment as instrument of social control.

I have already pointed out[2] that *character* implies a habit of inhibiting the promptings of appetite and passion in favor of a steady pursuit of rational aims. Something of contempt for gratification, therefore, has always entered into the rearing of stark men, be they Spartans, Romans, Puritans, or Boers. But the severity that toughens the fiber of the will in the interest of personal efficiency gives us no real clew to the meaning of that life-hating doctrine that seeks to maim rather than to build up the individual. And with good reason. For the secret of asceticism is this: *It is the régime that tames men for social life.*

Society through the ascetic priest, attacks the egoistic instincts seeking to hamstring the primitive impulses of lust, greed, and pride, the chief mischief-makers among associated men. But this is not all. In the development of the individual we find beyond the period of the fierce pursuit of objects of

[1] NIETZSCHE, *A Genealogy of Morals*, p. 145.

[2] In "Social Control. X."

desire a reflective period in which, generalizing from his experience, he concludes that pleasure is the sole object of rational endeavor. Now this hedonic creed of life, despite a certain Epicurean mildness, makes on the whole for self, rather than for others, and is in this way a disintegrating force. Those sages who have thought to socialize men by marshaling purely hedonic considerations have always failed. Naked, unshamed hedonism is anti-social. The social policy is to discredit the calculus of feelings, so that men may again pass under the dominion of the object.[1] For only on this condition can society reinstate its ideals and values as goals of endeavor.

To this end the ascetic teacher snubs the healthy instincts, abases the "body," rejects the common-sense sanctions of pleasure and pain, flouts the "carnal" reason, disparages the "natural" man, and in every way seeks to break down the hedonist appraisal of life. It is true this leaves little to strive for. It abolishes at a stroke four-fifths of willing. But the void thus created may in itself be prized as "Nirvana;" or it may be filled by exalting public activities; or certain "inward" goods — "salvation," "peace," "love of God," "union with God," "the Beatific Vision" — may become goals of endeavor. Along this line, then, the ascetic, be he Buddhist, stoic, Christian, or Sufi, tames lustful, grasping, vying men and transforms them into quiet, untroublesome members of society.

But this is not enough. The tamed energy of the anchorite wasting itself in fast and penance and self-torture is socially useless. The unlimited saint would do away with associate life about as quickly as the unlimited sinner. Urging, therefore, "weakness of the flesh" or "hardness of heart" or other excuse, the ascetic teacher usually manages to stop short of an extreme pessimism that would plunge the race into quietism or suicide. The simple, naïve life in fraternal communities is approved, and the teacher addresses himself to cutting away as proud-flesh all riches, luxury, or ambition. He joins the ethic of compassion to the gospel of renunciation, so that the strong,

[1] See MARTINEAU, *Types of Ethical Theory*, Vol. II, pp. 321–3.

after consenting to forego the quest of pleasure, are induced to shoulder the burdens of the weak. Thus diluted and doctored, ascetic ideas promote social harmony by fostering the spirit of brotherhood and smoothing away the harsher inequalities that spring up in society.

The extravagance and vehemence of assertion needed to impress the many may mislead the few. Narcotics are dangerous, and it is impossible to drug an entire people without an occasional overdose. Many a one over-responsive to these daring paradoxes betakes himself to pillar or cave, and so ceases to benefit his fellow-men. Moreover, the ascetic priest is no infallible physician, nor is his eye single to the regulation of men in the interest of a healthy, harmonious social life. Whole communities, as in the fourth century, steeped in the morbid teachings of fanatics, have sunk into a miserable paralysis. Well does Lecky say: "A hideous, sordid, and emaciated maniac, without knowledge, without patriotism, without natural affection, passing his life in a long routine of useless and atrocious self-torture, and quailing before the ghastly phantoms of his delirious brain, had become the ideal of the nations, which had known the writings of Plato and Cicero and the lives of Socrates and Cato." [1]

But once its terrible toxic power is realized, asceticism administered in more cautious doses is capable of beneficent effects. Besides acting as a tonic to the will and an antiseptic against a corrupting sensuality, it is a sedative moderating the spirit of fierce strife and worldly ambition. The teaching of Gautama, who, after practicing the utmost austerities of his time gave them up and preached "the Middle Way," has made Asia mild. Likewise the doctrines of Jesus, since the excesses of monasticism passed away, have fostered a readiness to self-sacrifice which has been of vast ethical benefit to European civilization.

That the ascetic view of the "world" is an illusion it is scarcely necessary to show. The ecstasies, visions, insights, and Nirvanas for the sake of which the natural man is to be crucified

[1] *History of European Morals*, Vol. II, p. 107.

are not genuine goods, but hallucinations. To pursue them as supreme blessings is to relinquish realities for mocking phantasms. The worship of pain has never contributed an element of solid worth to human life which might not have been added through the gradual enlightenment of the judgment and the elevation of taste. Despite its pretensions, it has neither enriched man's experience nor unsealed new springs of joy.

Nor is this illusion so necessary as once it was. The world is passing from a "pain economy"—to use Professor Patten's phrase[1]—to a "pleasure economy," and can, therefore, lay the moral accent differently. The cult of pain that once served to keep men from clutching at one another's means of enjoyment is less needed, now that these means have become abundant and diffused. And—what is still more important—our satisfactions themselves are in course of refinement. Men are turning from material and exclusive pleasures, not startled by the wild paradoxes of the ascetic priest, but drawn by the charm of new kinds of enjoyment. By educating the modern world to higher and more spiritual delights, the art and culture of the Greeks, recovered to us by the revival of learning, have done more to deliver from the old ravening lust and greed than did ever Diogenes or St. Jerome. Not monkish vigils, but the pursuit of culture, blanches the face and refines the features of the modern man. With the diffusion of higher tastes, society may safely soften its official rancor against life, and serenely look forward to the time when ascetic ideas may be dismissed with thanks for their services.

V.

Moral philosophy.—During the last three centuries there has been gradually disengaged from supernaturalism a system of ethical ideas which, under the name of "moral philosophy," has won with west European peoples a considerable authority of its own. This system, making its way step by step, as rationalism has beaten back theological ideas, has always professed to declare the true criteria and sanctions of conduct in lieu of those

[1] See PATTEN's *Theory of the Social Forces.*

which are supernatural and false. As a matter of fact, this moral philosophy, or "moral science," as in this scientific age it is pleased to call itself, is the successor to which theology handed her scepter as she lost her empire over souls. And the ideas that bear up this new rule, however innocent and even sanative they be, are beyond all doubt hollow and illusory.

A leading idea of this system is that actions have a moral quality irrespective of their consequences. In religious systems the standard of conduct is the will of God revealed or implanted. Ethics, on discarding this idea, might have announced the only sure and scientific criterion by which actions may be divided into good and bad, viz., Results. But such frankness would have been fatal. If society bade us look to the consequences of an act, whether promoting or injuring the general well-being, it would thereby place its welfare in the foolish hands of rash, short-sighted, and inexperienced people. How few are competent to do their own social philosophizing! In a maze of effects, how is the ordinary man, with his little arc of experience, to judge the real trend of actions? Like a wise parent who realizes that some of his commands may not be placed on grounds of reason, but must rest on his sheer dictum, society refuses to let its members into its central secrets. Special systems of requirement—military, clerical, or industrial discipline—are avowed to rest on utility. But for its central requirements a surer criterion is claimed. They are not *social;* they are *moral.* Not their consequences, but their *essential nature*, marks this class of actions as good, that class as bad. By thus registering its age-clarified, time-winnowed judgments as to what is good for it or bad for it in a Moral Code, society delivers its well-being from the hasty, biased judgments of the purblind many.

Another idea is that human nature is formed, divinely constituted, and intended for goodness; that uprightness, self-sacrifice, and forgiveness are *natural* to us in a way that indirection, selfishness, and resentment are not. On this point religion held otherwise. The idea of original sin thrown out by the Jahvehistic author of Genesis about 850 B. C. was neglected

till St. Paul made it the cornerstone of his theology. Afterward adopted by Augustine and Calvin, it became part of the official psychology of Christendom. Despite its connection with a fabled "Fall," this notion of human nature lasted long because so obviously in consonance with the facts. The "law in our members warring against the law in our minds and bringing us into captivity to sin," we now know to be the "ape and tiger" living over into their distant relatives. But until Darwin there was no scientific explanation of the facts which the doctrine of inborn depravity sought to interpret.

Moral philosophers, on the other hand, from Mencius to Shaftesbury, from Zeno to Bishop Butler, and from Marcus Aurelius to Kant, shut their eyes to such facts. They hide with roses the abyss between the natural man and the man required in our complicated societies. They overlook the strain our social order puts on the natural instincts. They ignore the historical recency of many social requirements. Deriving the rule of right from the constitution of the mind, they find virtue conformable to our nature and are able to convict *l'homme moyen sensuel* of being unnatural and foolish as well as wicked. In the early impulsive ages such ideas could have little influence on conduct. But since the rhythms of settled life, the regularity of social pursuits, and the iron routine of labor have made self-control common, these considerations which enlist the reflective self on the side of obedience acquire a high value for regulation.

A third idea is that actions fall naturally into two groups. In the first group, which comprises most human activities, the ground of choice is found in the nature of the consequences; in the second group, called "conduct," the ground of choice is to be sought in the *conscience* or *moral reason*. As a matter of fact, the consequences of any act, as they are the natural criterion for judging it, constitute the natural sanction for doing or shunning it. This holds true even in that borderland where the paths of individuals intersect and their purposes are liable to clash. Here we have the complication that the doer of an act may reap the pleasant consequences of it while others reap its unpleasant con-

sequences. If the doer is unsocial, his "good" will be society's "bad," and there will be nothing for it but to convert him or control him. But, if thoroughly fit for fellowship, he will appraise consequences to others at par, and so the sanction of consequence will lead him to follow a social line of conduct. The mother in doing for her children, the Samaritan in helping his neighbor, the patriot in serving his country, is guided by *results*. In fact, whoever heartily shares a common life will act devotedly with the joint welfare in view. In such cases we recognize the change of venue to conscience as a lapse and a sign of decay.

The looking within for sanctions is the way of the under-socialized person. Far from being a badge of perfection, it is a mark of defect. When the *alter*-feeling is faint or when we push beyond the confines of our corporate sense, we get deadness to consequences and the leaden sense of obligation. The resort to inner justification, therefore, reveals the boundaries of one's *socius*. It belongs to frontier conduct. It prevails in the debatable ground between whole-souled concern and whole-souled indifference. Here springs that effortful, inward-looking righteousness that rigorists term "virtue," and adopt as the model and type of all goodness whatsoever.[1] Teutonic peoples, strong in character, but weak in imagination, tend, it is true, to inward reference; but Latin peoples, with a livelier social sense push along the social car without so much reflection. In times of change or peril the clumsy system of inner reference yields to disinterested action, springing from *esprit du corps*, fellow-feeling, and loyalty. But for the fixed relations and stereotyped offices of a settled social life, there is nothing better than the habit of reference to a well-primed conscience. *It is one way of getting right action in default of social feeling.*

Let us now probe the reigning moral psychology. This century has been marked by the eager exploration of human

[1] KANT insisted a good action must proceed "from respect for the law." Hence SCHILLER:

> "Willingly serve I my friends, but I do it, alas, with affection,
> Hence I am plagued with doubt; virtue I have not attained."

nature in quest of supports for the social. Religious thinkers have emphasized the sentiments of mystery, dependence, and reverence, the sense of sin, the emotions of conversion and regeneration, because these phenomena, when the last drop of implication is wrung from them, seem to suggest the chief concepts of religion. As the objective supports — sacred books, tradition, the evidences — rot away, new subjective supports are sought, and theology, ceasing to account for the Cosmos, becomes a way of interpreting certain facts of common experience.

With this shifting of base, religion gains in value, because the social element no longer needs to be *smuggled* into it, as it has to be into systems of objective belief. It was a sheer *tour de force* to assert that not "firstlings," but the doing of justice, is the acceptable sacrifice. But when religion gets a subjective basis, it has full warrant to be social. These emotions bursting up right through the floor of the scheming, aggressive self have a social origin and a social purport. Consequently the constructions made from these materials will be splendidly suited to social control. The "true" and "higher" self aimed at will be the reverent, obedient self, and the "Higher-than-We," the "Stream-of-Tendency-not-Ourselves," will be a law-giving, right-loving, group-protecting God.

Now, similar tactics are followed by the moral philosopher. After the partial failure of the eighteenth century appeal to reason, the moralist, turning his back on the baldly rational as well as the frankly supernatural, explores anew the personal life. Selecting such experiences as sense of oughtness, feeling of responsibility, bad conscience, repentance, and the like, he isolates, studies, magnifies, generalizes, and interprets them into an authoritative philosophy of life. As the phenomena he selects are allied to those dwelt upon by the religious thinker, his results are not wholly dissimilar. His ethical philosophy proves to be religious philosophy truncated. Secular and scientific as he flatters himself to be, his constructions — Duty, Conscience, Categorical Imperative, Moral Law — are but torsos of deity.

In this case, as in others, society does not fabricate the instrument of control, but turns to account something already at hand. The beginning of moral philosophy is the honest interpretation of genuine experience. Over and over again choice spirits have given us the record of their inward struggles and their ethical salvation. In the Psalms and the Prophets, in the neo-Platonists and the stoics, and all down through the Christian centuries, we detect the note of moral crisis and triumph. But these stood as sequestered fountains of inspiration to which the few repaired. They were undisturbed until the break-down of other engines of regulation compelled society to cast about for fresh stimulus. Then the phenomena of the ethical consciousness were anxiously explored, analyzed, and interpreted by many thinkers; and these interpretations came to be organized into an imposing moral philosophy, which, to paraphrase a famous saying about the papacy, might be termed "the ghost of theology sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."

As the English theology of the early eighteenth century was simply the reflection of British constitutionalism, so this moral philosophy is modern legalism translated into consciousness. The "moral law" is the inner counterpart of that "law" which at the close of the later Middle Ages began to draw to itself the authority of the absolute monarch, and finally became supreme. That this abstraction is a figment there is scarcely need to show Psychology has turned its object-glass on the phenomena of "oughtness" and "moral responsibility," and bids fair to furnish ere long a genetic account of them.[1] A sacred or ethical psychology will prove no more immune than sacred cosmology from the biting acid of scientific criticism. The keen inquisitive spirit of the age bids fair to disintegrate all dogmas, however serviceable they may be, which cannot meet the modern tests.

The system just described remained no mere theory among theories but, when caught up by a society looking for a new discipline, becomes a full-blown creed and confession of faith. The pulpit is propped with it. Political thinkers anchor to it.

[1] See BALDWIN'S *Mental Development: Social Interpretations* for a brilliant example.

Statesmen ground their appeals on it. The law absorbs it, and lawyers and judges speak the language of it. Patriotic and civic feeling is challenged in its name. The poet hurriedly masks its stern outlines with myths, fancies, and allusions. The artist finds radiant and beautiful symbols for it. The tendency writer feeds upon it. In every college "moral philosophy" is taught; it underlies the most solemn appeals to rising manhood. Simplified, popularized, and stereotyped, it settles ever deeper into our education, till even the tenderest ages are prepossessed by it. Thus become conventional, official, and orthodox, moral philosophy has come to be in this century one of the two great secular instruments of control. The charm of a type, the authority of the inner law — these seem to be the master forces in the foremost societies and in the upper levels everywhere. "Rise to this ideal," and "Respect the dictates of conscience" — these injunctions disguised in a hundred ways are the pith of those appeals that smack most of the modern and democratic.

Obvious enough are the advantages of a system of ideas that controls by seeming to grant moral autonomy, that with lofty gesture refers the individual to the voice of his inmost self, after having carefully primed the monitor in advance. It will be better to dwell on the unsuspected weaknesses that forbid us to look upon it as a stand-by and a sheet-anchor of social order.

The ludicrous contrast between the ponderous court-of-law procedure of the moral philosopher and the simple directness of good people in the workaday world is significant. It means that *he has made the form of choice at the margin of sociality the type of all moral choosing.* This has given opportunity for many a novel, play, and satire, to drive home the contrast between conscientiousness and whole-souled goodness.

In lieu of an external code the staking of everything on conscience is liable to end in a badness the more complete because wearing that badge of goodness, "inward self-approval." The inward tables of the law are not easy to write from the outside. Morality, therefore, is liable to degenerate into a self-approbation of the hollow conscience, for which acts are good simply

because they are one's own, to become "an empty self-will and self-assurance, which, swollen with private sentiment or chance desire, wears a mask of goodness."[1] This is why England, "the chosen land of moral philosophy, has the reputation abroad of being the chief home of hypocrisy and cant."[1]

The policy of meeting the rationalism that threatens to dissolve one by one all faiths, obligations, and ideals by fairly outbidding it with the Moral Reason, is well-nigh done for. Rationalist ethics, unable to endure such sharp competition, is nearing bankruptcy. As the moralist delves deeper and deeper into the inner life to find a firm foundation for the summons to obedience, the skeptic follows and undermines him. The task of confounding the unjust man with reasons drawn from his own nature is futile. And even were it not, reasonableness is, after all, a tepid thing compared to patriotism or loyalty or love of a cause. The world hears the empty clatter about "realization of the rational self," and passes by on the other side.

If we read aright the last three decades, the inner voice has lost in clearness and authority. To the west European and the North American right no longer possesses the absoluteness of a graven law, but bends to circumstance, consequence, and feeling. National groups now claim what was meant for mankind. The ethics of the German is less universal since he has a country to love. In France the sentiment of patriotism proves far easier to foster than an exacting conscience. In England the "Nonconformist Conscience" is in abeyance. For all the nations imperialism holds the baton. Under the tutelage of Darwinism the world returns again to the idea that might as evidence of fitness has something to do with right. And yet with this dwells a vastly richer set of sympathies and a far more haunting consciousness of the corporate self. Though inward reference is on the decline, the world is more peopled with that large-pondering type of soul that feels, judges, and chooses from the collective standpoint. An observer of seven centuries ago, tracing the evolution of the warrior up to the mail-clad knight with half a hundred-weight of metal on his body, would have felt justified

[1] BRADLEY, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 436.

in deeming armor a permanent factor in warfare. So the man of the hour, on reviewing the history of the ideas that have finally enthroned social law in the soul's inner citadel, feels sure that in the growing authority of the "moral law" lies the hope of society. But the one may prove as mistaken as the other. There are tokens that the moral man is not the final type. The man with "outlook," with a realistic sense of the group, with a practical comprehension of the corporate life, may supplant him. The morbid inwardness of the conscientious person may pass away as sympathy ranges farther and group aims become clearer. The dreary stretches of duty may be covered by the rising tide of common life.

The spread of socialistic ideas heralds the advent of a habit of thought which is destined profoundly to modify our views of conduct and to hasten the development of the moral man into the social man. While it is safe to predict that collectivism will not prevail, it is certain that the habit of judging all institutions, measures, and policies from the standpoint of the social interest will extend to conduct. The monstrous and crazy deification of the individual into which orthodox ethics has drifted appears more and more absurd as we learn instinctively to place ourselves at the social point of view. It is the maxims of Nietzsche that show where the postulates of moral autonomy would lead us.

Not that this form of control will not leave lasting traces behind it. It has been more than a stop-gap. It has made possible the next ethical phase. It has nurtured a thoughtfulness which we shall need more and more as the social man strives to interpret the welfare of the brethren into the choices of his daily life. Kant has corrected Rousseau, and we shall never again expect the fitful gush of sentiment to carry men through their round of duties. Justice more than Love has thriven since pause and reflection taught us to lodge the casting vote with that spectator within who loves to see self and others contend in equal lists. And Justice, if we mistake not, we shall need even more in the future than we have in the past.

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UTILITARIAN ECONOMICS.

THE "riddle of the universe" is: What are we here for? or, as Humboldt expressed it: "Wüssten wir nur wenigstens, warum wir auf dieser Welt sind?"[1] Many besides Kidd have admitted that "there is no rational sanction for the conditions of progress."[2] The fact that we are here, and the fact that we constantly make sacrifices to secure our remaining here, become, therefore, to the thoughtful, troublesome puzzles. The great mass of mankind give no thought to the subject. Even the intelligent are for the most part content to feel that there is something within them that makes them cling to life irrespective of whether life is a gain or a loss.

Hitherto the subject has been approached either from the religious, the ethical, or the philosophical point of view, but quite recently for the first time it has been approached from the economic point of view. Dr. Simon N. Patten has pointed out that society presents us with two very different kinds of economy—a pain economy and a pleasure economy.[3] This puts the whole question in an entirely new light, and opens up novel and promising lines of discussion looking to its solution It is not that the truth itself is an altogether new one, but chiefly that it furnishes a new standpoint from which to contemplate the old truth.

I have been for many years engaged in trying to solve this problem. I have shown that it has as its basis the fact called feeling, *i. e.*, pleasure and pain. I have endeavored to demonstrate that feeling has had an objective and not a subjective origin, that it is simply a condition to the existence of the beings that possess it, and that the phenomena of good and evil are

[1] *Memoiren*, Vol. I, p. 367. [2] *Social Evolution*, p. 59.

[3] *The Theory of Social Forces.* Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1896, pp. 75 ff.

purely incidental, unintended, and apart from the general scheme of nature. I have further shown that this mere incident has been made the end of the creature, an end wholly distinct from the end of nature, producing activities that sometimes coincide with those involved in evolution, sometimes run parallel with and independent of them, sometimes deviate widely from them, and sometimes more or less directly conflict with them. I have traced many of these abnormal influences and shown what remarkable aberrations they have wrought in the world. Indeed, I have gone much farther than this. In carefully defining the nature of the social forces, I have shown that they consist in social wants, and have classified these. My primary classification was into essential and non-essential, and the former of these great classes was further subdivided into those relating respectively to the preservation and the perpetuation of life. It is clear that the economic view does not specially embrace the non-essential social forces, and it is equally clear that of the essential forces it is chiefly or wholly centered on those of preservation. What especially bears on the present question is the fact that my subdivision of the preservative social forces was into positive and negative, the former seeking pleasure, the latter avoiding pain.[1]

In elaborating this classification in my earlier work, I went over the whole ground somewhat exhaustively, and dwelt much longer on the preservative forces than on any of the other groups. Still, although I considered it from its economic aspect, I did not view it as an economist *von Fach*, and the chief value of Dr. Patten's contribution is just this strictly economistic attitude. In a review of his essay[2] I have stated that he does not seem to realize the far-reaching character of the principle, and has failed to seize the opportunity to broaden and deepen it in the interest of social science. In the present paper I shall attempt to explain the meaning of that statement, and to indicate some of the important corollaries that flow from it, as

[1] *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 472.

[2] AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. I, No. 5, March, 1896, p. 639.

well as to show what I conceive to be the plain and irresistible logic of the principle itself.

That this purely economic point of view is fully justified is clear when we consider to how great an extent all social wants are material and can only be satisfied by the possession of material objects rendered useful by human labor. Such objects are "goods" in the economic sense. In societies at all advanced scarcely anything has value which does not belong to this class. It is true that air, water, and standing room are the primary essentials to existence, and if withdrawn would leave nothing to dispute about, so that the *disputanda* are exclusive of these. But these alone will not sustain life, so that they are not the only essentials. Since man emerged from his animal and most primitive human stages, his chief energies have been directed to the acquirement of these artificial goods.

There are some who will say that to civilized man the most important possessions are immaterial and spiritual, such as social position, the approbation of others, and lofty aspirations. Although we here abandon the domain of the essential social forces, still it may be answered that even these things almost wholly grow out of the other material class. One of the chief bases of social position is wealth, and nothing is so potent in securing the approbation of others as an ample supply of this world's goods. As for aspirations, what value have they to those who cannot satisfy them? For this there must be opportunity, and opportunity to satisfy the highest æsthetic and intellectual yearnings comes through emancipation from physical toil and the possession of a sufficient amount of life's substantial gifts to insure leisure for the pursuit of ideals. Art cannot be prosecuted without not only time for prolonged unremunerative study, but also a fair supply of the material appliances necessary to æsthetic culture. In any purely intellectual pursuit books at least are always requisite, not to speak of the means implied in the preparation for a career, be it literary, professional, or scientific. Everything, therefore, seems to rest ultimately on an economic basis.

In our western civilization, as already remarked, the great majority even of the well-informed, and practically all of the lower classes, are optimistic. The former do not reflect upon their condition, and the latter simply struggle to exist. Neither ask what existence means. A few of both classes find it unbearable and try, often successfully, to put an end to it, but these only incur the contempt of the rest. A number even smaller than that of the suicides do reflect, not so much upon their own condition as upon that of others, and, finding it generally bad, declare that there is no rational ground for existence. These are called "pessimists" and are held in still greater execration than the suicides.

But this state of things is not universal. It is peculiar to western peoples, and quite a different one prevails in the East. At least the bulk of the teachings of oriental nations is pessimistic, and even the lower classes are represented as generally regarding life as an evil and annihilation as a blessing which they hope to attain. It is true that it is difficult to ascertain the real state of things in those countries, compelled, as we mostly are, to depend upon the interpretations of men of the West, who show by their conflicting reports that they are incapable of thoroughly assimilating the oriental spirit. I am, therefore, prepared to believe that, in the lower ranks at least, there is also a preponderance of optimism in the East.

But to show that there is everywhere a basis for pessimism it is only necessary to point to the wide prevalence of asceticism throughout Christendom. Christianity may have simply averted a universal pessimism by introducing the conception of a future compensation for present evils. Mohammedanism does the same, and wherever these faiths prevail asceticism takes the place of pessimism. Asceticism in all its forms recognizes the same truth that pessimism asserts, viz., that affairs, in this world at least, are bad. Christianity openly teaches this, and the burden of its texts, its hymns, and its sermons is the worthlessness of mundane things. All its austerities are based on this idea, and the self-denial, mortification, penance, and puritanism,

so prevalent in Christian countries, are only so many expressions of the universal undercurrent of asceticism.

Moreover, the ethical code of the West is not only tinctured with this same spirit, but is virtually based upon it, as I hope to make clear later, so that, after all, there is not so much difference in the two great philosophies of the world as might be supposed from a superficial view of the question.

Aside, therefore, from pessimism, which declares that matters are the worst possible, and is therefore a sort of licensed hyperbole, and aside even from *pejorism*, which assumes to decide the question whether the good or the bad predominates, and declares for the latter, there is throughout the world, and especially among all peoples whose rationality is at all marked, a universal recognition, though largely unconscious, of what may be called *malism*, which only vaguely declares that things are bad. It is the basis of this feeling that I now propose to examine, in order, if possible, to determine whether it is an objective reality or an illusion.

It is just here that biology lends its aid. What is the condition of the animal? Darwin has shown that there is a "struggle for existence." I am not disposed to exaggerate the meaning of this phrase. I admit that animals are largely unconscious of any "struggle," and that it may not greatly lessen their enjoyment of life. They do not suffer from imaginary evils, they do not anticipate those of the future, and they may not vividly remember the pains previously experienced. In fact, as is well known, they fear the ones they have never experienced as much as those they have actually suffered. Their mental states are chiefly controlled by instincts made up of the inherited experiences of their ancestors. But turn it as you may, the fact remains that in nearly every natural race of creatures, in order to hold their own against the buffets of the world, somewhere from ten to a thousand individuals have to be born for every one that lives out its normal period of existence. In every case the great majority succumb, before the age of reproduction, to enemies, to disease, to starvation, or to the elements, and the survivors, throughout

their entire lives, are incessantly threatened with the same fate. It is, therefore, no wonder that animals are "wild." They seem to resort to every conceivable device to escape these dangers, and nature through innumerable instincts seems to aid them in their efforts. Some are fleet of foot or swift of wing; others have delicate senses of hearing, sight, or smell; others have wonderful powers of concealment; and still others are endowed with numberless arts of imitation, feigning, and deception. All this is independent of the countless organic devices for protection—shells, armors, spines, bristles, musk sacs, ink bags, and all the forms of imitative coloring.

Nearly all animals are always on the alert. Some, as hares, sleep with their eyes open. Thousands are nocturnal in order to evade diurnal enemies, and are thus denied all the enjoyments of a life in the open daylight and sunshine. All are constantly ready to fly at the least sign of danger, and even those that prey upon others must themselves watch lest stronger or more cunning ones deprive them of their spoils. Even if there were no other animal to fear, there would remain the fear of men, "ces monstres nos éternels ennemis."[1] This fact, that one half of the animal world lives by devouring the other half, has perhaps been too frequently dwelt upon, but it still stands in all its sullen hideousness before the defenders of a moral order. In this sub-world of animal life the primary motive is fear.

But if the human race cannot realize its condition, the animal races cannot be expected to do so. Their sole thought is to escape from danger. It is not to be supposed that they have any idea of preserving life. What they seek to avoid is simply pain, not death. Dr. Patten is therefore perfectly right when he says that animal existence (in the wild state) represents a "pain economy." When we realize that it is pain only that animals fear and fly from, we can understand what is meant by the instinct of self-preservation. As pain leads to death, to escape it is to escape death and to preserve life. For thus was it ordered in the primary adaptation which brought feeling and

[1] VOLTAIRE, "Le Chapon et la Poularde," *Dialogues*, etc., p. 100.

mind into the world. This shows us the great value that the biological aspect of the subject possesses for psychology, for economics, and for sociology. It explains the meaning of the law of self-preservation in man. What is this meaning?

"Self-preservation is the first law of nature." So runs the adage. And it is true. It is true quite independently of the quality of the life that so much effort is made to preserve. Whether it is worth preserving or not has no bearing upon the result. This is so because man was himself once an animal and knew nothing about death. He then fled from pain as animals do. After his brain had so far developed that he was capable of mentally connecting pain with death and of realizing that to escape pain was to preserve life, the instinct which had brought him through to that state was ineradicably implanted in his nature, and no amount of knowledge or force of reason has ever sufficed to disturb it. By the time he was able to express ideas by oral language so completely had the derivative conception of preserving life supplanted the original conception of escaping pain that the latter was lost sight of, and it would be to many today a new thought, while some might even be found to question it.

Here, too, is to be found the true explanation of *optimism*. It is simply the instinct of self-preservation, a survival of the instinct of pain avoidance, and forms the negative aspect of the primordial psychic factor *feeling*, which was the essential condition to the origin and development of the entire class of beings that possess it. It is not, therefore, to be expected that anything so deeply rooted in the constitution of organic nature should be affected by the cold calculations of latter-day philosophers who may balance up the debits and credits of life and figure out a deficit. Whether there be such a deficit in animal life, and whether there has been any such in human life thus far, or in any stage or portion of it, it may be impossible exactly to decide, but in any case it is certain that the instinct to escape danger has been successful in tiding man over the prolonged

period of his prehistoric existence and in buoying him on into his present more or less civilized state.

During all the early portion of this period, however long it may have been, there was nothing to interrupt the steady and persistent action of this psychic force working in complete harmony with cosmic law toward the primary end of organic evolution. But as the cerebral hemispheres grew and the thinking powers increased, and especially after society, art, and industry had become fixed institutions, and after priesthoods had been established, forming a sedentary class, philosophy took root and the thought of man turned to the study and analysis of his condition. Then began, by little and little, that slow transformation which has ultimately brought about the pessimism of the East and the asceticism of the West, to which reference has been made. It has never been sufficiently pronounced to resist the powerful tide of optimism, but it has created a manifest ripple on the surface and here and there an eddy in the stream itself.

While orientalism would seem to be more favorable than asceticism to the growth of this anti-optimistic tendency, the indications are that it is in the West that we must look for its greatest development. This is not because Christianity is more favorable to it, but because it is here that a true knowledge of nature is being acquired through the revelations of science and the unavoidable philosophy that is growing out of them. The most enlightened western races are letting in the dry light of investigation and reason upon every domain of nature and are fearlessly formulating the resultant logic, leaving consequences to take care of themselves. Latterly these researches have been more and more directed to the higher social conditions, and they have not only confirmed the widespread belief in malism, but have penetrated to its causes and conditions and somewhat stripped it of the sanctity that has hitherto surrounded it. In the present state of the world there may be danger that these influences will antagonize the normal laws of development and tend to bring the hitherto rapid growth of population to a standstill.

I long ago pointed out that reason often works at cross purposes with natural law, and may have brought about the extinction of races.[1] This, however, related to the effect of error, which only a rational being can commit, and the remedy lies in the discovery of truth and the diffusion of knowledge. This stage is probably past by the leading races of the world. But there is another way in which reason may conflict with law, and this is the case before us. There is a great dualism in the organic world. There are two wholly independent forces at work which may coöperate, or may follow parallel lines without affecting each other, or may conflict in any and all degrees. The only check upon this last is the fact that direct conflict, if sufficiently prolonged, leads to extinction, and only such races have survived as have avoided such conflict, at least to the extent of maintaining their existence.

These two forces are the ones which I have on numerous occasions described as those, on the one hand, which secure the performance of *function*, and those, on the other, that proceed from *feeling*. The first are *normal*, and constitute the primary law of evolution as it operates in the organic world. The second are *supra-normal*, and constitute an entirely new departure from that primary law. They are, so to speak, wholly incidental and unintended, not having been, as it were, contemplated by nature when the psychic element was introduced. That element was developed for a totally different purpose, viz., as already stated, in order to enable a certain class of evolutionary products to exist which could not have existed without it, to wit: plastic organisms. These must possess some means of escaping destructive tendencies and of replenishing organic waste through metabolism of their substance. The only such means that we can conceive of is feeling, *i. e.*, sensitiveness to pain and capacity for pleasure. In order to secure the end these subjective states must constitute the motives to all the so-called spontaneous activity of this class of beings. As a matter of fact, they do constitute such motives. Their *normal* operation secures the ends of nature in a most admirable manner, and this

[1] *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, pp. 270, 287.

adaptation of means to ends is one of the most striking and wonderful in the whole range of nature's operations. So long as the psychic element remained at this lowest stage of pure feeling, it was a perfectly safe ally of the other cosmic forces. The struggle might go on, and no matter how great the havoc among the animated and sensitive molecules and cells, they would all prove true to their original purpose and survive or perish as fate might decide.

But the same agencies that created the primary psychic element worked for its development. The more intense it was, the more certain were its effects in securing the preservation and multiplication of life. A stage was at length reached at which a second element, derivative, indeed, but distinct in its mode of action, made its appearance and was slowly developed. This was the *reason*, dimly apparent in some very lowly creatures, and plainly manifest in the highest animal races. I have attempted[1] fully to trace the origin and development of this new psychic element and need not now repeat this history. Born of the cosmic law and created to be the servant of the primary element, it may be described in one phrase as a device for securing indirectly those ends which could not be secured directly. It is easy to see that, so far at least as the ends of the creature were concerned, this step represented a great gain.

The profound bio-psychic dualism under consideration demands still further elucidation. As I have pointed out on a former occasion,[2] function is essentially static, while feeling alone is dynamic. The former rests on the law of heredity, the latter underlies the phenomena of variation. But throughout the animal series these two factors coöperate with sufficient exactness to be in the main safe. They are self-regulating, and natural selection may be trusted to correct any dangerous tendency toward an undue deviation from the type. Near the end of that series there have occurred, it is true, enormous aberrations, in certain respects almost completely reversing the normal condition

[1] *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, Part II.

[2] *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2, New York, June, 1895, pp. 206, 207.

of things, but none of these have seriously interfered with the law of heredity, and in some the power of structural advancement has been manifestly increased. These aberrations have all been due to the growth of an inchoate rational faculty which, in exact proportion to its strength, has made feeling more and more an end. The necessary effect of the reason is to increase the tendency to vary, and a stage was at length reached at which this tendency began to threaten the safety of the type.

Early in the human period this stage was reached, and but for certain countervailing agencies the race must have been prematurely extinguished. The law of self-preservation would not alone have sufficed to save it, and if there is any distinction between that law and the remedial optimism that supervened, this is what we are now seeking. Viewed from this standpoint, optimism may be characterized as the law of *social* self-preservation. We find everywhere in savage, barbaric, semi-civilized, and even civilized races a certain class of ideas in common which make for race preservation, in more or less direct conflict with individual interest. These are embodied in customs, institutions, religious observances, and moral precepts. They are sometimes referred to as the "collective wisdom" of mankind, a wisdom far greater than that of any individual, since they seem to involve foresight and to constitute a sort of social clairvoyance. They form the various codes of action—legal, moral, conventional, and social—of all races, and are rigidly enforced against the recognized anti-social propensities of individuals. Most of them are aimed directly at race preservation, but there are some, as, for example, the severe penalties imposed for the violation of the law of exogamy, which look to the preservation of the vigor of the race. They rest on a universal consensus respecting those things which, however pleasing to the individual, are injurious to the race and in any way threaten to reduce its numbers or weaken its strength. In one sense they are not rational, and in many respects they strikingly resemble the instincts of animals. Indeed, they may be regarded as the true homologues of these instincts. If they do not rest on reason, they at least

embody the highest wisdom. They almost always have the powerful sanction of religion, and for this reason some have confounded them with religion itself. Others believe them to be of divine origin and not explainable on natural principles.[1] In fact, they are difficult to explain, as, for example, how the lowest savages find out that close interbreeding deteriorates the stock. I am myself disposed to call in the law of natural selection and to assume that existing races represent the survivors in a prolonged struggle in which those not possessing these saving qualities have succumbed. This places them squarely in line with animal instincts, and the current of modern opinion runs in the direction of basing all instincts primarily upon some germ of reason.

Feeling may be said to have been developed as a means to the ends of nature, which are preservation and multiplication. But to the creature, which knew nothing of these ends, the means must be itself an end, and throughout the sentient world the subjective states described have always been, and must always continue to be, the ends of the feeling creature. But reason is a form of knowing, and step by step the knowing powers increased. The only purpose they could have for their possessors was that of better and better realizing the subjective states. It thus becomes easy to see how the pursuit of the creature's ends might often be quite a different thing from that of the ends of nature, and this, in fact, has been the case to a marked extent, which explains the dualism. It is this truth that lies at the bottom of the problem before us; indeed, it lies at the bottom of the whole philosophy of man and society.

In man reason has become a powerful element, and he has always used it, and will always continue to use it, for its primary purpose of better securing his only end, the satisfaction of the demands of his nature. As the eminent ethnologist, M. Paul Topinard, has recently said:

"His sensorium is the focus in which all is gathered. He is

[1] See WILLIAM W. CARLILE's recent article entitled: "Natura Naturans," in the *Philosophical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 6, Boston, November, 1895, p. 624.

perforce subjective. He is by sensibility and by logic egocentric. *I* first, *others* afterwards. . . . The thinkers that exercise their ingenuity in adapting him to the conditions of existence, in creating for him a world of his own, in laying down the rules for his conduct, and in seeking foundations for it least open to attack, must not forget that his only cherished aim is his own happiness."[1]

The happiness that man has always sought and is still seeking is, however, more or less relative. I have shown what is the condition of the animal in the wild state and how far short it falls of a state of ideal happiness. While man through his reason has undoubtedly improved upon that state, has reduced the enormous death rate, and has both lessened his pains and increased his pleasures, he has, to offset these gains, the evils of an intensified memory, the new powers of imagination and of anticipation, and a swarm of delicate mental capacities for feeling unknown to humbler creatures. And what has been his real condition from this point of view? A single glance into the lower strata of society even today is sufficient to show that it represents a pain economy. The leading motive still is fear, and the chief effort is not to enjoy, but simply to live. With all due allowance made for the superior "contentment" of the lower classes, and of their incapacity to enjoy the things that the more favored chiefly value, it must still be admitted that the great mass even in civilized countries lead a negative rather than a positive existence.

While it may not be possible to draw any line, it is evident that there exists somewhere a line that separates the negative from the positive state of existence—the pain from the pleasure economy. If we call all pains *minus* and all pleasures *plus*, that line will fall at the point where the algebraic sum of pains and pleasures is equal to zero. Any society below that line represents a pain economy, and only those societies that lie above that line represent a pleasure economy. There are certain tests which may be applied in trying to decide on which side of the

[1] *The Monist*, Vol. VI, No. 1, Chicago, October, 1895, pp. 46, 49.

zero line a given society should be placed. One is the economic test. The old economics doubtless reflected a large amount of truth and was more or less adapted to the time in which it was formulated. That science was almost exclusively based on the consideration of man as an animal, or, at best, as a "covetous animal," *i. e.*, an animal with some idea of the value of property. The fact that the Malthusian law has proved to hold throughout animal life shows that the man at least about whom Malthus was talking was only an advanced kind of animal. And it seems probable that the modern revolt against the old political economy is due as much to the fact that there has been a change in man himself as to any discovery by recent writers that the older writers were wrong. Certainly the old economics was wholly adapted to a pain economy, or a general state of society in which fear was the principal motive and life, not happiness, the principal aim. We may, therefore, infer that such was the state of society in Europe down to the close of the eighteenth century. *A fortiori*, all antecedent history must belong to a pain economy.

Another test is the ethical code. Almost the only ethics we have is what may properly be called negative. It is based on restraint and condemns nearly all activities that have happiness, and especially pleasure, for their object. It is safe to infer that there is good reason for this. In a pain economy the ethical code must necessarily be negative. It must lay chief emphasis upon those things which must not be done. All but two of the ten commandments are negative in form in both Exodus and Deuteronomy,[1] showing that it was then regarded as dangerous to pursue pleasure for its own sake. For where every energy is taxed to its utmost to maintain existence, any relaxation is unsafe. All must be perpetually on guard, and there must be no sleeping on one's post. Pursuit of pleasure means neglect of duty, and the terms pleasure and duty are the later homologues of the primary equivalents, feeling and function. It is the antithesis between the creature and the cosmos, between the individual

[1] Exodus 20:1–17; Deut. 5:7–21.

and the race, or, expressed in the language of theology, between man and God. In a pain economy a state of happiness at all prolonged is incompatible with safety. This is the true explanation of the austere ethical code under which we live, which, like every other structure, whether anatomical or social, tends to persist long after the causes that brought it forth have ceased to act.

The preservation, perpetuation, and increase of the human family, as well as the general development and perfectionment of our race and of all organic forms, which constitute what I have called the ends of nature, form, it is true, an inspiring theme, and an object well worthy of the tremendous sacrifices that have been made to secure it, yet, properly viewed, it has nothing whatever to do with economics. That science is based exclusively on the idea of utility in the narrower sense of good to the individual, and, however paradoxical it may sound, these grand objects are, in and of themselves, absolutely of no *use*. That is to say, utility relates solely and exclusively to what I have called the ends of the sentient creature, or, in the human sphere, the ends of man, and this notwithstanding that, as I have shown, the pursuit of such ends is purely incidental and unintended, and forms no part of the general scheme of nature.

But inasmuch as we have this dualism as one of the most remarkable facts of existence, it is the part of wisdom to recognize it and try to understand its significance. Instead of a mere temporary episode in the history of the world, it is a permanent condition. It has come to stay, and already its effects in every department upon which it has exerted an influence have been most sweeping. It has completely revolutionized some of these departments, even below the human plane, and its power over human and social affairs is stronger than anywhere else. This assertion of the claims of feeling, this *Bejahung des Willens zum Leben*, this soul of nature, is what I have elsewhere[1] characterized as the "transforming agency," and I have indicated some of the fields in which its activity has been greatest, and enumerated certain of its achievements.

[1] *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, chap. 14.

These facts are sufficient to show that this new cosmic and social agency is a growing power. I am now endeavoring to trace its history, and I propose to characterize the movement in its later social aspects as the subjective trend of modern philosophy. There has been going on along a number of more or less independent lines a continuous, though somewhat rhythmic, movement in the direction of the fuller realization of the ends of man as distinguished from those of nature, a subordination of the latter to the former, or an ignoring of the latter when they conflict with the former. This movement is nothing more nor less than a gradual transition from a pain economy to, or at least toward, a pleasure economy. It represents, in the fullest sense of the phrase, the progress of utilitarianism. It has been wholly due and strictly proportional to the growth of the rational faculty, the increase of knowledge, and the march of science. Without these it could only lead to disaster. The great danger has been that of running counter to the law of natural evolution and of bringing about racial degeneration and extinction. Reason has acted as a pilot to keep the ship of life off these bars and to guide it safely on in the current of natural law. This movement embodies all that is meant by the progress of the world, and underlies every problem of history, government, and society. Many have been alarmed at its encroachments, and the moral and religious teachers of every age have antagonized it and stigmatized it as hedonism and sensuality. Those who early scented it and voiced it—the Cumberlands, Shaftesburys, Hutchesons, Priestleys, Beccarias, and Benthams—have been attacked, denounced, and discredited as Utopian dreamers. But its greatest strides have been taken since their day, due far less to their influence than to the agencies which they sagaciously presaged. The opposition still continues, but grows weak and half-hearted. The latest warning voice has been that of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, who, while sympathizing with the movement, which he profoundly misunderstands, bases his plea upon the doctrine that acquired characteristics are not transmissible, a doctrine which Weismann has himself virtually abandoned, confounds optimism

with religion, and makes the increase of population constitute the whole of "social evolution."

It is too late now to stem this tide. The claims of a feeling world have come before the bar of rational judgment and been admitted. Those of a cold, unconscious Cosmos must give way except in so far as they may prove helpful in adjusting the others. A pain economy may be tolerated by non-rational beings. The savage and barbaric tribes of men may remain below the zero line. The lowest strata of so-called civilized society will doubtless long continue to vegetate with no hope beyond the preservation of existence under the operation of the ancestral optimism. Pessimism and asceticism will continue to attest the condemnation of reason for the condition of the world. In spite of all this, under science which makes for *meliorism*, the leveling process will go on, greater and greater numbers will rise above the economic *Nullpunkt*, and the field of pain economy will shrink as that of pleasure economy expands.

LESTER F. WARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REVIEWS.

Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus. Von JOSEF STAMMHAMMER. Zweite Auflage. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1893. Pp. 4+303, large 8vo. M. 10.

Bibliographie der Socialpolitik. Von JOSEF STAMMHAMMER. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896, Pp. 4+648, large 8vo. M. 18.

Wegweiser durch die neuere Literatur der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften. Von OTTO MÜHLBRECHT. Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1893. Pp. 28+748, large 8vo. M. 36.

IT HAS seemed desirable to notice these three works together, because they represent, probably, the most notable attempts to compile comprehensive bibliographies covering the newer phases of the social sciences.

The *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus* forms the first installment of a series of bibliographies projected by Josef Stammhammer, the librarian of the Juridisch-politischer Lese-Verein in Vienna, and designed to cover the field of "socialökonomischer Literatur." The *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik* forms the second work of the series. Other volumes will deal with the bibliography of "theoretischer Nationalökonomie," "Volkswirtschaftspolitik," and "Finanzwissenschaft."

The scope of the *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus* is fairly well indicated by its title. But the compiler has chosen to give a broad scope to the content of the terms socialism and communism, and has included in this volume topics only distantly related to socialism and communism in the narrow sense. The work contains titles of magazine articles and pamphlets as well as books. The main body of the publication consists of an alphabetical author list of each single book, pamphlet or article included. These entries give title in full, or nearly so, size, place, and date of publication, but do not give price. A subject index follows, in which the authors

are arranged under several hundred heads, with a page reference to the full title in the author list. A notable and valuable feature of the work is the space given to publications which have served as the organs of socialistic parties and communistic experiments. The contents of these are given in full. In the present state of bibliographical science, omissions are unavoidable. But I have discovered no important omissions of English books from the *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus*, and believe that it approximates quite closely to completeness.

The title of the second work, *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik*, is ambiguous. The preface defines it only in the most general way. It will be found to contain a class of literature best described to Americans as that dealing with movements for social reform and amelioration. Indeed, it seems to me that the phrase "social reform" might be used in its title with even more propriety than in the recently published *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*. That the term *Socialpolitik* has no other content than this in Stammhammer's work is shown by the works which he lists under this specific head in the index. We find the following writings in English: Brooks, J. G., *Patriarchal vs. Social Remedies;* Channing, W. E., *Works;* Edwards, C., *The Policy of Labor;* Jevons, W. S., *Methods of Social Reform; Observations on Political and Social Reform;* Sullivan, E., *Ten Chapters on Social Reform. The Social Economist* enjoys the distinction of being the only English magazine listed under this head.

In a work covering so broad a field important omissions are to be expected. We find them, few under some topics, wholesale under others. Under heads relating to social reform in general, and to labor, they appear to be few. I have noticed the omission among English books of: Gibbins, *English Social Reformers;* McNeill, *Labor Movement;* Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution in England;* Woods, *English Social Movements.* But for a bibliography which lays special emphasis on "poverty," "charity," and "benevolence," in all countries, the omissions in American literature in this field are painful. We find no mention in the author list of the names, Hale, Henderson, Lowell, Sanborn, Warner, Wines. No articles are listed from *Charities Review* or *Lend a Hand*, none from the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.*

Although, in general, Stammhammer's two publications are exclusive as regards each other, there seems to be a little uncertainty as to

this both in the preface and in the contents of the later work. The same subject heading is often repeated, and the same books listed a second time. Thus under "Condition of the Poor" we find that about one-half the titles have been relisted in the second publication. Under the "Woman Question" nearly all have been taken over. What makes the matter still worse, we are given no reference from the heading in the second publication to that in the first. This is, to say the least, poor workmanship. The arrangement and technique of the two publications are uniform. The rather large Roman type is a comfort to the eye, but destructive to space. It seems to me that the giving of full titles and the repetition in full in the case of translations might be dispensed with in favor of completeness in the number of entries.

Mühlbrecht's *Wegweiser* covers the well-known field of *Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften*. It is made up, as the author states, with a frankness very pleasing in comparison with the ambiguity of Stammhammer's preface, mainly of selections from the works which were announced during the years 1868–92, in the bimonthly publication, *Allgemeine Bibliographie der Staats- und Rechtswissenschaften*, of which the author is editor. The remainder of the titles, perhaps one-sixth, are of an earlier date than 1868, and selected from the antiquarian stock of Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht. The first edition of the work appeared in 1886. The present edition, double the size of the first, contains about 32,000 titles, which is about twice the number contained in Stammhammer's *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik*. These are all brought into the compass of a single volume by a skillful shortening of titles and manipulation of type. The entries contain all the necessary items, including price. The titles are arranged systematically according to a scheme partly original with the author. The headings and subheadings of this scheme are prefixed as a table of contents. The book is also provided with a very detailed author and subject index. The contents of the *Wegweiser* takes its color, perhaps, from the business of Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht. It is very complete for the literature of legal and political science in Germany, less complete for other countries and topics not strictly belonging to these sciences. America, as usual, fares badly. Omissions occur like: Ford's *Pamphlets on the Constitution*: Hart's *Introduction to the Study of the Federal Government;* Jameson's *Constitutional Conventions;* Wilson's *The State*. For such topics as "Poverty," "Labor Question," "Insurance, "etc., it is much inferior to Stammhammer's second work. Nearly all the

titles in the *Wegweiser*, under topics covered by the *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik*, will be found incorporated in the latter.

To use the three bibliographies to best advantage, one needs to remember that the *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus* contains much that relates to labor and not a little which relates to various other questions of social reform; that the *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik* contains the bulk of the literature pertaining to social reforms and amelioration in general, and that of slavery and state socialism; that the *Wegweiser* is to be used for the literature of legal and political science proper, but may be disregarded as to other topics, in favor of the *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik*.

In arrangement the *Wegweiser* is easily superior to the other two works, especially for the use of those who have to consult the book frequently and thus become familiar with its system of classification. Thus one who is working "insurance" will be able to turn at once to the whole array of full titles, instead of having to look under half a dozen different headings and then turn back in the case of each title to the full entry, as it is necessary to do in using Stammhammer's work. For occasional use, as in a public library, the advantages might be largely reversed, were it not for the full analytical index also provided by Mühlbrecht. But if Stammhammer continues to use the same style of subject index in his publications, it is to be hoped that he will at least lay out the work systematically and then follow the scheme rigidly, so that, when a new volume is announced by him, we may expect new matter and nothing else.

Considered from the point of view of the bibliographer's art, the *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus* can be commended because it is nearly complete; the *Wegweiser* will pass, because it is systematic, compact, and convenient for all classes of users; but the *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik* is a hopeless case. On the side of utility, however, Stammhammer's second work can be heartily commended. The author is also to be praised for his substantial effort in both his publications to put magazine articles alongside the other literature of subjects to which they relate. The list of American magazines which he has gone through for the *Bibliographie der Socialpolitik* contains the most of our leading journals which deal with economic, political, and social science. The list should be increased in his next publication. And if he is especially concerned with "scientific" magazines, it might be well to revise it.

Students of theoretical sociology will get little comfort from any of the three publications. We may, perhaps, assume that Stammhammer has not dealt and does not intend to deal with the literature of legal and political science, because of Mühlbrecht's work. But no such difficulty would be met in the field of sociology. It is much to be hoped that in a future publication Stammhammer will decide to add still another volume to his series, one which shall contain a class fit to receive the title of the work of his distinguished countryman, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers.* C. H. HASTINGS.

Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development. A Study in Social Psychology. By JAMES MARK BALDWIN, Professor in Princeton University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. Pp. xiv+574.

THE problem which Professor Baldwin sets himself is "to inquire to what extent the principles of the development of the individual mind apply also to the evolution of society."

Any scientific conception of society must offer solutions of at least three problems: (1) the uniformities or generalizations represented in social institutions, customs, beliefs, etc.; (2) the exceptions or particular variations which find most conspicuous expressions in geniuses; (3) the real or alleged conflict between social and individual interests.

Professor Baldwin offers as an organon with which to coördinate and interpret these phenomena what he terms "the dialectic of personal growth." This is the key to his whole system. As it gains gradually in definiteness and precision with the progress of the work, its unifying service becomes more and more apparent.

The growth of the person is described as a process involving, first, the recognition of external groups of characteristics or acts which constitute vague *projective* personalities; second, the imitation of these acts or attitudes by which the self appropriates them, *i. e.*, makes them a part of *subjective* personality; third, the reading back into others of these subjective materials, which renders them *ejective.* By this give-and-take process the same elements are appropriated and assimilated by the individuals of a given society, so that a common personality, a socius, is gradually formed in the consciousness of each. More than

that, the dialectic ultimately produces an ideal of self which becomes a criterion of conduct, an ethical standard. This growth of personality through mutual imitation is, however, only one side of the process. The self, in subjectively appropriating projective personalities, and in spontaneously or reflectively recombining its acquisitions, makes new combinations or inventions, which in turn become projective for imitation by others. Thus the dialectic of personal growth produces not only uniformities, but novelties as well.

Once more these two aspects of development find expression in what is termed the "habitual self"—the self of customary reactions, and the "accommodating self," which makes new adjustments to meet changed conditions. The former tends to become unconscious and automatic in its activities, the latter is reflective. Again, the person's growth, emotional and volitional, displays three stages—the organic, the spontaneous, and the reflective. The first represents physical heredity; the second reproduces chiefly acquisitions of social heredity; the third is marked by conscious reflection upon the relation of the self to the environment, physical and social. Sanctions for conduct vary with the stage involved, from the sanction of impulse to that of desire, and ultimately to the sanction of right. This final sanction is realized only in connection with a consciousness of self, which includes social generalization or agreement. The self must be a "public self."

This summarized statement of the personal side of the problem, although it cannot do justice to the detailed development of the thesis, may serve to make reasonably clear the application to the social aspect. The "dialectic of social growth" takes as projective materials the inventions or innovations presented by individuals. By imitation these inventions are appropriated, modified, and generalized, *i. e.*, rendered socially subjective. Finally, through education—in its widest sense—these generalizations become ejective in individuals. Thus the essential services, both of individual "particularizations" and of collective uniformities, are recognized and reconciled. A social judgment is gradually formed which expresses itself in a set of valuations. This judgment may be modified gradually, but it is also a criterion at any given time by which innovations are rejected or accepted. The true genius combines powers of invention with soundness of social judgment. The inventor, however, is dependent upon the materials which his society offers him, for the personal self must produce innovations out of the elements which have been appropriated through

the dialectic of his growth. The analogy, therefore, is striking between the process of individual development and that of social growth, which may be described as "a growth in a sort of self-consciousness—an awareness of itself."

The question of individual *versus* socials anctions may be approached, on the one hand, from the standpoint of the three forms of personal sanction, and, on the other, from that of the types of social sanction which are derived from four classes of institutions—natural, pedagogical and conventional, civil, and religious. The impulsive personal sanction and the demands arising from natural social relationships, such as those of the family, are not two things, but one. Hence there can be no conflict here. The conditions of success which society lays down in training its members, once voluntarily accepted by the individual, become personal means to his own ends, and again we have unity in the personal sanction of desire and the conventional requirements of society. For normal or average persons—the great body of citizens—there must be a similar identity in personal ethical judgments and the collective civil and religious sanctions, for the very reason that by the dialectic of personal growth these individuals have made the accepted standards of their society their own. It is true, nevertheless, that in the case of exceptional persons, or the exceptional judgments of average persons, there are intellectual and ethical oppositions between personal and social sanctions. The anti-social exceptions are suppressed, while persons of extraordinary ability by their very opposition to the established order upset the equilibrium of custom and compel a readjustment on a higher plane.

Professor Baldwin, in discussing the vexed question as to what is the criterion by which social phenomena may be discriminated, examines the various theories—sympathy, compulsion, imitation, etc.—concluding with Professor Giddings' "consciousness of kind," which is characterized as "the climax of descriptive vagueness." The confusion over criteria is due, in the author's opinion, to a failure to discriminate between the *material* and the *method of organization* in society. Tarde's theory of imitation offers a theory of the method, but neglects the matter. Professor Baldwin asserts that thoughts are the materials which by the dialectic of personal and of social growth are organized into a sort of collective personality, which is known as society. The biological analogy, it is declared, must yield to the psychological: "the organization which is effective in social life is, in all its forms, a psychological organization."

The contribution which this volume makes to social science and philosophy will be readily recognized by sociologists. Its service is not so much that it presents new views—although in the ethical discussions, especially, these are by no means lacking—but rather that it renders more precise and systematic conceptions made familiar by Mackenzie, De Greef, Tarde, and others. The point of view of personal genesis is shown to be a most valuable aid in social interpretation. The general conclusion is open to the criticism that society is resolved into an intangible, psychical entity, with no real physical existence. It would be easy to show that thoughts organized in society are conditioned by material things, and, transmuted into emotion and volition, find expression through physical media.

There are many minor positions which are open to question, but it has seemed best in this notice to present a general view of a work which cannot fail to take a high place in the rapidly growing literature of social psychology. GEORGE E. VINCENT.

Conscience et volunté sociales. Bibliothèque sociologique internationale. Par J. NOVICOW. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière. Pp. 380. Broché, 6 frcs.

THIS readable volume offers an interesting illustration of the formal survival of an analogy after it has ceased to be essential to the further development of the problem under discussion. Setting out with an ingenious completion of Spencer's organic conception, the author gradually changes his instrument of interpretation from the biological to the psychological. In other words, he could have made his exposition quite as effective in terms of imitation, invention, opposition, etc., which, as it is, he is compelled to employ in connection with his biological descriptions. The best that can be said for M. Novicow's consistency is that he has shifted from the analogy of the whole organism to that of the single organ, the brain.

The most valuable part of the discussion is that which relates to the élite. Whether or not it is worth while to regard the intellectually and morally best in society as constituting a collective sensorium, the essential service rendered by such a class is clearly and effectively set forth. This theory fits admirably into the general system of social psychology which gives so important a place to the imitation of social

models and the origination of inventions as copies for imitative diffusion.

The chapters which deal with the organization of communication, the mechanism of social volition, reflex social action, etc., are full of interesting concrete illustrations, and contain much of valuable suggestion and comment. The attempts, however, to reduce to mathematical precision such problems as, what proportion of the population an adequate élite should include, or how long it takes a social volition to penetrate the social mass, result in half-admitted failure and leave the impression of wasted effort. Throughout the last chapters of the book M. Novicow's two hobbies, free trade and international federation, canter with loose rein and even the hint of an active spur.

On the whole, the book must be regarded as an organization of somewhat familiar materials, rather than as a distinct contribution to the theories being worked out by the psychological school represented by Tarde, Durkheim, De Greef, Baldwin, and others.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

Christian Missions and Social Progress. A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. By REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897. In two volumes. Vol. I. Pp. 468.

THIS volume is the first part of an elaborate discussion of the social condition of the peoples among whom Christian missions are sustained, and of the social results which are claimed for those missions. It was inevitable that discussion should reach this point, and this book is a pioneer. The literature of missions is already rich in materials, but it has not yet been treated from the standpoint of general culture-history. Indeed, the work under examination is not written with scientific method and purpose; it is distinctly the plea of an advocate, and must so be read. The advocate is well informed, honest, patient, and means to be generous to those who are criticised. In the nature of the case, where whole nations and races are under view, the chances of error are multiplied. It would require minute and encyclopedic knowledge of the customs, laws, and sentiments of all mankind to verify or test all the numerous statements in this volume. The vices of the non-Christian races are described in two hundred and eighty pages, a long, tragic, and pitiful catalogue of the demonic side of

human nature. Then the failure of education, material civilization, legislation, and ethnic religions is asserted, and the hope of the nations declared to rest in Christianity. Unquestionably all the vices named do exist, in Calcutta, Pekin — and in American cities. No Christian believer doubts that his faith is deeply needed all over the world, and for those who are not believers the argument will have some weight because it presents the utility of religion, which all recognize.

The author admits that there are worthy and hopeful elements in ethnic religions, and he confesses the shortcomings of nominally Christian communities. Criticism will fall upon the relative emphasis given to the evil and good in each case. The volume is a monument of patient labor. The bibliography is very extensive. The form of the argument will be very helpful in directing attention to the actual services which pure and rational religious effort renders to mankind. A good religion is good for something which man can value and appreciate. This present life is sanely treated as having a value of its own. The second and more constructive part of the work will be awaited with interest. C. R. H.

Neue Beiträge zur Frage der Arbeitslosenversicherung. Von Dr. Georg Schanz. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1897. Pp. 216.

In his book *Zur Frage der Arbeitslosenversicherung*, published in 1895, Professor Schanz made a critical examination of the various schemes proposed to insure the laborer against unemployment, and put forth a scheme of his own, obviating, as he saw it, the weaknesses of the other schemes proposed. In this book he gives us the development of the question from that time to March, 1897.

Professor Schanz approaches the problem of insurance against unemployment from the practical standpoint. In either book there is little discussion of the underlying theory. His interest is in finding the practicable method of securing the desired result. He would secure it through compulsory saving under state management. His plan provides that employers deduct a small sum from the weekly wages of the employés and place it in the savings fund. To this is added contributions by the employers and a subvention by the state. But, unlike the fund in case of "compulsory insurance," or the funds of the labor

unions, it is placed to the credit of the employés in proportion to the amounts of their several contributions. Compulsory saving on the part of any laborer would cease when his credit reached 100 M. In case of unemployment for any reason the laborer is permitted to draw on his savings. In the volume with which we have to do, Professor Schanz answers the many criticisms advanced against this plan, and fortifies his position by a careful examination of the experience gained since the publication of his earlier work.

In the first chapter of this book, Professor Schanz answers his critics and reasserts that neither "compulsory insurance" nor voluntary insurance through labor organizations is a solution of the problem. Then follows an examination of the various plans for insurance tried or proposed in St. Gall, Basel, Berne, Cologne, Bologna, Stuttgart, and elsewhere, an account of the "out-of-work" benefits provided by the labor unions of the several European countries, a statement of the attitude of the several German political parties toward state insurance, and an analysis and interpretation of the statistics of unemployment obtained by the German government by its two censuses of 1895.

The St. Gall plan has been abandoned, after being in operation only eighteen months, because the feeling of social solidarity was not sufficiently strong to induce the better class of laborers to make the sacrifice which the plan involved. None of the other plans provides a solution of the problem, for they all fail to reach all classes of laborers, or are inequitable or otherwise faulty. The book gives us much good material on these points, but it is impossible to present any of it here. The substance of the several plans will be found in a paper published in this JOURNAL, May, 1897. Neither do the labor unions offer any solution of the problem. Many of them have no "out-of-work" fund. Then, too, relatively few of the laborers are to be found in the labor unions, and these are of the class least needing any provision of this kind.

The German political parties have as yet given little attention to the question, and most of them have taken no position in regard to it. The socialists are uncompromisingly opposed to any form of compulsory insurance or saving as a scheme designed for the benefit of the "capitalists." The "deutsche Volkspartei" favors compulsory state insurance as a logical extension of the insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age; while others have shown some favor toward Schanz' plan of compulsory saving.

The last chapter, dealing with the statistics of unemployment, will be of most interest to the general reader. An excellent analysis and interpretation of the statistics are made, the two most important points brought out being that the question is largely one of seasonal employment, and that the problem is by far the most serious in the large cities.

The author is at great pains to show the reader how all the facts fortify the position he has taken on this question and how his own plan is the only practicable one. This may detract from the interest of the book for the general reader, yet, looked at from his point of view, that of finding the practicable method of solving the problem in hand, the author is not to be criticised upon this point.

H. A. MILLIS.

The Social Teachings of Jesus. An Essay in Christian Sociology. By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. New York: The Macmillan Co.; Chicago: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. 230, 8vo. $1.50.

THE chapters contained in this volume appeared originally in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, and attracted a great deal of attention. In their present form they have been largely rewritten, and we have one of the best treatises on the subject. It is a volume not to be glanced over or read carelessly, but demands a careful and considerate attention. It is a clear, conscientious, and comprehensive statement of the subject, logically and reverently put forth; the style is condensed, the employment of terms is accurate, and reveals a mastery of good idiomatic English. It shows a most earnest desire to view the subject fairly and fully from every standpoint, yet brings all its conclusions to the test indicated by the title, and reveals a wide and thoughtful acquaintance with the best literature on the subject. Its method is strictly logical, and the chapters follow one another in an orderly development of the principle upon which the book is grounded. The term reverent is one that is so often abused that we almost hesitate to employ it in this connection. We are asked today to overlook a great many things because the spirit is a so-called reverent one, but in applying it to these essays we can do so honestly. It is not the spirit of an iconoclast, but of a constructionist, that appears on every page. The

use of Scripture is a fair one, and the exegesis shows a deep desire to discover and apply the real meaning of the many passages to which allusion is made.

The general direction of the book is indicated in a carefully written introduction, beginning with a proper definition of the term "Christian sociology." Our author proceeds to show that there is a real ground for the application of it to the sociology of Christ, and in so doing calls our attention to the spirit as well as words of Jesus. We could wish that a little more emphasis had been placed upon the nature of Jesus, viewed in its entirety, and we would prefer that his teachings should not have been alluded to in such a way as to suggest that they are of greater authority than the words of the apostles. It is, indeed, true that Professor Mathews claims to waive the question of the inspiration of the apostolic writers, yet at the same time one cannot but consider that his discussion would have been stronger if the comparison had not been suggested. Proceeding, then, to the contents proper, we have a chapter on man, then on society, on the state, on wealth, on social life, the forces of human progress, and the process of social regeneration. In the chapter on man he discusses the physical and psychical, the object being to develop the idea of man's unity, and to show the basis of his relations to God and to his fellow, with the logical conclusion that the normal and righteous development of a man is social, on the one side reaching out into sonship with God and fellowship with man, and on the other side conditioned upon his relations in this life. Having laid such a foundation, the consideration of the question of society and the discussion as to the term kingdom of God naturally follow. Our author states that by the kingdom of God Jesus meant "an ideal social order in which the relation of men to God is that of sons, and to each other that of brothers." It is necessary at this point for him to enter into the extent of the kingdom in point of time and to the idea of the church, and we must say that, on the whole, we have the most satisfactory statement of this vexed term that we have ever yet met. If anyone is disturbed by what he has to say about the church at this point, let him wait until the last chapter. The chapter which next follows is a superb presentation of the conception of the family, in which the subjects of marriage and divorce are handled with a thoroughness rarely met. His discussion of the state is not quite so clear, and there is a trace of the sensational in the question, "Was Jesus then an anarchist?" but the answer is so satisfactory and touches at so

many points current misconceptions prevalent today regarding the teachings of Jesus that the phraseology may be accepted. With his statements regarding wealth we think that all fair-minded men will be fully in accord, and approval will be given to the chapter on social life, which expands the principle of real fraternity. In our judgment by far the finest chapters in the book are the last two. His recognition of the faith that the forces of human progress reside within the man himself in his spiritual wants, and that they are capable of satisfaction, is very well developed, and his survey of the process of social regeneration is timely and adequate. We cannot forbear to quote from that paragraph in which he says: "It is clear that the progress of the Christian transformation of society must proceed, precisely as in the method of Jesus, along the line of conversion, or, more exactly, the regeneration of the individual. For generations churches of all shades of evangelical faith have been endeavoring to lay deep this foundation of a progressive social regeneration. Concerts and kindergartens are very necessary as complements of revivals and mission halls, but as saviors of a nation's civilization and purity they are as grass before the storm." There is not an idle word in this chapter, and we are especially pleased with what the author has to say regarding the present tendency to substitute a system of ethics for the dynamics of a personal faith in God.

Professor Mathews in these few chapters has made a real contribution to the important subject which is in every man's mind. We congratulate the author upon his success, and the reader upon the inspiration he will receive from the study of the volume.

WM. M. LAWRENCE.

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Chicago.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Inspection of Labor in France.—I. The application and enforcement of labor legislation in France depend upon an organized inspection service. Three stages in labor legislation may be distinguished by the following laws: (1) The law of 1841, putting limitations upon the labor of children; (2) the law of 1874, taking account of sex as well as age, and interdicting to women certain forms of labor; (3) the law of 1892, extending great protection to children and women, and affecting all categories of laborers by its regulations concerning hygiene and safety. II. Each of these legislative periods has had a corresponding form of inspection service. The execution of the law of 1841 was successively intrusted to local, unsalaried commissions, examiners of weights and measures, inspectors of education, and mining engineers—all of which methods proved unsuccessful. The law of 1874 created fifteen inspectors to be appointed by the central government; departmental and local inspectors, to be chosen by their respective divisions and to serve under the general inspectors. But under this plan the number of inspectors was too small, lack of harmony resulted from the different methods of appointment, and continuity was wanting in the local officials. III. The existing organization of the inspection service, according to the law of 1892, attempts to correct these imperfections. The whole service is a unit. Both divisional and departmental inspectors are appointed by the central government, the latter being subordinate to the former. There are eleven divisional and ninety-two departmental inspectors. The local commissions have a uniform organization and are reduced to mere consulting bodies. Inspectors are appointed on the basis of merit determined by examination, and are promoted through grades according to length of service. Salaries are, according to grade, 2400 to 5000 francs for departmental, and 6000 to 8000 francs for divisional inspectors. IV. Inspectors have the power to enter establishments enumerated by the law and to prove violations of the law by verbal process, and the duty to receive statements, to make inquiry in case of accidents, and to compile stastistics of the conditions of labor in their districts. Divisional inspectors have the exclusive right to authorize certain exceptional violations contemplated by the law and determined by rules of the public administration. They thus have large latitude of action, especially with reference to night work and the number of hours of labor. V. The present organization is too new to have final criticism as to its success passed upon it. Two things, however, may be said. In the first place, the number of establishments to be visited and the constantly increasing importance of the objects which demand attention render inspection very difficult and incomplete. In the second place, the obstructive attitude of employers, the negligent inaction of laborers, who seem to think that they are being protected too much, and the hostility of various administrations, to which labor legislation is a novelty—all these add greatly to the difficulties of successful inspection of labor.—MAURICE VANLAER, *La Réforme sociale*, 16 Novembre 1897.

The Psychological Bases of Sociology (*concluded*).—V. The individual consciousness alone can be considered as the sufficient reason for the existence of social phenomena and as their sole source. Nevertheless, it is impossible to identify social with psychic phenomena, to consider them as nothing but a multiple repetition of individual ideas and sentiments, and to treat the social life merely as a branch of psychology. For many of our mental desires and mental states never become social phenomena. The mere fact of the coexistence of the same conscious state in several individuals does not change its nature as an individual psychic fact, until this coexist-

ence acquires an objective character. But this objective character of social phenomena is necessarily conditioned by this multiple repetition of a subjective state in the mass of individuals. On one side, then, the social phenomenon always possesses its psychological equivalent, by which it is intimately connected with the life of the individual. On the other, the social phenomenon is necessarily conditioned by a multiple repetition of its psycho-individual equivalent, without which it loses its objective character, identifying itself with an ordinary psychic state. In contemporary sociology there exist two currents, which attempt to divide between them this duality of the social phenomenon, and to legitimatize a single one of its two mutually complementary phases. These two methods are represented by Durkheim and Tarde — Durkheim contemplating the objective phase of the social phenomenon, its abstract and collective character; Tarde, seeing only its psychological character, the side of individualization. VI. Between the individual states of different human minds and the social phenomenon, in which they may all be found, there exists the relation of elements to a synthesis. At the base of every social phenomenon there is the thinking being, that unique reality of a metaphysical character which, not being phenomenon, is nevertheless the nearest and most accessible to the senses. This is more clear if we note that it is apperception alone which socializes phenomena. Sociologists are near this conception when they say that "society is a system organized *for an end*, a *totality*, and not the sum of its components." The conception of finality as a character of psychic phenomena in general leads us to see the real essence of social phenomena, their apperceptive origin. In the individual intuition constitutes the positive side of the psychic life; apperception, its negative side. We come, then, to the social rôle of apperception. To socialize a psychic phenomenon is to objectify it; to socialize a physical phenomenon is to spiritualize it. In consequence, the thinking being is to be found at the basis of the social phenomenon, being an agent indispensable to its application. Socialization of the phenomenon is equivalent to a sort of incarnation in the object of thought of the thinking subject. The social nature of apperception is the reason for considering the human mind as of a social nature, and the individual isolated from social influences as an abstraction, to which there is no corresponding reality. The mental states preceding thought, the sensations proper, make up the individual side of he mind, the individual proper. On the other hand, all the products of thought conceptions, and judgments, make up the apperceptive side of the mind, and this is social. Moreover, this social character of apperception reveals the essential identity of the the thinking subjects. Because social phenomena objectify the thinking being, the ethical category is universally applicable to them.—EDOUARD ABRAMOWSKI, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Octobre 1897.

The Rights of Capital and Labor, and Industrial Conciliation.—"Capital really means men who have money which they wish to employ in productive industry, and labor means men who have strength and skill which they wish to employ in productive industry, when considering their rights.

"The man who owns money and the man who owns strength and skill are equal economically — each has something which the other needs, which the other must have, in fact — but also each has something which he must dispose of to the other. The object of either, then, is to dispose of his own property and to acquire the property of the other, and to do this to the best advantage to himself; that is, they stand in exactly equal relations to each other."

The above has always been true theoretically, but not in practice. Trade unionism has a tendency to make theory and practice conform. If the above conclusion is correct, then labor and capital are in the same position as other buyers and sellers, and they have the right to demand of each other nothing beyond honest and courteous dealing. "It is absurd to talk as if it were morally wrong to ask high wages, or morally wrong to offer low wages."

When other bargainers have completed their transaction, further relations cease. With labor and capital it is but the beginning of real relations. They then become employers and employed, and a new set of rights emerges. Positions may here be shifted and duties defined. These are of three classes. *Their antagonistic duties*

may bring conflict, but it is by no means necessary that they should. *Their common duties* are such as they owe to the public in an honest product. *Their mutual duties* are such as they owe to each other.

Industrial conciliation has two main features: (1) Its recognition that the two sides have an equal right to a voice in the decision of all questions of common interest; and (2) the permanent character of the machinery employed. Industrial conciliation follows naturally from a fulfillment of their mutual duties.—MRS. C. R. LOWELL, *The Church Social Union*, June, 1897.

Our Social and Ethical Solidarity.—"When at present society is declared to be an organism, it is not meant that the individuals composing it have consciously organized it; nor merely that they are by nature destined to live in social communion. It is meant that we human beings by force of our ingrained constitution form of necessity part of an integral social structure in essentially the same manner as the sundry organs of a living being, or its sundry structural units, form part of an integral vital structure." . . . .

"Human beings form constituent units of society, not merely by force of the interdependence of their divers external functions, but also, and more radically still, by force of their mental interdependence. It is, in fact, exclusively through such mental interdependence, through such innate dependence of humanly organized minds upon one another for their very existence as such, and for the possible efficiency of their function; it is through this mutual dependency of their minds upon one another that men are social and ethical beings. Without it man would be a soulless, thoughtless, irresponsible animal, and human society and its ethical bearings non-existent." . . . .

The analogy between society and the vital organism holds good "not as between the organic interdependence of the constituent units of society and that of the constituent elements of the organism, but between the gradual development of social life and the phyletic development of living beings in relation to their environment. The so-called growth of society can, therefore, not rightly be compared to the growth of an individual organism, but only to the development of vital organization in the course of phyletic evolution."

Our inner life, consciously manifest as emotion, thought, and volition, is complemental to relations originally established between ourselves and the outside world. "Of such inner-life relations, those binding us to our fellow-beings come to gain more and more predominant sway. However ideal such altruistic sentiments may appear, we should never forget that they are grounded in reciprocal organic dependence. The living being, by force of his organization, is essentially a product of progressive generation, which links him organically to other members of his race," and conditions social and ethical solidarity.

"Social and ethical solidarity rests fundamentally on vital organization. Like all other vital development, progress of their existing condition is wrought by toilsomely acquired increments of organic elaboration. And this is effected through interaction of the individual with his social medium. It is in this laborious way that the increasingly reciprocal relations which constitute the growing solidarity of social and ethical sentiments become in us human individuals more and more fully organized. And they make themselves felt as originally realized in our social and ethical consciousness when they urge to conduct in agreement with the organized propensities. What is commonly called character consists in such structurally established propensities. And it is because of this structural consolidation and fixation that individual character is so insistent and persistent. Education, with its elaborate appurtenances, accomplishes its aim solely by modifying organic structure, so that it may potentially embody its teachings."

Without preëstablished vital structure, in which mental potentialities inhere, consciousness of whatever kind is non-existent. Whatever is not actually organized in the living human being has, so far as he himself is concerned, no sort of reality. A person is color-blind because a specific region of his organic structure has remained undeveloped, failing thereby appropriately to react on the stimulating influences that normally arouse color-sensations. It is not otherwise with the morally obtuse, the

morally idiotic. They are devoid of ethical consciousness simply because ethical propensities have failed to become organized in their brain. And for no other cause are animals deprived of moral consciousness. If we all happened to be thus deficient in cerebral organization, surely morality among us would be altogether non-existent.

Yet, though vital organization can be proved to be the indispensable substratum of all consciousness, and with it of all social and ethical realization, we have no slightest clew as to how it comes so to be. The mystery of being and becoming, the supreme mystery of progressive creation, remains wholly inscrutable. We have no faculty enabling us intelligently to apprehend the creative potency through which nature is existing and undergoing its toilsome transmutations. And it is through activity of this same inscrutable potency that the progressive increments of mental, and therewith of social and ethical, development are thus creatively superadded to what perceptually appears to us as nothing but more and more complex molecular combinations of certain chemical elements.

From its structural matrix our consciousness emerges full-fashioned, a microcosmic revelation in which the gathered experience of our race and of our own inner life, together with the time- and space-scattered influences of the great outside world, have become symbolically harmonized into simultaneous presence.

In this all-revealing focus of conscious awareness, in which inner and outer experience concordantly, significantly, creatively blend, there opens a glorious vista into a world of ideal aspirations, wherein those premonitions arise that betoken, as yet unfulfilled ideal, a state of social and ethical perfection we most devoutly long to see realized in actual life.—EDWARD MONTGOMERY, *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1897.

The Fear of Death.—"Man occupies, in view of death, a situation that is peculiar, for he is probably the only being that knows he has to die. The battle against death spurs an immense number of men to study and work; and all the great intellectual and moral creations in art, religion, and science have been produced under the influence of the feelings excited by the certainty of that event. Yet the psychology of the ideas and emotions relative to death is still to be constructed."

Organic sensibility exercises a great influence over our psychical condition and sometimes indirectly determines the trend of our thoughts and the forms of our feelings. An image or an idea that is in opposition to the preponderant series of organic sensations with which the consciousness is occupied is nearly always vanquished. "Men whose entirely healthful and vigorous organization develops feelings of well-being and strength can form only the poorest conceptions of those conditions of feebleness that are in contradiction to the preponderant system of sensations." The abstract probability of dying is not an element of the fear of death. "The greater vividness of old men's conceptions of death is most likely a result of the advancing weakness of their organs and physical sensations."

Death may be made to appear pleasant through the operation of religious or political fanaticism. "Multitudes of men have exposed themselves to the most terrible dangers of death, and multitudes of others have actually suffered it, full of enthusiasm and joy, for an idea, and have given themselves up to destruction for it. Such feelings acquire frightful intensity when they become epidemic and are propagated through a mass of people."

"The explanation . . . . may be found in the laws of association. Association is capable of changing the psychological value of any object, of rendering agreeable a thing that is offensive to another or under other circumstances, or an action by which others are annoyed or to which they are indifferent; and can give precious value to a recollection, a thought, or an image which would be repulsive to others. Such associations operate with striking force in cases where the passion of love is concerned. Associations connected with a place where one has lived are agreeable or disagreeable according as one has been happy or not there; and the law may extend to objects and images of all kinds, and even to the merest trifles."

"By the same law we may account for these exceptional eliminations of the repulsive character from the thought of death. When it is associated with intense

passion, with the anticipation of glory and fame, or when the gratification of animosities is the dominant desire, all feelings contradictory to these suffer a total eclipse, and death becomes desirable as a means to obtain what to the passing fancy seems a greater and the supreme end."—GUGLIELMO FERRERO, *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1897.

Charity and Progress.— Philanthropy has a tendency to perpetuate the unfit. Progress demands their elimination. It works itself out through selection. "Selection, ... implies two things: it implies something selected, and no less surely something rejected, left behind to perish as unfit." How can aspirations of philanthropy be reconciled with the mandates of the law of progress?

It necessitates the separation of the weak and incapable from the strong and capable, that the utmost may be done for them in hospitals, homes for incurables, asylums, or retreats for feeble-minded. Here there is to be no marrying or giving in marriage, or breeding of the unfit.

Associated with these institutions are the organizations of scientific charity which give comfort, help, encouragement, and temporary refuge to the discouraged men and women who are on the downward road of degeneration or toiling upward to the rank of the efficient. These organizations must have such a carefully coördinated administrative system that they will not lose in efficiency through inelasticity or waste energy through lack of of coöperation.

"Thus is the real paradox solved, the sacrifice of the strong to the weak reconciled with progress, because intelligent self-sacrifice of the strong to the weak makes the strong stronger and the weak more strong. To him that hath the capacity to receive shall be given the priceless boon of opportunity, and from him that hath not shall be taken away the power of degrading himself and society. The philanthropy of the future will be wise as the serpent and gentle as the dove. With these two emblems conspicuous upon its banners, the motto liberty, equality, fraternity may safely float above the lower alternative standard of liberty, equality, and natural selection. Here lies the golden mean we sought. The riddle of philanthropy and progress is answered, the hydra-headed sphinx of evolution satisfied."—EDWARD CUMMINGS, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October, 1897.

Social Renovation and the Historic School. — The historic school in Germany rejects entirely natural right, but our historic school believes in a natural right which would be better named "rational," because natural right has sometimes been supposed to be the right of obeying instincts, sometimes a union of abstract principles, some times the rights acquired at birth. Natural right gives a sketch of the social edifice, historic right traces a detailed plan and indicates where future additions can be made. There is an essential constitution of humanity arising from natural and divine law. The peculiar constitution of each society is the share of historic right. There are species of societies, as of plants. Evolution should be in the line of the species and type. Men have an innate right to be well governed, but the form of government is the resultant of many acquired rights, depends on the species of the nation, on historic rights. The sophisms of equality may be seen from this. All men are equal as to innate rights, but become unequal by facts, necessary or accepted. Father and son have the same innate rigths, having the same human nature, but paternity gives to the father an acquired right which the son does not possess. A people lives on three things, truth, order, food. Truth satisfies the highest wants of the soul. Order assures peace and justice in society. Food satisfies the material needs of man. From these three needs follow the essential laws of human association. In French history the church held an eminent place. To ignore Christ in the very constitution of the country, as in 1789, was as anti-historic and anti-patriotic as it was anti-Christian. The family is the cell of social tissue. Old France had provided for good organization of the family. The first condition that a family may fulfil its social function is stability. Nothing can be built on dust, and yet to that, for a hundred years, legislation has tended to reduce the family. The men of 1789 gave their country to political geometricians to be made over by arbitrary plans. In place of an evolution they preferred

a revolution, a violent rupture of historic continuity with the social bonds thereby created. It is for a good economic régime to assure men the sufficiency of material comforts which is a just and natural aim. In old times corporations, true fraternities, assured to the workman labor suited to his skill, fair compensation, an assured future, peace in workshops, and justice in trade tribunals. These old corporations brought master and workman into one family, and in national crises showed a patriotic valor that should have protected them against the revolution's mania for destruction. In the Middle Ages land was not held by virtue of an individual right, but rather for one's function, one's service to society. Without noting further the lines along which historic progress has been made, the principle may be laid down that "a nation can neither prosper nor live outside the traditions and laws which have presided at its formation."—G. DE PASCAL, *L'Association Catholique*, Septembre 1897.

"Animated Moderation" in Social Reform.—Questions of method are of supreme importance in human affairs. Good intentions and bad methods have done more harm in the world than bad intentions and good methods.

The method of sentimentalism and the method of dogmatism are especially bad. "Feminine, very feminine, minds among the clergy or the laity would solve the liquor problem, for instance, by trenchant action dictated almost immediately by pure feeling. Masculine, very masculine, minds among trade-unionists, for example, would put an end to labor questions at once by introducing all the vigors and rigors of socialism. The sentamentalist is, indeed, one of the worst of dogmatists, and he would be practically a revolutionist if he allowed his feelings free play; and the dogmatist gets his inspiration more from a portion of the facts, misunderstood under the strain of a kind of hysteria, than from manly thoughtfulness. The sentimentalist and the dogmatist agree in practicing a wrong method of getting at truth. Both disregard many and essential facts, and both would use a wrong method in applying remedies."

"The right method, which is not a hindrance, but an aid, to social betterment, is that which deserves the epithets rational, scientific, evolutionary, just to all, patient, and steadfast. We are first to study calmly and from all sides each particular evil — intemperance, poverty, crime, labor difficulties, for instance."

"Our ingenuous friends, who leave the economists and the statesmen unread while constructing these fond imaginations of a world remote from economic law and political necessity, must finally recognize that it is neither true nor attractive beings that they present, but mere puppets of an overheated fancy. One imperfect being of this living day, a workman no more virtuous than most of us, or even an honest banker, outweighs them all; for he has the one excellence which they lack and can never reach — he has human blood in his veins." A wild passion for instant action is the cause of much evil.

The man of animated moderation will endeavor to understand the world in which he lives. No drastic remedy will he advocate to further social evolution. Institutions in the process of evolution he will encourage to perfect themselves.

"We have to place our faith, then, in those persistent servants of progress — education, science, art, invention; in human kindness and finer moral character. Practicing the philosophy and the statesmanship of animated moderation, we may well have good hope. The Great Soul that o'er us plans 'is forever reason.' In patient conspiracy with that heavenly power, and working on the true Christian line, we, too, after our own brief, but not unprofitable, day, may leave this human world a little stronger, a little fairer, than we found it."—NICHOLAS P. GILMAN, *The New World*, December, 1897.

A Study of a Law on Accidents to Labor in France.—At various times the French parliament has discussed the elements of a law for the insurance of laborers against the consequences of accidents occuring to them in the accomplishment of their work. The adoption of the German system of insurance is proposed by some. But the arbitrariness of such a proceeding and the difference in the character of the industries of the two countries are important objections to this plan. The observation, however, of ten years' operation of the German system, affecting more than five million

people, furnishes valuable statistics as to the number of accidents in various industries, their causes and means of prevention, which may be applied in the solution of the question for other countries. With a view, not only to the protection and security of workmen, but also to the protection of employers against the uncertainty of judicial decisions, and the public against the loss or incapacity of its members, the following general plan is proposed for France: (1) The use of steam or of machinery for the transmission of mechanical or electrical force shall oblige the employer and the employé in such business to become members of associations for the prevention of accidents. Such membership shall free the employer from criminal prosecution in case of accident, unless he fails to submit to inspection by one of these associations, or is expelled, or allows his employés to work more than six days in seven. The inspectors of these associations shall act under the control of state engineers and inspectors. (2) Every accident occurring in the course of work ordered gives right to an indemnity, of which the nature and importance shall be determined after examination of the actual circumstances of the victim—such indemnity to be withheld if the workmen shall have infringed the posted rules of the employer or the protective association, or shall have worked in a state of intoxication. (3) Employers must insure workmen against the results of accident and must guarantee them the indemnities provided by law. Employers may, however, either substitute for their responsibility that of authorized insurance companies by the payment of the required premiums, or they may syndicate their common risks, or they may remain their own insurers. The management of insurance companies shall be under the inspection of the government inspectors of finance. Syndicates of employers shall guarantee their solvency by at least two bonds, and such guarantee shall be renewed at fixed periods. (4) In every case of accident, where the victim seems incapacitated for work for a period of more than a fortnight, an investigation shall be held as soon as possible in the place of the accident, and the findings shall be signed by the witnesses and a representative of the employer. This shall be transmitted to a justice of the peace, who shall regulate the indemnity, subject always to the right of appeal of either party. Every accident giving right to indemnity, in case the accident results in incapacity for less than a fortnight, the laborer may summon his employer before a justice of the peace, if he does not receive from his employer the recompense allotted by law.—AUGUSTIN BLANCHET, *La Réforme sociale* (two articles), 16 Octobre et 1 Novembre 1897.

The Administration of Prussian Railroads.—Study of a foreign system of railroads aids us in gaining a more accurate knowledge of railroad enterprises. It reveals tendencies which are inherent in the business and those which are distinctly due to administration.

"Prussia began with general, our states with special, legislation. Prussian theory placed railroads in one category and ordinary businesses in another. We have, until very recently, insisted on their essential similarity. Prussian railroad history establishes the soundness of the first and the fallacy of the second theory."

Economic and social conditions show marked tendencies towards cosmopolitanism. A universality rather than nationality of conditions is the safer hypothesis under our present industrial régime. Differences in conditions, however, cannot be entirely ignored.

"All Prussian railroads, whether state or private, are subject to the jurisdiction of a carefully graded administrative system—local, intermediate, and central—each part of which is connected with every other part in such a manner that, without interfering with the ability to act promptly in cases of emergency, every act not only finds its responsible agent, but the central organ can also make its influence felt in the remotest branch of the system, and at the same time not transcend its responsibility to the public."

From a general law as a nucleus, Prussia has developed two distinct groups of railway administrative organs, each representing distinct sets of interests, yet both working coöperatively. One group of organs represents railroad interests in particular and takes the railroad point of view. In this group we find the minister of public works, the railroad secretaries, the general conference and tariff commission,

and the society of German railroads. Another group of organs takes the social and economic point of view. They are represented by the national and circuit councils, with their standing committees and the committee of shippers. The latter are not legally responsible for the conduct of the railroads, but act as advisory bodies. They represent all the varied interests of the nation, and through them every citizen has not only an opportunity, but a right, to make his wants known.

In tracing the development of the Prussian system, we should find that most of the railroads have been built from social and economic considerations, although political and military considerations have at times entered as factors. Right of construction has been surrounded by wholesome restrictions. Duties and responsibilities go hand in hand. The usefulness of any proposed line or system must be established before any application will receive consideration.

In the United States both the railroads and the public have gone to extremes, because neither understood the other. "A system like the Prussian reveals the railroads to the public and the public to the railroads. It tends to remove blind prejudice and violent measures on both sides. By reflecting accurately the existing condition, these conferences lead to tolerance, forbearance, and mutual concessions. The conclusions reached often have as salutary an effect on industrial situations as suspended judgments of our courts on defendants. It would be difficult to find in Prussia today, among the representatives of any class or interest, objections to the entire railroad system which are not relatively insignificant. Both the public and the railroads have gained more and more as the system has developed.—B. H. MEYER, *Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1897.

The Psychology of Social Organization.—Two questions confront the thinker about society. The first question is concerning the *matter* or *content* of social organization. The second question is concerning the method of functioning and laws of organization of the social content or material. Under the caption *matter* or *content* of social organization we are concerned with what is organized, with what is passed about, duplicated, made use of in society, with what must be there for society to be. This content of social life is a changing, growing content, and interpretations of social phenomena must be based on this content. A growing, developing system results from the process of social organization.

"Progress is real, no matter what its direction, provided it results from the constant action of a uniform process of change in a uniform sort of material. This we find in social life, and is the prime requirement of social theory both in dealing with matter and in dealing with functions."

The *imitation* theory of Tarde, the *constraint* theory of Durkheim, the *consciousness of kind* theory of Giddings, and several other efforts at social interpretation, fail to give a satisfactory answer as to the matter of social organization, or give none at all. They all constantly confuse questions of matter and questions of method.

"*The matter of social organization consists of thoughts; all kinds of knowledges and informations.* . . . . These thoughts or knowledges or informations originate in the mind of the individuals of the group as inventions, or more or less novel conceptions. At their origin, however, there is no reason for calling them social matter, since they are particular to the individual. They become social only when society—that is, the other members of the social group, or some of them—also thinks them, knows them, is informed of them. This reduces them from the individual and particular form to a general or social form, and it is only in this form that they furnish social material."

"It is only thoughts or knowledges which are imitable in the fruitful way required by a theory of progressive social organization." Beliefs and desires are not thus imitable. They are functions of knowledge contents about which they arise. "No belief can be induced in one individual by another except as the fact, truth, information believed is first induced. The imitator must first get the thought before he can imitate belief in the thought. So of desire. I cannot desire what you do, except as I think the desirable object somewhat as you do." The only alternative is to say that beliefs and desires propagate themselves by the simple contagion of feeling and impulse. But the reign of feeling and impulse, whether it be by instinct or by sug-

gestion, makes possible only the form of organization in which fixed habit is all, and in which no accommodation, movement, progress, would take place. "It is only in the form of thoughts, conceptions, or inventions that new material, new copies for imitation, new schemes of modified organization can come into a society at any stage of its development."

"Society, we may say, is *the form of natural organization into which ethical personalities fall in their growth.* So also, on the side of the individual, we may define ethical personality as *the form of natural development into which individuals grow who live in social relationship.* The true analogy, then, is not that which likens society to a physiological organism, but rather that which likens it to a *psychological organization*, and the sort of psychological organization to which it is analogous to that which is found in *ideal thinking*."—J. MARK BALDWIN, *The Psychological Review*, September, 1897.

Socialism in Italy.—Until a very recent period (about ten years) Italy seemed unfavorable to the growth of socialism. Economic conditions prevented its becoming an industrial nation. Natural conditions (soil and products) rendered intensive cultivation necessary, rather than agriculture on a large scale. Ignorance and religious superstition dominated the whole rural and part of the urban population. All these influences were more important in Italy than in other countries. Socialism was an academic product and touched the masses only in its very scanty results. The laborer continued indifferent. But such conditions could not endure. The economic movement of other countries affected Italy. The price of agricultural products fell. Concurrent with this fact there has been a large increase in mortgage indebtedness, principally on small land holders, emigration, convictions for theft, and strikes, and a general decrease of both relative and absolute wages. The resulting ruin of agriculture and the formation of a rural proletariat have caused a great increase of industry and the creation of several important industrial centers, but no real development, on account of lack of capital and the succession of crises. Hence a class of industrial proletariats as well. The large number of persons educated for the liberal professions in excess of the demand form another dependent class. Extravagant public administration, increase of taxes and the national debt, have added to the popular distress. Statistics show a decrease in the amount of staple foods consumed. Popular discontent, owing to all these causes, is now furnishing a basis for the development of socialistic ideas. Before 1882 there existed an amorphous socialistic movement, strongly revolutionary, under the influence of Bakounine. Since 1882, when the franchise was extended to workmen, the socialistic movement may be said to have taken the character of a party with a programme both final and proximate. On the one hand, the socialists still maintained their old programme, though less revolutionary. On the other, a distinct labor party came into existence, demanding immediate reforms to satisfy the special needs of the working classes. The economic distress brought the labor party into existence, but its members did not grasp the fundamental causes of the economic condition, and hence their action was not well directed. After several attempts at union on the part of the socialists, the two currents, practical and theoretical, represented by the two parties, were finally united in 1892. The results have been large. The socialist vote has grown from 1 in 62 in 1892 to 1 in 9, in spite of governmental suppression and hostile revision of the voting lists. The economic and moral importance of the movement is seen in the organization of labor unions, which serve not only as employment bureaus, but are great educational influences in the organization of libraries, meetings, and trade schools.—GIOVANNI LERDA, *Le Devenir social*, Août-Septembre 1897.

MINOR EDITORIALS.

Mrs. Florence Kelley very properly requests that for the unauthorized table given on page 376 of the JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, November, 1897, the following, taken from her own report, be substituted.

[EDITOR.

STATISTICS OF MANUFACTURE—SUMMARY—CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY.

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS	No. of places inspected	Girls under 16 years	Boys under 16 years	Females over 16 years	Males over 16 years	Children under 16 years	Total number of employés
Brick, stone, terra cotta work	74	.....	95	25	3,163	95	3,283
Food products, including candy, cigars, tobacco, drinks	866	437	563	3,907	2,6162	1,000	31,069
Garment manufacturers	2,648	1,334	246	13,439	9,798	1,580	24,817
Leather manufacturers.....	67	9	38	127	2,177	47	2,351
Metal working trades.....	692	73	1,086	1,793	48,189	1,159	51,141
Paper boxes and novelties..	30	193	51	847	457	244	1,548
Printing trades.....	377	116	110	2,751	7,725	226	10,702
Wood working trades.....	428	96	1,032	432	18,180	1,128	19,740
Miscellaneous trades and occupations.....	353	100	251	1,715	6,089	351	8,155
Total	5,555	2,358	3,472	25,036	121,940	5,830	152,806

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIOLOGY.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY.[1]

THE discovery of the scientific method of determining truth and the application of this method in the study of the social organism, together with a strengthening of the humanitarian sentiment, have developed in the latter half of this century what is known as the "new philanthropy." Charity has been, through all the ages past, largely selfish and sentimental. In its highest type it was based on the impulse to save one's self from the pain of seeing others suffer. Perhaps the social settlement expresses more perfectly than any other modern movement the tendency of the new philanthropy. As distinguished from the older form, which relieved suffering without regard to the effect on society, the new philanthropy is characterized by two tendencies: (1) a spirit of friendliness; "not alms, but a friend;" (2) a scientific study of philanthropy; "information before reformation."

This scientific study of philanthropy implies:

1. The scientific spirit. An open mind and a single purpose to find the truth.

2. The scientific method.

(*a*) Careful investigation of all the facts.

(*b*) Coördination of the facts; *i. e.*, placing them in their real relations.

(*c*) A determination of underlying general principles.

(*d*) The application of these principles to local conditions.

Many possessed of the charitable impulse are repelled by the term "scientific philanthropy." Scientific study of human beings implies to them an unsympathetic study. They object, and rightly, to putting impulse in "cold storage." But the term is used in this paper as including the spirit of friendliness essential to the student who would understand human beings as men and women who hope, suffer, and wish they had never been born. It is a superficial science that knows the environment and habits of "cases," but not the hearts of the poor. The term "scientific philanthropy" is for those who understand its full meaning an adequate and inspiring term.

It is not strange that men and women of noble ideals and of singular ability and training have given their lives to the study of the new philanthropy, nor is it strange that a large number of women are delighted to

[1] Prepared by request of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, and read at the annual meeting held in Buffalo, November, 1896. Here printed as introductory to the bibliography which follows.

devote their leisure to practical philanthropic work. Subservient to a central interest, whether it be home, profession, or business, an educated and healthy woman may easily reserve a certain amount of time and strength for other activities. If wisely chosen and organized, these activities are of direct service in the development of society. These outside interests also broaden her own personal life, and make her stronger for home or professional work. The reception and the afternoon tea have their place, but they are not important enough to satisfy the educated woman. The development of society, through religion, education, philanthropy, municipal reform, and the like, is the end to which the educated woman works, and in this she is the colaborer of the educated man. Aside from religion, no other field has been so constantly alluring as that of charity.

When woman throws herself into the work with an abandon of devotion and enthusiasm, she confidently expects good results, but, in moments of retrospection, she admits to herself in perplexity and doubt that the good results are not at all equal to the effort; nay, rather, that evil results not seldom follow. It is our purpose to determine how she may make herself efficient in this kind of activity, even though it is regarded as a work of love, not as a profession or a means of livelihood.

In all the concerns of modern life the accomplishment of desired results depends upon three conditions: (1) natural ability for a certain line of work, (2) general education, and (3) special training. The successful business woman, nurse, teacher, or musician, cheerfully fulfills these conditions. Let us inquire carefully whether the women who take up philanthropy as the pursuit of their leisure hours are fulfilling these three conditions. I suspect that they are looking for certain results, while disregarding the conditions upon which these results depend.

Natural fitness for philanthropic work can hardly be denied to women. "The spirit of friendliness" is universally conceded to be woman's gift. That there exists no natural intellectual inability is proved by the fact that many women who have given a lifelong study to philanthropic problems have made important contributions to the science.

The second condition of efficiency is general education. There are the women of mature age whose school life was over before a college education was possible. Many of them had the advantages of the better type of boarding school of thirty years ago. Of this class those who come to the front have supplemented their meager school training by reading, travel, the society of cultured men and women, and the life experiences which furnish so excellent a mental discipline. Of the younger women there are those who have graduated from our city high schools, possibly from the normal school, and the women of college training. Here, then, are women with three clearly marked types of educational opportunity. It is undoubtedly true that there are exceptional minds of the first and second type, equal to the severe task of

self-culture, that easily assimilate the best thought of the present, and are, therefore, on a par with the average mind that has received the best modern training. Thus we find that a portion of the women who engage in philanthropy are fully equipped by college training or by self-discipline for thorough and severe intellectual work, and that a larger portion are able to accomplish the less difficult tasks, and to do careful work under direction.

In any line of work where the scientific method obtains, division of labor is admissible, and in many lines, *e. g.*, chemical research, it is the actual practice. The mind of the investigator is often incapable of weighing, and it is only the rare mind that can deduce the law from the phenomena. It is not too much to expect that women of average intellectual strength may, with the requisite special training and under proper direction, secure the scientific spirit, investigate facts, and apply principles to individual cases and conditions. Some of the women with superior training can coördinate facts and determine underlying principles. We may then conclude that the college-bred women and the exceptional women of the other types have a splendid general preparation for scientific philanthropy, and that the other two types have a fair preparation.

Failure is not, then, due to lack of natural ability or of general education. There remains for consideration the question whether the third condition, special training, is fulfilled. Special training involves familiarity with the history and literature of the subject, instruction in the fundamental principles and in the open questions which are still under investigation. The student must discover the relation of this subject to general thought and activity, and its special relation to allied subjects. He must acquire facility of hand and eye and brain in practical work.

In this large gathering of women, let those of us who spend part of our time in philanthropic work apply to ourselves the following tests: Can we state a single general principle in the science of philanthropy? Can we state clearly a few of the problems that are uppermost in this field? Can we explain the aim, the practical working, and theeffects of such movements as free kindergartens, tenement-house reform, social settlements, or General Booth's plan for "the submerged tenth"? Are we sufficiently familiar with the allied subjects of psychology, ethics, education, political economy, and municipal government to judge fairly of philanthropic questions involving such knowledge? When we are advocating legislation intended to remove wrong conditions and increase the opportunities of the poor, *e. g.*, the merchant's inspection bill, does our acquaintance with past legislation in these lines make our work intelligent and productive of good results? Can we name a half dozen books that are up-to-date authorities in philanthropy? Do we know the scope and value of each? Are we familiar with the best periodicals? Can we distinguish in nine out of ten individual cases between the professional beggar or tramp and the unfortunate man who needs immediate

relief? Can we select the book, the game, the picture, the person likely to have an educating and uplifting influence on a boy of a certain type? Do we not rather find our knowledge inaccurate, our ideas vague and valueless, our judgments faulty? We are trying to do something which we do not know how to do. This is the explanation of our failures — lack of special training. Small wonder that instead of good we find evil results. We have played at healing the ills of society. If society were wise enough, it would forbid our experiments, for the same reason that the law makes the practice of medicine without a license a criminal offense.

Classes in philanthropy seem to me a practical and hopeful solution of our difficulty. Since the weakness is ignorance, the remedy is study. In planning the classes, the definite end in view should be kept constantly in mind. This end is to supply special training to the large body of workers, mostly women, who, as volunteers, supplement the work of those who take up philanthropy as a profession.

The plans for the classes involve several important considerations. At the beginning the classes should be small, and the members should be carefully selected, because one end to be accomplished in the formation of the first class is the discovery of those who are specially fitted to become teachers of subsequent classes. Every effort to popularize the course should be discouraged. A class of a dozen or fifteen of those having superior natural ability and general education will be better than a class of thirty or forty with medium ability and education. It is also important that members should take their work seriously, give to it the amount of time planned, and attend regularly the sessions of the class. I am well aware that these methods will be questioned, and that anyone trying to form a class on this basis will meet with opposition. It will be said: "Oh, but you will shut out so many who ought to be interested in these questions. The occasional attendance of those who cannot do the regular work can surely do no harm." This common plea shows an ignorance of fundamental pedagogical principles. The primary aim of the teacher is to instruct, not to interest. Class work inevitably seeks the level of the inferior mind; the occasional attendance of stragglers distracts attention, wastes time, and dampens enthusiasm.

The securing of the teacher will at first be difficult. A salaried worker, *e. g.*, the superintendent of the charity organization society, if he has the scientific spirit and adds to practical experience a university training, would be a happy choice. But unfortunately, owing to the fact that philanthropy has not yet been widely recognized as a profession, this plan cannot be depended upon. It does not seem to me that experience in practical work is an absolute *sine qua non* for the teacher of the class. A thorough scientific training and teaching ability are much more important. He should, of course, by coöperation with local workers, keep the class in close touch with the practical application of principles. It is feasible for one proposing to

teach such a class to prepare for it by taking a correspondence course in philanthropy offered by the University of Chicago. As the importance of this work is more and more recognized, parents, in planning with their daughters the electives of a college course, will advise courses in psychology, social science, and economics as a foundation for work in philanthropy. In about a dozen colleges of the United States, some of them open to women, more or less elaborate courses are offered in the new science, which has received the somewhat formidable but intelligible name of philanthropology. The growth of intelligent interest in philanthropy will increase the number of the courses offered and the number of students taking them. As a result it will be far easier to secure well-trained teachers.

A satisfactory consideration of the subjects before the class will require a two-years' course, the class meeting once each week and the members giving at least five hours of outside study for nine or ten months of the year. The outline following this paper is prepared on this basis. Lectures combined with seminar work would seem the most natural method of instruction. Laboratory work, *i. e.*, actual practice, should be introduced as far as possible. This should be, however, a means to an end, not an end in itself, else the spirit of the learner is sacrificed to the zeal of the reformer.

The class might be under the auspices of a church, a charity organization society, or a club. It is important that the organization proposing it command the respect of the community, and that its machinery be sufficiently elastic to adjust itself to the requirements of the class. I can imagine a club living under a constitution which would allow every member to enter any class which might be formed by the club for special study. It would not be wise to start the philanthropy class under the auspices of such a club. Careful provision should be made in the constitution of any club attempting to control such a class as this to prevent the social and political rights of members from interfering with the educational interests of the club. If possible to find a person with requisite discrimination, tact, and organizing skill, the club would do well to give her almost autocratic power in forming the class.

The plan for a philanthropy class as here stated has been adopted by the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs through its executive board, and is recommended for use by the various clubs of the state.

From its earliest days the church has been the dispenser of alms, and until within comparatively recent times the whole administration of charity was in her hands. It is natural that the new philanthropy should bear a vital relation to the developed conception of the church. Many thoughtful people feel that a true conception of the church, one growing out of the best thought and the deepest religious sentiment, is that found in an article in the September, 1896, number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, by E. M. Fairchild, entitled "The Function of the Church." The ideal which the article presents is called the educational church. This kind of church aims, with the same

thoroughness and system that are used in the college, to perform the special function of developing the ethical and religious life. A course of church discipline is outlined in this article, and a philanthropy class with its two years of study is one of the courses offered. It seems to me entirely appropriate that the church should offer such a course, and that, after a few years, only those who have taken this course should be eligible to a place on the philanthropic committees of the church.

If such classes in philanthropy were carried on in any city for ten or fifteen years, all movements for social betterment would feel the effects. Instead of the discouragement which of right follows our crude and misapplied efforts, we should go forward with the confidence born of power. The intelligent treatment of these questions would create that public sentiment which goes far towards correcting evils. The members of a woman's club who have made a scientific study of the Elmira Reformatory or the tramp question would hardly be found sending bouquets to murderers or fattening tramps on their own doorstones. The mutal understanding and sympathy which are the natural growth of friendship between the well-to-do and the poor would help to adjust the differences between capital and labor. It is not too much to say that the philanthropy classes would ennoble and enrich the whole city life.

The following outline of study and bibliography were prepared by Miss Isabel Ely Lord in accordance with the suggestions of this paper, and were submitted as her graduation bibliography for the degree of B.L.S. from the New York State Library School. Reprints of this paper and bibliography will be offered as a bulletin of the Educational Church Board, Albany, N. Y.

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SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, NO. 2.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY.

COMPILED BY ISABEL ELY LORD.

Explanation. This bibliography is designed for the use of a class in the study of philanthropy, made up of citizens of more than ordinary intelligence and training, perhaps, but not for the specialist. It is restricted to English works for practical reasons, and the compiler does not claim that it is complete even for English works. It needs, especially, to be supplemented by material relating to the municipal and social life of the city or town in which the class is organized. Small & Vincent's *Introduction to the Study of Society* contains outlines for local study in other lines which are full of suggestions for this. Warner's *American Charities* and Henderson's *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* should be used as text-books throughout the course. Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* should be consulted both for information and inspiration to careful work. Access to files of the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections* is indispensable. The headings and subheadings of the bibliography as printed are intended to furnish a systematic outline for the two-years' course of study discussed in the preceding paper. PHILANTHROPISTS, LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO, and AUTHORITIES CONSULTED will be found at end of bibliography.

Abbreviations. Amer. Anthrop., American Anthropologist—Chic. Inter. Cong., Chicago International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy—Cont. Rev., Contemporary Review—Fortn. Rev., Fortnightly Review—J. H. U. Studies, Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science—Lib. Jour., Library Journal—Nat. Conf., National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings—Nat. Rev., National Review—U. S. N. Y., University of the State of New York.

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PHILANTHROPISTS.

An incomplete list of well-known philanthropists is appended here, with references to books or articles upon them. If the lecturer does not find time to devote a few hours to talks on the lives of these men and women, the class, or some members of it, may choose to pursue the study for themselves.

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Kingsley, Charles. (see Japp. Good Men, pp. 199–238.)

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THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III MARCH, 1898 NUMBER 5

CHARACTER BUILDING AT ELMIRA.

MANUAL training, at the New York state reformatory, was introduced in the fall of 1895, to meet the needs of men especially defective among the general abnormal reformatory population.

The courts commit men under the indeterminate sentence system (although maximum sentence is fixed), leaving the period of "parole" commission to be determined by the board of managers. This board declares that to obtain a parole men shall have passed successive examinations in trade school and department of letters, and shall have a sustained perfect demeanor record for four months preceding their appearance before the parole board. When a man has fulfilled these conditions, he is considered fit to be temporarily and experimentally returned to society, and the permanence of his release the man alone decides.

Our crowded condition demanded additional reformative measures in order to increase parole release. For those whose long residence in our community brought their stay quite up to the maximum commitments the evident causes were failures in trades, department of letters, or demeanor markings.

It was early discovered that deep physical and moral causes were fundamental, and that the restoring means must operate directly upon the sensory organs, and that the man must be additionally influenced by developing activities.

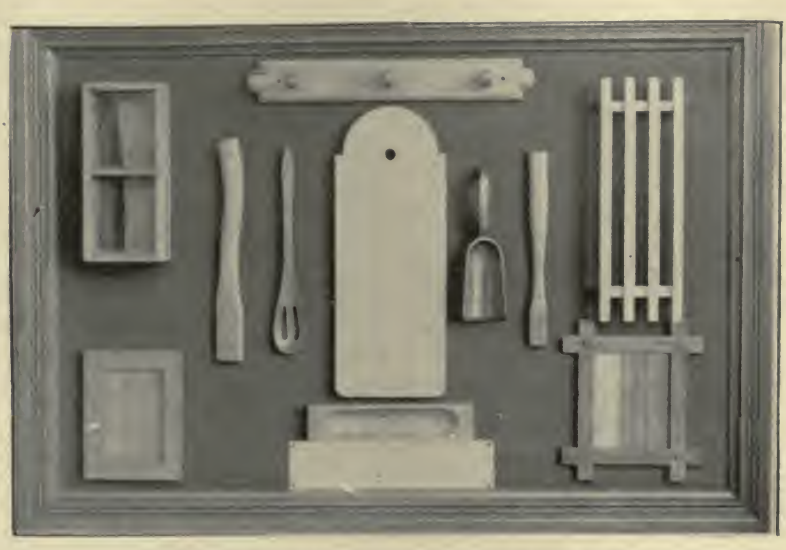
In order to appreciate this Herculean task, it must be realized that we have committed young men who are as weak morally, intellectually, and physically as years of evil association and its consequent disregard for law and established rights of others can make them. They are heirs of degeneracy of several generations, with a total abhorrence of honest labor. They have been sent to the reformatory as, legally, first offenders, but court records do not always tell the previous deeds. It is from this class that the larger part of the inmates come. Habits of dishonesty, slothfulness, and licentiousness, which are the distinguishing characteristics of most men committed, follow them for a long period. In selecting manual training as an agent to assist these defectives, the deciding principle was that habit produces character, and that moral action arises from the choice between right and wrong doing, whether this be in work upon a plastic material under control of form and accurate predetermined measurements, or in the complex organism of the ego, and its relation to society at large.

The new education is everywhere recognizing the importance of the education of the will, and of leading the will to express itself in outward habits and customs. This was the theory of Aristotle, Froebel, and Pestalozzi. "We acquire the virtues by doing the acts," and when virtuous habits are sequentially maintained, the will automatically directs in the paths of virtue.

Manual training, in its full development, stands for regularity of fixed purposes and orderly sequences. In this manual doing the doer has at his command the basis of true living, the full opportunity for observing cause and effect, and for regulating his habits of thought and expression from a knowledge of fixed principles. It has long been a known fact in educational circles that studious employment, under regulated methods, is the keynote to a liberal education. In fact, this is why for years professors have drilled on Greek and Latin verbs, and formulas in mathematics; but, while that served well, it is inadequate to a full and harmonious development.

The normal man requires intellectual, moral, religious, and

physical development, and under our present school and college systems this is sometimes secured, but the fact comes to us as forcibly that the abnormal man needs the same discipline even in greater degree. The duty for us lay in adapting it to meet the needs of the selected defectives.



MODELS FROM COURSES IN SLOYD WOOD WORK

And here it must be realized once for all that the essential difference between manual training in our public-school system and the reformatory system is, first, in the classes of society furnishing the subjects, and, second, the object desired.

In the public schools we have the plastic minds of eager, earnest youth, surrounded by desirable home influences, with the interest of the parent to aid the child to a full realization of the necessity for education. Added to that is the interest and natural curiosity of child life as it watches the development of form, symmetry, and use, from crude blocks of wood, clay, or compact mass of metals; each assuming new form and use as direct results of the cultivated mind and manual skill of the instructor.

This forms the actual incentive among children to pursue courses in manual training, but in the reformatory system the

first condition is lacking. Our pupils come from a stratum in society in which the directing, controlling force of the parent, with the desire for good, wholesome education, has never been asserted. The child surrounded by the virtues and vices of society has followed the paths of sin, and at the important formative period of life, when character, intelligence, and industry should have been cultivated, they were not. The child reaches the threshold of manhood without the acquisition of those forces which make a useful member of society, and so the power of the state isolates for treatment those whose training by parents has been neglected.

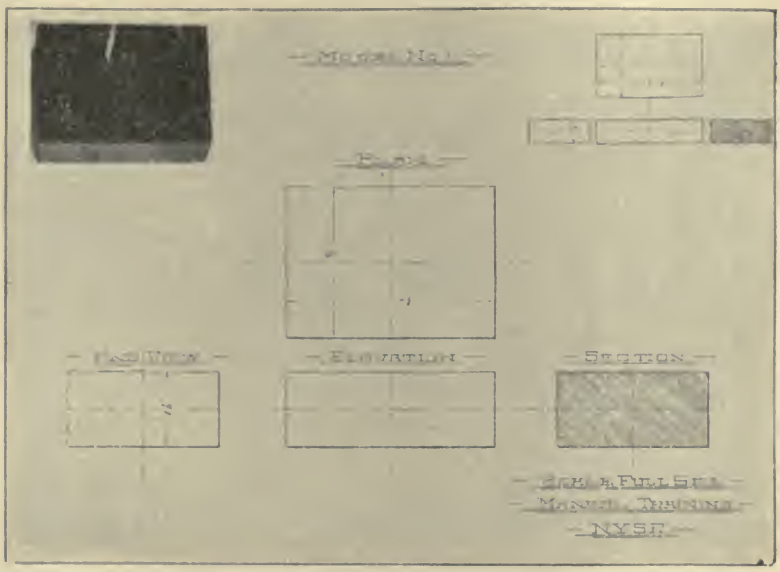
Our manual training system, then, is based upon a physiological fact, viz., that for every important part of the body, of those which are under control of the will, there is a region of the brain by which it is controlled, and these are what are known as "centers" in the brain. For instance, there is one part of the brain which controls the muscles of the right arm, and if that part be diseased, or be destroyed in any way, the power of using the arm is lost; so that, if a certain part of the brain is capable of controlling the motions and activities of a certain part of the body, it is possible by cultivating the actions of that part of the body to produce a better condition of affairs in the brain.

Having that fact and material which can be molded at will under guidance of the trained hand, we begin our work of reclamation among these pupils, irresponsive to the usual reformatory measures designed for their restoration to society.

We have as agents: 1) manual processes; 2) physical training; 3) military discipline.

Manual processes.—By this we mean the selection of special subjects which are calculated to meet and overcome the special defects in particular groups of men, using materials in paper, wood, metal, and clay, operated upon with tools. The development of tool skill is not the object. But by the use of material agents, from correct models or outlines made specially to illustrate a principle in mathematics or moral law, a force may be set in motion which shall act upon the mind, brain, and body

to produce healthy, beneficial thought and action. Keep up this training, with new interest and expectation on the part of the pupil, and habits of concentration, discrimination, and decision are formed which lead to increased mental and moral enlargement.



GROUP I.—MECHANICAL DRAWING FOR MATHEMATICAL DEFECTIVES

Manual processes, correctly taught, lead to tool skill, but if that be all, the object of its introduction into courses designed to meet particular defects of pupils segregated because of specific abnormalities is lost sight of, and the results are not what we start out to obtain. There must be a mental quickening, a moral expression, exhibited by clearer conception, and by well-regulated habits. By such results we test the efficiency of our work.

Physical training.— All pupils spend one and one-half hours each day in the gymnasium. The same basal group divisions are followed closely, and different forms of physical exercises, followed by baths, are prescribed to meet the particular group defect.

No form of athletics is tolerated which simply gives pleasurable sensations; there must be a definite relationship between the gymnastic effort and the object desired in particular groups of pupils.

In Group I (mathematical defectives) the gymnastic action of swinging dumb-bells and clubs is not left to the individual, but is performed in regular time, guided by a particular note at intervals on the piano or at command, and thus alertness, quickened perception, and prompt execution are secured. In outdoor games each pupil is required to lay out to a standard size courts for hand- and football, tennis, etc., and measure the jumps with a small unit, say two feet. All such exercises tend to develop the mathematical faculty as well as to keep the body in healthy action.

In Group II (self-control defectives) the United States army and navy "setting up" exercises are used, in which regularity of movement and persistence in particular performances are the principles.

Group III (general mental quickening). Wherever there is regular muscular movement, there is increased activity within definite limits controlled by the brain. In weak-minded persons, or those of limited mental capacities, though normally sane, these physical harmonies are undeveloped, and so, instead of erect carriage, easy, graceful movement, we have the awkward, shambling, ungraceful form, operated by the undeveloped brain. Exercises for these include calisthenics, dumb-bell, long-pole and bar-bell, special apparatus known as "chest weights," marching to time, rope and pole climbing, and frequent baths. Physical growth has its reflex development in mental training. This is mental quickening, through physical performances.

Military discipline.— The entire prison population is enrolled in the military organization. The regular daily movement of squads for any purpose whatever is under the command of an officer who may rank from sergeant to major, each responsible to the colonel for the order, time, and presence of each man. One of these majors is detailed in charge of the discipline in the manual school, having as aids citizen captains and inmate lieu-

tenants, who are responsible to him during the school hours, and who act as monitors in regulating the groups. The classes change their places each ninety minutes, going from one part of the building to another, to meet the instructor in the subjects for that period. When a pupil desires some tool or material

GROUP II.—MODELS FROM COURSE IN WOOD TURNING FOR CONTROL DEFECTIVES

to pursue the outline under consideration, he must first get permission from the officer to move, or to call the instructor's attention to his wants. In this manner the entire disciplinary regulation becomes a potent force in controlling the irregular movements of the large number of selected defectives, whose movement individually or collectively must be under authority.

How pupils are selected.— As previously stated, the "parole" regulation requires: (*a*) knowledge of a trade sufficient to compete in outside life with the average mechanic and by competitive labor prove an ability to sustain one's self in communities; (*b*) ability to use the elements of mathematics taught in the classification of the pupil, which may be from "notation" through "percentage," and language so as to construct spoken

or written sentences; (*c*) regulating one's habits so as to prove an ability to associate whith others and enjoy liberties without endangering our social fabric. Those who fulfill these conditions are released; those who do not must be more earnestly labored with.

The superintendent selects these irresponsive, disordered members of our reformatory society for specific treatment in the manual training department, making groupings as follows:

Group I (*b*), *mathematical defectives* (*100 pupils*), is composed of those who habitually fail in arithmetic. When these pupils are assigned, a division into sections of twenty-five men is made, upon the basis of "mathematical" deficiency, that is, those in correlated sets in department of letters. For these subjects are selected into which mathematical propositions especially enter, both in tool processes and mental training, and these are taught with the object of aiding these men to know the combinations and use of numbers.

The subjects are:

First term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: mechanical drawing, sloyd, athletics and calisthenics, clay modeling, and mental arithmetic. Second term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: mechanical drawing, sloyd, athletics and calisthenics, cardboard construction, and mental arithmetic. Third term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: mechanical drawing, sloyd, athletics, calisthenics, wood turning, and mental arithmetic.

Group II (*200 pupils*), *assigned for development of self-control*, is composed of those who for the most part are devoid of moral tone, those who fight, swear, assault officers, are licentious, and generally irresponsive to the usual reformatory measures selected for their reclamation. To this class belong some of the most intellectual in the reformatory, but this intellectuality, as a result of weak character, runs riot. They are like a steam engine with full steam on and no governing apparatus, with energy uncontrolled, a destructive force instead of constructive. These are divided into sections of twenty-five each, according to their mental capabilities, with subjects as follows:

First term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: athletics and calisthenics, geometric construction, involving intersections of solids, etc.; wood turning,

pattern making, mechanical drawing, and sloyd. Second term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: athletics and calisthenics, wood carving, clay modeling, sloyd, and mechanical drawing. Third term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: athletics and calisthenics, chipping and filing, molding, mechanical drawing, and sloyd.

One section of these "control" defectives is composed of pupils who are also defective in arithmetic, and these have additionally to the "control" subjects mental arithmetic for one and one-half hours per day.

GROUP III.—MODELS FROM COURSE IN WOOD CARVING FOR GENERAL MENTAL QUICKENING

Group III (150 pupils), object, general mental quickening, is composed of men who are among the lowest intellectual and physical order, men in whom hereditary influences for generations have left a legacy of diseased bodies and disordered brains. These fail especially in department of letters and trades; are tractable enough, in most cases, to earn first-grade standing if demeanor alone determined the social standard, but the repeated failures to pass in letters and trades result in social depression, with tenure of commitment prolonged.

Subjects as follows:

First term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: athletics and calisthenics,

free-hand drawing, from solids and familiar objects; elementary sloyd, clay modeling, mental arithmetic, and sentence building. Second term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: sloyd, free-hand drawing, wood carving, mental arithmetic, and calisthenics. Third term, 17 weeks, 35 hours per week: sloyd, free-hand drawing, wood turning, athletics, and mental arithmetic.

In November, 1896, the maximum enrollment was 117 pupils in manual training, with 10 instructors. In October, 1897, our equipment was further increased to accommodate additionally 225 pupils, making the total capacity for manual training instruction 450, with 40 inmate instructors, graduates of the manual training school, and three citizen instructors. Classes not being held on Saturdays, that day of each week is employed in giving instruction to inmate instructors in the theory and practice of manual training and its applications to reformatory needs.

It may be interesting to state our facilities for instruction: 100 iron-frame drawing tables, with equipments; 100 cabinet sloyd benches, with equipments; 50 clay-modeling tables, with equipments; 25 tables for cardboard construction, with equipments; 25 carving benches, with equipments; 10 cabinet pattern-making benches, with equipments; 25 chipping and filing benches, with equipments; 25 molders' benches, with equipments; 25 iron-frame wood-turning lathes, with equipments; 1 15-horse-power electric motor.

We have active preparations under way for instructing fifty additional pupils, which will give permanent appliances for a total enrollment of 500 pupils, or, roughly speaking, one-third of our reformatory population.

SPECIMEN RECORD OF PUPILS GRADUATED.

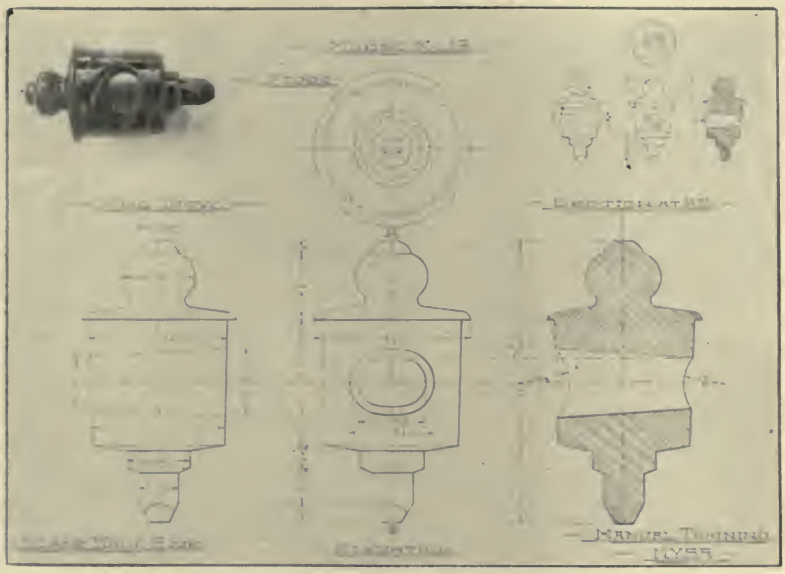
GROUP I.

Conv. 6197.—Received October 26, 1893; height, 5 ft. 7½ in.; age, 17 years; weight, 126 lbs.; maximum, 20 years; crime, robbery, first degree; proposed trade, tinsmith.

This pupil's record shows four successive failures in arithmetic previous to his assignment to the manual training, which began with subjects as follows: Mechanical drawing, clay modeling, athletics, sloyd, mental arithmetic; each subject one and one-half hours per day, five days per week. He failed the first month after manual training assignment. He was becoming familiar

with his environment. In the second month the result of manual processes, in which observation and discrimination must decide the truth or error of his own work by comparison with standard predetermined results, was showing.

This awakening was so noticeable that he was advanced. The three months following he passed 90 per cent., 90 per cent., and 80 per cent., at which time, May 5, 1897, he graduated from manual training and returned as



GROUP I.—MECHANICAL DRAWING FOR MATHEMATICAL DEFECTIVES

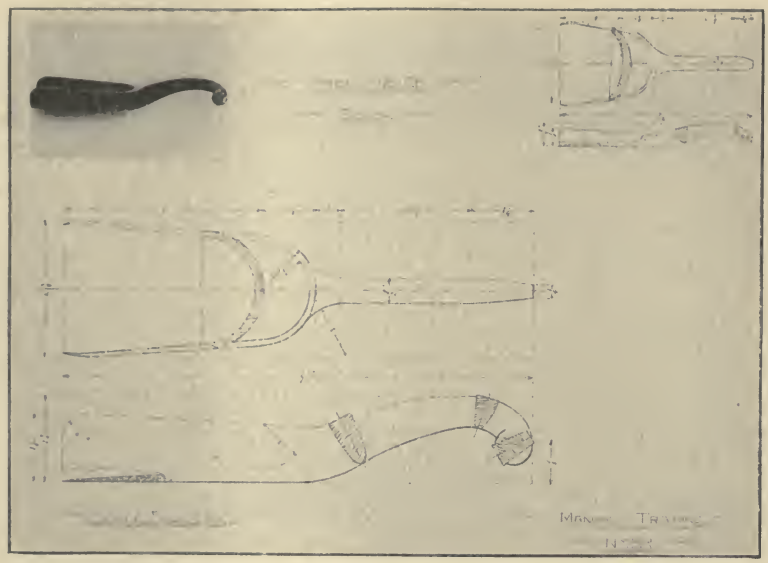
susceptible to the usual reformatory treatment. In the same month the school director advanced him to difficult multiplication and division and miscellaneous problems, in which he is passed regularly, making in the September examination 100 per cent. His actual assignment to manual training was four months and seven days, and he acquired in that time the use of numbers from notation to miscellaneous tables and their application.

GROUP II.

Conv. 6163.—Received January 30, 1894; height, 5 ft. 2¼ in.; age, 21 years; weight, 124 lbs.; maximum, 5 years; crime, burglary, third degree; proposed trade, blacksmith.

This pupil, previous to his assignment to the manual training, had earned for himself the sobriquet of "dangerous man" among the officers and inmates. His offenses have been mostly threatening language, lying, contraband articles, talking, fooling, assaulting officer, and institutional crimes of that nature.

We begin his record in September, 1895, when he was reduced to the second grade for "fighting." October and November he lost three marks each for lying and threatening language, which with the influence of September markings caused his reduction to the third grade of incorrigibles, the closely confined group. He was in the third grade two months and three days when he was placed in the foundry, where, amidst blinding smoke, stifling air, and



GROUP II.—OUTLINE IN SLOYD WOOD WORK FOR CONTROL DEFECTIVES

the "task" system, it was thought he would tone down, upon the theory that the muscular demands of such a place on a 124-pound body would weaken the will and curb the disposition to riotous acts. From January 15 to February 15 he was on modified treatment. On February 18 he was unconditionally restored to the second grade. February and March he did fairly well, losing one mark each month; but in April his period of passably well doing was checked by his committing an assault, along with assumption of authority, and on the 27th of February he was returned to the third grade for the second time, remaining in the same two months and three days, when he was agained placed on "modified" treatment and did well for three months, when he slumped again, this time for fighting, losing six marks in October. In November he braced up and made a perfect month, securing promotion to the second grade.

On December 15 he was assigned to the manual training, Group II; object, development of self-control, with subjects as follows: athletics, drawing, sloyd, wood work, chipping and filing, molding — each subject one and

one-half hours per day, five days per week. The influence of the new environment sustained the effort made in November to improve, and, by securing a perfect month in December, all his past was blotted out and he was restored to the lower first grade through "amnesty" on December 25, 1896.

Conv. 6361 on December 25, 1896, is where he was institutionally classed at the time of his admittance two years and three months ago, viz., lower first grade, from which all who are committed begin the reformatory course of treatment. In January, 1897, he lost two marks as a result of school failures. In February he secured a perfect demeanor record. In March he lost two marks. April and May were perfect months in all respects, and he was graduated from the manual training department in May, returned to institutional life, and assigned to the exercise squad in the morning and stonemasonry in the afternoon. Later his daily assignment was changed, placing him in the molding class of the technological department to complete trade. From this he was returned to the manual training as assistant instructor in the molding class, and is doing well in all departments, having been promoted to the upper first grade in August, and ranking as sergeant in "I" Company.

GROUP III. — DATA.

Conv. 6577.—Received June 30, 1894; height, 5 ft. ¼ in.; age, 17 years; weight, 112 lbs.; maximum, 5 years; crime, grand larceny, second degree; proposed trade, printing.

On March 17, 1896, his daily assignment was changed from the manufacture of umbrellas to the manual training department as a pupil in Group III. The records show repeated failures in arithmetic. He had been in the reformatory nine months previous to manual training assignment and showed no signs of susceptibility to the usual treatment, being at this time in the second grade with failures as noted. Immediately following the assignment to the manual training he was reduced two sets in arithmetic and advanced one class in language.

Successive failures in arithmetic and trade school, with irregular passing in language for eight months, led to reduction to a lower set in arithmetic. Observe that with these failures in subjects above noted is the corresponding increased loss of marks: May 31 he lost five marks; June 30 he lost fifteen marks; July 21, lost twenty-one marks, and in August four marks, showing that the undeveloped mind leads its physical and recognizable self to violate established laws. Observe next that, while no progress is shown in language or arithmetic during the eight months between March and November, there is a marked depreciation of demeanor markings, and in November a perfect month is made, resulting from passing in language, arithmetic, trade school, and demeanor. This "toning down," this enlargement of perception and regulated expression, is the result of manual training. December shows another perfect month, with markings as follows: language,

100 per cent.; arithmetic, 90 per cent., and nature studies, 88 per cent.; trade school, 76 per cent., and a promotion through "amnesty" to the lower first grade. In January he was advanced in arithmetic and to "B" class in language. He passed with good percentages, viz., 95 per cent., 80 per cent., and 79 per cent. This now becomes a sustained record, and in May he was graduated.

Manual training for this pupil shows its effectiveness, first, through regulation of the physical forces in his nature; second, through tool processes in which varied accurate movements are required which produced a mental awakening and appreciable ability to perform the arithmetic of his "set" classification; third, the capability after graduation of sustained susceptibility to the usual reformatory influences to effect his release.

FINAL SUMMARY OF MANUAL TRAINING RESULTS.

GROUPS I, II, AND III.

A.

	Number.		Per cent.
Total number of pupils enrolled	485		
a Those withdrawn within three months for cause	31	or	6.39
b Those too recently assigned for record	238	or	49.07
Those showing slight improvement	28	or	5.77
Those showing steady improvement, but not sufficient to graduate	19	or	3.92
Those showing no improvement and term of assignment from three to twenty-two months	95	or	19.59
Those graduated	74	or	15.26
	485	or	100.

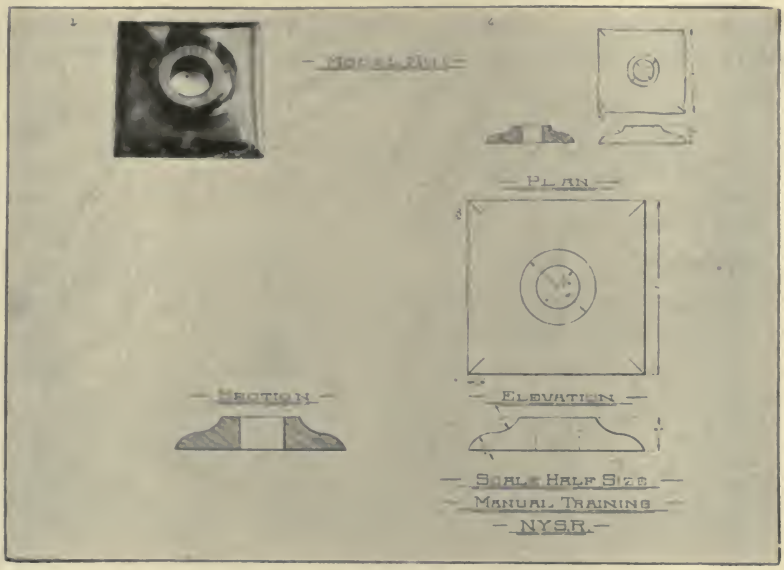
B.

	Number.		Per cent.
Total number of actual pupils in attendance one year	216		
Those showing slight improvement	28	or	12.96
Those showing steady improvement, but not sufficient to graduate	19	or	8.80
Those showing no improvement and term of assignment from three to twenty-two months	95	or	43.98
Those graduated	74	or	34.26
	216	or	100.

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION.

In the following pages on "Methods of Instruction" I have selected two subjects from those for each group, namely, drawing and sloyd wood work, from which to illustrate the tool operations and their relations to mental and moral development of the selected defectives. For Group II, I have illustrated wood turning and its special application for these control defectives.

In Group I, Section 1, Division A, mathematical defectives, the subjects are for the first term of seventeen weeks: 7:20 to 8:50 A. M., sloyd; 8:55 to 10:25 A. M., mechanical drawing; 10:30 to 12, athletics; 1:10 to 2:45 P. M., clay modeling; 2:50 to 4 P. M., mental arithmetic.



GROUP II.—MECHANICAL DRAWING FOR CONTROL DEFECTIVES

In Group II, control defectives, first term, Section 1, Division A, the subjects are: 7:20 to 8:50, athletics; 8:55 to 10:25, cardboard (development of surfaces, intersection of solids, etc.; these are drawn, then folded to represent the solid form); 10:30 to 12, sloyd; 1:10 to 2:45 P. M., wood turning; 2:50 to 4, mechanical drawing.

In Group III, general mental quickening group, first term, Section 1, Division A, the subjects are: 7:20 to 8:50, free-hand drawing; 8:55 to 10:25, elementary sloyd; 10:30 to 12, elementary wood carving; 1:10 to 2:45, athletics; 2:50 to 4, mental arithmetic and language.

Mechanical drawing.—The first lessons are in elementary geometric constructions, such as bisecting lines, erecting per-

pendiculars and constructing triangles, finding the radius of a circle from an arc, etc. When these sheets have been completed, a wide departure is made from the usual method in mechanical drawing-class instruction. We do not spend time in finding the projections of a point or a line in the many planes in which they may be projected; that would be next to impossible among the pupils forming our classes; certainly we could not get them interested and hold their attention for one and one-half hours at a time day after day. Instead, we design models in which the principles of projection are shown, beginning with elementary forms and proceeding to the complex.

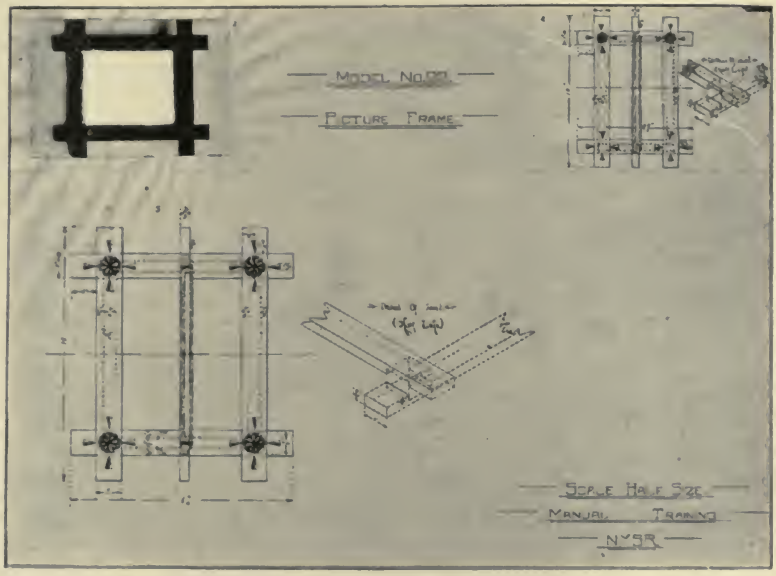
In some models the scale is full size, in others half size, and in others twice full size. It may at once be discerned from inspection of the successive views of models shown that the course is comprehensive and difficult; also, that good drawings are made, for the sheets from which these half-tones and etchings were made are from pupils in the classes. In the model listed as No. 1, Group II (p. 591), we have shown it photographed, and at the top right it is shown as a free-hand sketch.

The first operation of the pupil is to draw in plan, elevation, and section the model under consideration, putting thereon all needed dimensions mechanically to represent the model in the several planes of projection. When this is done and accepted, a new paper is given, the model taken away, and from the sketch is made the mechanical drawing.

Free-hand drawing. Group III, general mental quickening.—In this class we begin with a series of short vertical lines, spaced as near equally apart as the pupil can guide with the eye. The instructor makes the first one, setting the distance for the second; then the pupil begins to make the other five; then the same method is used to produce five horizontal lines spaced alike and of equal length. Next, the lines are crossed at regular intervals, forming little squares. Then longer verticals are drawn, these to be connected by short horizontals spaced as near equally apart as the eye can regulate. Next, larger squares are formed, then heavy shade or double lines are made. Now the foregoing principles and lines are crossed to produce suggestive forms. The

object on this sheet is to have the pupil appreciate the value of verticals and horizontal lines, lines of unequal length; also, to teach comparison of length and spacing.

In sheet No. 2 we begin with left oblique lines of equal strength and length, these to be connected at the bottom with



Group I.—OUTLINES IN SLOYD WOOD WORK FOR MATHEMATICAL DEFECTIVES

right oblique lines of the same spacing and length as the left oblique lines. Next, a dotted vertical line is dropped to pass through the intersection of the extreme right of the left and right obliques; then, with equal space from this vertical is drawn a light right oblique, the same to the bottom by a left oblique line; then paralleled thereto is drawn the same number of right and left oblique lines in pairs, alternating with one of light and heavy strength.

From these suggestive oblique forms are made, next, a square formed by dotted lines, and this space filled with right and left oblique lines to form little squares. Next, right and left oblique lines are drawn to form squares joining one another on their diagonals, forming suggestive border decorations.

From this sheet we pass to solid forms drawn singly and *ensemble*, followed by shading. Later, vase forms and floral sketches, fruits, vegetables, and combinations of these.

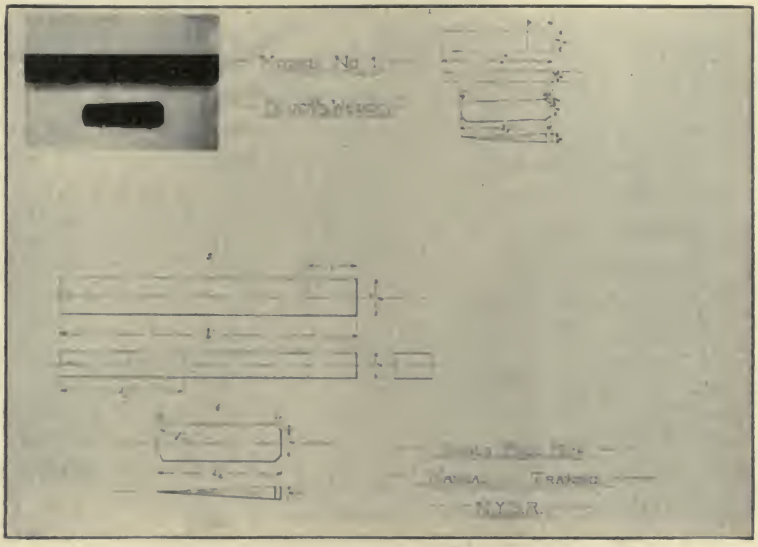
I consider free-hand drawing for members of this group one of our best subjects, as it awakens interest in form, symmetry, and suggestive decorations; and, further, it appeals to the imagination, which finds expression through free-hand sketching. We do not employ rules or mechanical guides of any kind; the object is to train the eye to discriminate between the disordered lines and the orderly; to regulate the hand movements by depending upon mind impressions as transmitted through the optic nerve to the brain. Thus we have mental quickening through free-hand drawing.

Sloyd class.—We show in No. 22 (p. 593) a model used in Group I, mathematical defectives. At the top left corner is a photograph showing the completed frame. At the top right is the free-hand drawing made from looking at a frame already constructed. In the lower view is the mechanical drawing representing the orthographic projections of elevation and section, also an isometric view of one of the corners showing the method of lapping the joint. The pupil, having made the free-hand sketch and a mechanical drawing, is supplied with stock in the rough, larger in size than the finished pieces as assembled. The pieces and joints are formed with jack-plane, square, gauge, buck-saw, and block-plane.

Here is introduced division of fractions, to find the half of three-eighths of an inch, and have the ends project one inch in both directions over the place of union. A process in addition, then subtraction, must be performed, since, if it projects 1 inch on each end and it is 2 inches on both, then 2 inches from 10 inches leave 8 inches, which is the distance from outside to outside of the shorter pieces. If these operations have been well performed, the two pieces match evenly in direction of their thickness and fit the size of the frame.

Next is the operation of putting in a back to the frame. This must be planed to the thickness of ⅛ of an inch, secured by screws equally spaced in two beveled strips, which bevel

must be $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from the vertical. The width of these strips added to the length of the back makes a total of 7½ inches; each strip is ½ inch wide; then the two make 1 inch; then 7½ inches, the combined length of sliding back and guides, from 8 inches in width between outside and outside of



GROUP III.—OUTLINE IN SLOYD WOOD WORK FOR GENERAL MENTAL QUICKENING GROUP

short pieces, leave ½ inch; then, if there is a difference of ½ inch between actual width of back and outside of frame, to make the back have equal distances on each end from outside of a frame; then we must divide ½ of an inch into two parts, which is ¼ of an inch; then the two half-inch strips are to be screwed on to the frame ¼ of an inch from the outside edge.

Tool performances aid and enforce recognition and appreciation of the mathematical. When we have repeated these operations through a series of models designed to meet the special mathematical defect, then we obtain mathematical quickening through tool performances.

In the upper left-hand corner is shown model No. 26 (p. 588), a scoop, as photographed, representing the actual model from

which the pupil draws a free-hand sketch shown in the upper right-hand corner. Upon this sketch are placed the dimensions indicating the several values which are necessary mathematically to represent the orthographic projections drawn mechanically; these are shown in the two views at bottom of the sheet.

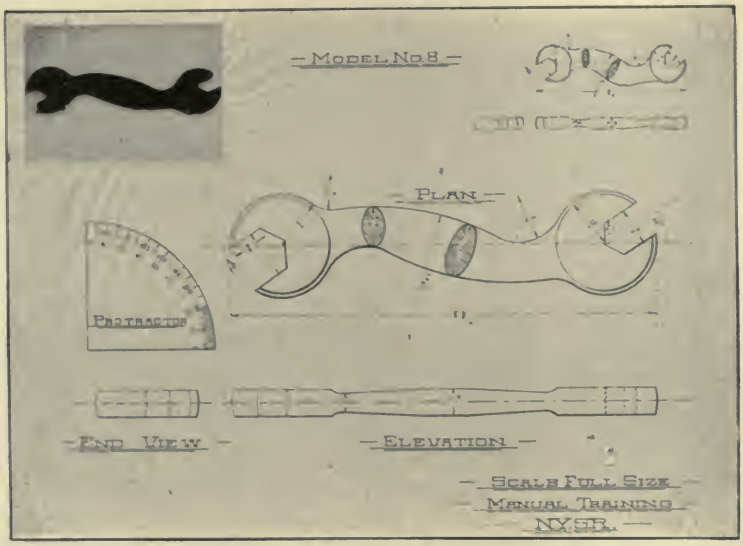
The instructor supplies each pupil with the model and drawing paper; the free-hand sketch is made and submitted. If it shows the necessary projections and dimensions, then a large sheet of paper, drawing board, triangles, "T" square, and dividers are given. The pupil must now draw, mechanically, the views representing No. 26, as per sketch, not having the model. When this is accepted, stock and tools are supplied, and the actual operation of making a scoop begins. The stock must first be planed to a rectangular block, the size of which will incorporate the irregular form of the model.

Next, the lines representing the plan are cut on the curves with a thin, narrow saw; then the surface indicated by the long top slant line is cut off, followed by the top curve of the handle. We now have our first signs of a scoop. The tools used up to now are plane, square, rule, and saw; these are tools which test length, angularity, and smoothness of surface.

The next operation is to remove the mass of stock following the inside curve lines, thus forming the "bowl" of the scoop. Two new tools are introduced here: the gouge and scraper; these and two additional tools, the wood file and sandpaper, are used to give the complete form and symmetry, as found in the finished model.

This is an excellent model for developing "self-control." There is concentration of mind in following the progressive stages of its development; muscular activity is employed, where energy is applied in one case liberally, removing large quantities of material and employing the larger muscles, and immediately following is a cautious, measured operation, employing delicate muscles in severalty and unison, producing accurate form and dimensions which must be tested by the eye, and judged by the pupil's concept of pleasing form and harmonious line combinations.

Wood-turning class.—In this class we have first a primary tool called a gouge. In the preceding tools the stock to be operated upon is held in a vise, which secures it against any movement; here the wood is secured to the spindle of the head



GROUP I.—MECHANICAL DRAWING FOR MATHEMATICAL DEFECTIVES

stock of the lathes and follows its path of rapid motion, making in some cases 1200 revolutions per minute.

The attention given to this rapid and dangerous machine, when the pupil has been instructed in cause and effect, is a "control developing" agent in regulating the impetuous movements of a pupil disposed to hurry, not for the sake of increasing output, but from an inherent and ever manifest disposition to do the things hurriedly and in a slighting manner.

In producing the correct surfaces, the operation is one in detail rather than mass; this requires more concentration than before, and a new idea of combination enters. These forms must be similar in curves and measurement, to form the pleasing elegant designs as shown.

Sloyd class. Group III, general mental quickening group.—Among pupils of this group the muscular movements are slug-

gish; the motor nerves send sensations to the brain, but these are not received as definite lasting impressions, so we must be particular in class instruction to give but a single impression at a time, introducing tools which call for a free muscular movement, employing the mass movement before going to the combinations. Work is upon a project which involves few tools and a single impression, so that the mental concept can assimilate the desired truth, use it, tabulate it, and file it for future use.

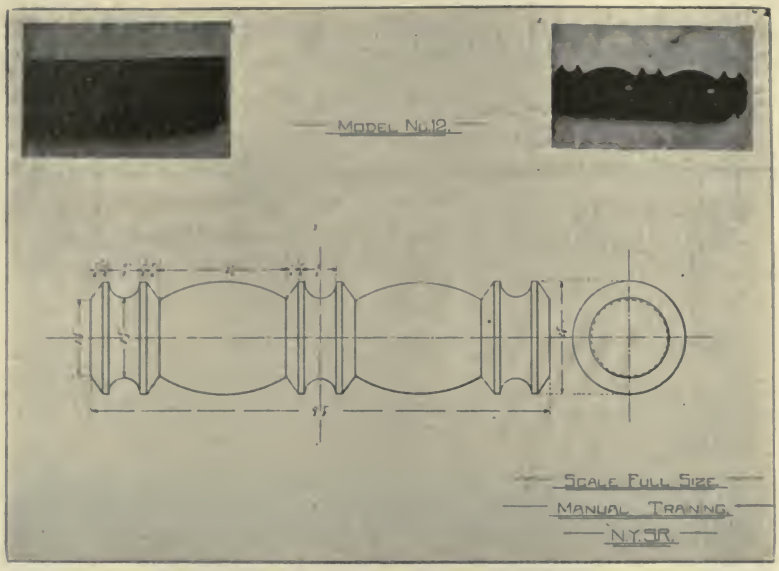
In model No. 1 (p. 595) is shown at top left a block of wood, also a finished piece called a wedge. At the top right is the free-hand sketch, in the lower view is the mechanical drawing. The pupil makes the free-hand drawing from a perfect model, then with paper, rule, pencil, and "T" square draws the mechanical representation. A thorough drill is made upon the twelve lines which indicate the size and form of the model; then a block is supplied from which the tool performances begin. This tool is the knife. In operation the pupil stands firmly, with one foot a little in advance of the other, the left elbow lightly touching the side; the left hand holding the block securely, the right hand holding the knife, and a swinging motion beginning from the elbow joint, a cut on the block is made; this is a contracted movement of the lower biceps muscles of the right arm.

These muscular expressions have habituated the motor nerves to send definite messages; the brain has received them. Simple arithmetic has been employed and something produced. The result of these actions is mental quickening through tool performances.

In the preceding models before No. 8 (p. 597) we have, with two exceptions, used the single impression idea, with such change in models as would employ different muscles and motor nerves. Model No. 8 is one of the three in the course wherein special combinations of muscular activities are employed, and motor nerves are employed in sending to the brain ideas in rapid succession.

The operations are as follows: First, the free-hand sketch from an accurate model, then the mechanical drawing; this accepted, the tool performances begin. The finished project is composed of six pieces; stock for these is supplied in rough.

Slats must be cut with the rip-saw larger than finished dimensions; this introduces discrimination and decision in allowing the additional dimensions for finish size. The muscles employed in ripping these strips are the muscles of the shoulder, alternately contracting and expanding, causing the entire arm to



GROUP II. OUTLINE IN WOOD TURNING FOR CONTROL DEFECTIVES

swing through a vertical plane horizontally. The motor nerves strike upon the part of the brain which regulates concentration of purpose, with the result that the tool actuated by these forces produces strips to be later planed to five-eighths of an inch wide and five-sixteenths of an inch thick, cut off, and ends planed to fifteen inches. Having produced four such strips, the two end pieces are made, and upon these are secured the strips. These employ the saw, plane, rule, gauge, and knife. The muscles used are the full arm swing for planing and sawing, and for cutting out the pieces between the legs; the muscles of the wrist conjointly with those of the fingers are used. This space is to be five-sixteenths of an inch deep. Here comes the mental operation of locating five-sixteenths of an inch on a rule, trans-

ferring it to the stock, and proving the accuracy of the operation by measuring with the rule.

After making these pieces to the respective dimensions comes the operation of combining these to agree with the drawing; here is an appeal to the constructive or order element in the brain, and to the finer muscular combinations. The tool processes are first to secure with brads one of the long slats to the leg piece at a distance of one and one-half inches from the end, having the end of the short piece even with the edge of the slat. This operation is repeated until each end of the two outside slats is secured. Next, the inner two must be equally spaced between the two outside slats, keeping the ends on a line.

If the foregoing operations have been well performed, we have a neatly constructed model called a "flower-pot stand," in the making of which we have through tool performances developed mental and muscular quickening.

R. C. BATES.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

GROUP II.—MODELS FROM COURSE IN CLAY MODELING FOR CONTROL DEFECTIVES

THE PHILADELPHIA GAS WORKS: A MODERN INSTANCE.

On November 12, 1897, Mayor Charles F. Warwick, by giving his official approval to the ordinance providing for the leasing of the Philadelphia gas works to the United Gas Improvement Company for a period of thirty years, consummated a series of events which, when considered as a whole, may be regarded as a modern instance of the overpowering influence of rich and powerful corporations over the scruples, better judgment, and previously expressed opinions of public officials.

On June 4, 1896, the common council of Philadelphia passed the following resolution relative to the sale of the gas works:

> Whereas, The mayor and director of public works have advocated and formulated a comprehensive plan for the reconstruction of the gas works at an estimated cost of one million five hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000), with the statement that the result of such work can and will be followed by an increased supply and great improvement in the quality, with a reduction to seventy-five (75) cents per 1000 feet; and
>
> Whereas, The finance committee in approval of this much needed improvement has passed favorably an item of one million ($1,000,000) dollars for said work in the loan bill; therefore be it
>
> *Resolved*, by the select and common councils of the city of Philadelphia, that they view with disfavor any proposition to place this valuable plant in the hands of a corporation, thereby establishing a monopoly of this necessity, and placing the people at the mercy of such corporation; and be it further
>
> *Resolved*, That councils approve of the plan to increase the facilities of these works and to maintain the plant as the property of the city.

In the face of this emphatic and unqualified expression of opinion, the same body on November 8, 1897, less than a year and a half after the above action had been taken, passed, by a vote of seventy-nine to fifty-one, an ordinance leasing the same gas works to the United Gas Improvement Company, a corporation that offered the city by far less favorable terms than any

other competing company. On November 8, 1897, while the ordinance was under consideration, a syndicate of responsible capitalists and experienced gas manufacturers offered the city a bonus of $10,000,000 ($1,000,000 the first year and $300,000 each succeeding year) for the same lease as was provided for in the United Gas Improvement ordinance.

The question at once arises, Why did the members of common council, representing as they did nearly a million and a quarter of citizens of Philadelphia, vote to give away the gas works to a syndicate of capitalists for ten millions of dollars less than another bidder was ready and willing to offer at the same time? Had they received unmistakable instructions from their constituents to make such a one-sided bargain, or was there such a crisis in the management of the works as to make such a sacrifice amounting to $10,000,000 imperatively necessary?

Emphatically *no*. The people in town meeting assembled had declared in no uncertain terms that the gas works should be retained. At a score of ward meetings held in all sections of the city and in every instance largely attended the citizens had declared against the parting with the gas works on any terms. Municipal reform organizations, patriotic societies, and labor unions protested against the lease, and in one ward, where the question was submitted to an informal vote at the general election held on November 2, over 2,800 voted against leasing and but thirty-two in favor. In spite of the almost unanimous expression of public sentiment against the gas lease, the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance was rushed through the subcommittee and the joint committees of finance and gas with such indecent and indecorous haste that the Municipal League in one of its addresses on the subject was justified in saying:

"Although the proposed United Gas Improvement Company's lease has been materially improved as a result of public criticism and discussion, it is still far from adequate to protect the city's interest, as its critics, including the city solicitor, have pointed out, and the United Gas Improvement Company's proposition is far less advantageous than that of other responsible Pennsylvania

corporations. Why, then, should there be such undue haste? If a month's consideration has resulted so advantageously to the city, is it not fair to assume that a still further and more careful discussion would result in still greater concessions to the city? To answer this question other than by an emphatic affirmative corroborates the charges that have been openly and publicly made by men of the highest standing[1] and by responsible newspapers that improper influences have been at work to secure a speedy acceptance of the offer of the United Gas Improvement Company.

"The attitude of the majorities of the subcommittee and the joint committee of finance and gas in forcing the consideration of the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance; the refusal to allow the people to vote on the question of leasing; the grossly unfair character of the report of Henry Clay as chairman of the subcommittee, in which he suppresses all reference to certain important testimony against the leasing of the works and elaborates all that was presented in favor of leasing and against municipal ownership; the practical ignoring of all other offers; the stolid persistency with which the majority of the joint committee refused every reasonable request for further time and careful consideration and for a full transcript of all the testimony produced before the subcommittee; and the recollection of the scandalous disclosures in connection with the passage of the Mutual Automatic Telephone Company's ordinance—all tend to strengthen the conviction that has been growing in the public mind that the charges already referred to are not without substantial foundation.

"Taking up the report of the chairman of the subcommittee, which reads more like the brief of a paid advocate of the United Gas Improvement Company than the calm and impartial review

[1] Hon. Wayne MacVeagh in his speech at the Academy of Music said that every councilman who voted for the ordinance would go through life with the brand on his forehead "Bribed by the rich to rob the poor;" and Peter Boyd, Esq., a well-known lawyer, deliberately charged that there had been a conspiracy between the company and certain city officials by which the plant was allowed to run down and deteriorate in efficiency.

of the whole situation by a representative of the city, conscientiously striving to do his sworn duty, we find, etc."

The same undue haste was shown in both chambers of councils; in common council no arguments were presented by those favoring the lease; to every appeal for further time and a fuller consideration the reply of its advocates was, "We have the votes," and the moving of the previous question. Before common council had passed the ordinance on Monday, a special meeting of select council was called for Tuesday; in the latter body the lease's principal advocate devoted the larger part of his address to an attack on those who had been active in opposing the lease, especially the officers of the Municipal League, and I could continue this enumeration of incidents of the passage of the ordinance through its several stages if it were necessary, all tending to show a disregard, not only of the wishes of the people and the previously expressed views of the members, but even of the common decencies of parliamentary procedure; but enough has been said to establish clearly my point that the people's interests and influences were set aside and ignored; while those of a rich and powerful corporation were carefully subserved and followed.

In the absence of any demand for leasing the gas works, we are led to ask if there was such a crisis in the management as to make an immediate sacrifice of millions of dollars essential? It was brought out before the subcommittee at a public hearing that the city was manufacturing gas at a profit. One speaker, Col. John I. Rogers, himself the president of a large gas company, although as a Philadelphian opposed to the city parting with its works, demonstrated to the satisfaction of every reasonable man that in 1896 the plant yielded a net profit of $510,806. He reached this conclusion after he had carefully analyzed the reports of the bureau. To quote his own words: "Now let me recapitulate: Here is what these works do, and I am considering only the running business of 1896. The profits, as I have read, according to the report of the bookkeepers in the bureau, were $352,986, to which should be added the gas furnished gratis to the city.

"I know that the lease proposes that this should be done too; but in order to find the value before we consider anything else, we will do what any business man would do — show what I can make before I give away anything. Because I give away something, it does not alter the fact that I made it; therefore it is right to add to the $352,986, $674,000 for 674,000,000 cubic feet of gas used by the city for public lighting. But I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you asked certain gentlemen if they did not think that the city should only claim credit for the actual cost of manufacturing this amount of gas and not at $1 per 1000 cubic feet, and that they said yes. It is hard to tell what it did cost the city, but, reading from Councilman W. H. Brown's calculation, it cost about 60 cents. If so, even then the profit would be $892,213 on last year's (1896) miserable basis, with a miserable plant, with miserable pipes and everything else. Another question which I believe you asked was whether water rent should not be charged, and should not interest on the plant be charged, and the answer was yes. The water rent should be charged according to cost. I know the director reported that the water rent would be $11,756. If anybody but this city owned this property, and they had to pay that much water rent, they would promptly build artesian wells or pump from the river.

"Now the taxes. These amount to $69,652 on a valuation of $3,765,000. This is pretty large. There is a big farm at Point Breeze, unnecessary. You can build a water plant for 20,000,000 cubic feet a day on about 500 square feet, and the taxes on that would not be very much.

"Interest on the plant. That is the hard thing to calculate. What is the plant? It is the generators, pipes, etc., not the franchises. The mayor and others have said it is worth $30,000,000. Mr. David H. Lane said in 1893, before council's committee, and Mr. Lane is supposed to represent the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company — I suppose he was not attending the meeting out of mere curiosity — he said the plant is not worth over $3,000,000. I do not think anybody would give for the plant, as it stands outside of the franchises, over that; but we will call it

$5,000,000 with the old pipes, etc. We will charge 6 per cent. Does anybody doubt but what we could borrow that at 3 per cent.? Call it 6 per cent., however. Add the $300,000 to the taxes and water rent which, taken out of the gross profit, would still leave a net profit of $510,806. Pretty good for a bad plant!"

Neither an unmistakable mandate from the people nor public demand nor an unexpected crisis in the management of the works being responsible for the change of front on the part of councilmen, what was the motive which led seventy-nine common councilmen and twenty-three select councilmen to determine to hand over one of the city's most valuable assets to a rich corporation making the least advantageous offer? Were there any arguments brought out in the debate which were so powerful as to overcome previously formed judgments and to lead the members to defy public opinion? None were made in public. Indeed, the conduct of the majority was such as to lead one councilman on the last day of the debate in the lower chamber to say: "I arise to make a demand. I want to demand, from those who vote for this lease, that arguments in its favor, that figures and facts, shall be presented explaining why this bill shall be passed. They have not yet presented a single fact or a single reason for the leasing of the gas works. They have given no intimation why they favor it from a business point of view. That is what they promised, and that is what we want. We want to understand why they want us to vote to give this property away, and I insist that they shall present their facts, if they have any."

Nor were any such facts at that or at any other time forthcoming. Every reasonable demand on the part of the minority faithful to the city's interest was met with a stolid and stubborn silence, and, as I have already stated, the previous question, so that the citizens of Philadelphia had presented to them the unusual spectacle of their sworn representatives determining in two sessions of common council and one session of select council a question involving millions of dollars, extending over a generation, and touching the comfort and convenience of a community of a million and a quarter of inhabitants, and one to which, according

to its own admissions, the United Gas Improvement Company had given several years' consideration and upon which its engineers had been at work for months.

The councilmen were not the only ones, however, connected with the city government who showed this unexpected and as yet publicly unexplained change of official opinion and reversal of attitude on a public question. Director of Public Works Thomas M. Thompson in his last annual report, dated January 21, 1897, said in reference to the improvements introduced at the Point Breeze plant:

"The introduction of these machines will result in a great saving in the labor account. Four turn-tables for the convenience of the charging and discharging machines. With the increased manufacturing facilities at the Point Breeze works we require an enlargement of the coal shed for the reception of coal by rail. When this is provided we will have a thoroughly equipped plant at these works, equal, if not superior, to any in the United States.

"The increased amount of leakage or unaccounted for gas each year is due to the insufficient size of many of the distributing mains, which are extended in length from year to year, as the growth of the city makes it necessary to supply gas in new territories. To force the gas through the small mains and reach these extreme distances requires greater pressure at the works or holder stations."

Further on in the same report he says:

"The gas manufactured by the Philadelphia gas works is of as good, if not better, quality than that made by any gas works in the United States; but when we are compelled to force gas by great pressure through many miles of small-sized or inadequate mains, the candle power will necessarily be reduced by reason of the excessive friction to which the gas is subjected, thereby robbing it of the hydro-carbon, which is its light-giving quality; hence the complaint of poor gas.

"The fault is not in the quality of the gas manufactured, but in the system of distribution; this was again demonstrated dur-

ing the past year. At the period of heaviest consumption it was utterly impossible to meet the demands made upon the distributing system in West Philadelphia, Chestnut Hill, and other outlying districts; the service was absolutely inadequate to furnish anywhere near a satisfactory quantity of gas at the time of night when it was most needed."

The director made this statement in face of the fact that during the past ten years the appropriations for extensions have been as follows:

1888	$326,000.00	1893	$250,485.16
1889	316,551.57	1894	375,000.00
1890	318,905.49	1895	315,102.80
1891	331,550.59	1896	248,601.81
1892	178,523.40		

and appropriations for the purchase and laying of pipes for distribution since 1890[1] as follows:

1890	$ 89,348.12	1894	$132,300.00
1891	96,000.00	1895	130,000.00
1892	100,000.00	1896	122,600.00
1893	115,000.00		

He made this statement in the face of the condition of the facts concisely stated by one of the speakers before the subcommittee: that out of the 1239 miles of pipe, 450 miles, or more than 33⅓ per cent., have been built during the past twelve years, and that they are presumed to be well built, of the proper sort of material, and that during the same period large sums have been appropriated for repairs, and it is only fair to assume that some portions of it have been, or at least ought to have been, used in keeping the other pipes in good condition.

He made his statement in view of the fact, which has been declared on more than one occasion by members of councils and stands today, so far as I have been able to ascertain, uncontradicted, that the bureau has commenced to build mains and pipes

[1] Prior to this date the appropriations for this purpose were included in another item, and cannot be definitely determined.

from the extremities toward the holders rather than from the holders toward the extremities, so that, if the appropriation gave out for a particular line of pipe, it would have a blind beginning and a blind ending.

During the discussion of the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance the Municipal League published the following as part of a leaflet:

"When was Director Thompson right—before or after the United Gas Improvement Company made its proposition?

BEFORE.

"On May 23, 1896, the *Ledger* quotes Director Thompson as saying in reference to the proposition made by the Baker syndicate: 'I am prepared to stand by all the statements I have ever made regarding this matter . . . . This syndicate says it will spend $5,000,000 to improve the works and furnish gas at the present rate. If I can get $1,500,000 to spend on improvements, I will give the citizens of Philadelphia as good gas as the syndicate can, and better, for 75 cents per 1000.

"'The city does not want a profit from its gas works. Our object is to furnish citizens with good gas at the lowest possible figure. The price was a few years ago $1.50 per 1000. This was reduced to $1.00 per 1000 cubic feet. With the proper equipment, I can give excellent gas for 75 cents. I am certainly opposed to the city parting with her gas works and shall do all in my power to prevent their being sold or leased to private parties.'

AFTER.

"On October 6, 1897, before the subcommittee having the proposed gas lease under consideration, Director Thompson presented a report through his assistant to the effect that the sum of $4,864,300 would be necessary to secure an economical manufacture and proper distribution of gas for a period of three years from January 1, 1898. He estimated there would be required for

Mains,	$1,752,300
Holders,	230,000
Services,	550,000
Meters,	375,000
Water gas plant at Point Breeze,	800,000
General improvements,	357,000
Increase of holder capacity at Twenty-second and Market,	500,000
Adding 3,000,000 cubic feet's capacity to Twenty-fifth ward gas works,	300,000
	$4,864,300

Director Thompson has not offered to the public any satisfactory explanation of his change of official opinion and stands in the same relative position as the councilmen who voted to give the United Gas Improvement Company ten millions of dollars' additional profit. The councilmen, however, and the director of public works, are not alone in their sudden unexpected and unexplained change of base. They have for their companion no less personage than the mayor of the city, the Hon. Charles F. Warwick.

In his annual message, dated April 6, 1896, Mayor Warwick said:

"In my inaugural address I stated that the gas works should never pass from the absolute control and ownership of the city. The plant is too valuable, and history shows that whenever such a property passes into private hands, it in time becomes an extortionate monopoly. During my administration I have seen nothing that tends to change my opinion as once expressed. In fact, I have been stronger in my belief that the gas works should never be sold."

In his last annual message, that of April 5, 1897, he said: "The gas manufactured by the Philadelphia gas works is equal in quality with that made in any city of the Union. In other words, the gas in the holder, before distribution, is a good illuminant of the necessary candle power, but unfortunately, by reason of our method of distribution, when it reaches the consumer it has lost much of its illuminating quality. This matter

of distribution should be taken up and considered with the greatest care, and perhaps it would be advisable under all the circumstances to have an estimate made of the cost that would be involved in effecting the desired changes.

"The gas works are a most valuable asset and should never pass from the absolute control of the city. The plant is valued at about $30,000,000, close to the actual debt of the city at this time, and money will be well expended if the changes suggested are carried out."

In less than eight months from this last official utterance, Mayor Warwick attached his signature to the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance, which, as we have already seen, is $10,000,000 less advantageous to the city than the Baker proposition, and he signed the ordinance without granting the request of those opposed to the lease for an opportunity to appear before him and give voice to their objection, a course of procedure heretofore unheard of in the city of Philadelphia.

After signing the ordinance he gave out an interview, in the course of which he said: "It is a grave question in my mind whether or not any municipality should operate any manufacturing industry." No comment is necessary when this statement is compared with those made by him in his annual messages of 1896 and 1897.

This conspicuous "modern instance" is not a confession that municipal ownership is a failure, for if there was one thing brought out clearly and distinctly, it was that, with all the drawbacks and with all the political management, the Philadelphia gas works had yielded a profit and had resulted in reduced rates of gas. As the gas committee of the Municipal League in one of its published statements on the question said:

"The league must again call attention to the possibilities of further reductions in the price of gas under municipal ownership and the impossibility of any very considerable reduction under the United Gas Improvement Company's proposition. In the period from 1867 to 1877 the price was reduced under municipal operation from $3.00 per 1000 cubic feet to $2.15; in the

period of 1877 to 1887 from $2.15 to $1.60; and during the last ten years from $1.60 to $1.00. If this result has been accomplished in the past by the city, is it not fair to assume that still further reductions are still possible, especially as the discussion of the whole question has pointed out the weak spots in our present administration of the gas works and indicated where improved methods can be introduced to advantage? And it must also be borne in mind that in cities where private corporations have been supplying the gas there have been practically no reductions in the price of gas at all commensurate with those made in Philadelphia.

"If, as it is claimed, the city has no funds sufficient to make the improvements indicated as necessary by Director Thompson, in April, 1896, the city can dispose of its Ninth Ward station, which it has been very generally agreed can now be dispensed with, and which would probably yield a million dollars. Additional sums can be secured during the next three or four years by terminating the contract with the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company for water gas at 37 cents per 1000 cubic feet and accepting the properly conditioned and amply protected offer of Col. John I. Rogers to supply water gas at 25 cents per 1000 cubic feet.

"This would represent a yearly saving of about $250,000. Add to this the economies which it has been satisfactorily demonstrated can be made under efficient business management in the matter of coal and other supplies, and in the disposal of residuals, and by dispensing with those men who are only employed for political reasons and not because they are needed (because we have the sworn testimony of experts of the highest character that the labor account is three times what it should be according to the general experience of gas manufacturers), and we have the assurance of a profitable and satisfactory adjustment of the whole problem, according to the admissions of the advocates of the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance."

This "modern instance" is, however, an illustration of how

rich and powerful corporations are able in legislative bodies to defy public sentiment and overcome official judgment. Surrounding the committee rooms and council chambers, at all the meetings when the United Gas Improvement Company's ordinance was under consideration, was a band of the shrewdest and most skillful lobbyists, and at one time some of them even had the audacity to enter upon the floor of councils and direct their fight for the ordinance from that point of vantage. This state of affairs became so offensive that even the most defiant members of councils voted to exclude all but members and ex-members from the floor, but this did not prevent the lobbyists and legislative agents of the company from carrying on their work in the adjoining committee and cloakrooms.

When the vote in common council was announced, the audience in the galleries greeted the result with groans and hisses and cries of "robbers" and "perjurers," and at a public indignation meeting held on the evening of November 12, the day Mayor Warwick signed the bill, the mention of every man who had voted for the ordinance was received with hisses and the most marked evidences of disapproval; and political and semi-political clubs have since been busy dropping from membership those who voted for the lease. I mention these instances to show the feeling of the people on the subject; and yet, despite the public protests, and despite the public indignation, and despite the very much better offers of competing companies, the United Gas Improvement Company, controlled as it is by those who have already secured the street railway, electric lighting, and gasoline franchises and privileges, was able to carry the day. And yet there are some people who wonder at the prevailing discontent among the poorer classes and the growth of that sentiment for which Mr. Bryan stands.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

PHILADELPHIA.

A STATISTICAL STUDY IN CAUSES OF POVERTY.

EVERY student of statistics dealing with poverty is more or less familiar with the weaknesses and limitations of "case-counting" as a method of determining the share borne by different factors in causing human misery. This method, in its ordinary form, consists in simply assigning each case of distress to its most prominent cause and then counting the total number of cases assigned to each cause. It is evident to anyone that results so gained must be very erroneous, so long as only one element is selected from the large number of complex causes that go to make up any given case of distress.

A multitude of causes contribute to the final result in every individual case of poverty. For example: The husband, a not very competent workman, and occasional drinker, is thrown out of employment by the stopping of the factory where he had been working. A child falls sick owing to defective drainage, and this unusual expense causes him to allow his trades-union dues to elapse just before a period of general financial depression. Discouraged and tired of "looking for work," and his resources exhausted, he applies for charity. Is the "cause of distress" lack of employment, incompetency, intemperance, sickness, bad sanitation, trades unionism, or "general social conditions" beyond the control of the individual? Manifestly it is any, all, or none of these, according to the individual bias of the compiler, and the particular time and circumstances under which the "case was investigated." Yet this example is typical, and it is from just such cases that the majority of our statistics on the causes of poverty are compiled, by the simple (?) process of determining the single dominant cause of distress in each case and then adding the results; with this difference, that much more is supposed to be known about the above case than is known about a majority of the cases registered with charity organization societies.

It is the aim of this study to in some degree express statistically this complex nature of the ordinary cause of distress. Acting partially on suggestions of Charles Booth and A. G. Warner, the total cause of distress, so to speak, has in each case been divided into ten units. Each contributing element was then assigned a certain number of these units, according to its relative importance, as far as this could be determined by the compiler.

The cases to be analyzed were taken from the files of Englewood and Stock Yards district of the Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities. For the analysis required a considerable amount of knowledge regarding each case was necessary. The cases were selected, therefore, solely upon the basis of the amount of knowledge possessed regarding each family. All so selected had been known to the compilers for some considerable time. A majority of those selected from the Stock Yards district lived in the neighborhood of the Chicago University settlement and were personally known to the residents. Many had been visited by a "friendly visitor" from the Bureau of Charities, who aimed to cultivate personal relations with the family. It is of especial importance that the information thus gathered came from those to whom the family did not stand in the relation of an object of charity and was not confined to times of distress.

The most general, and perhaps, therefore, the least reliable, result obtained from the investigation is that secured by the addition of the total number of units ascribable to each cause of distress. As seen by the first column in the tables given, pp. 618–19, the one thousand units of causation group themselves as follows, with the relative importance indicated:

	Stock Yards dist.	Englewood.
Lack of employment,	456	499
Intemperance,	157	105
Sickness,	154	95
Incompetence,	61	36
Desertion of breadwinner,	51	22
Laziness,	34	160
Old age,	33	54

	Stock Yards dist.	Englewood.
Death of breadwinner, - - - -	33	29
Pauper association, - - - -	17	0
Insanity, - - - - - -	4	0

Making a still broader and more dangerous generalization, by dividing these units into those ascribable to those causes most dependent upon the fault of the individual, and those rather belonging to a defective society, we have in the Englewood table 690 and in the Stock Yards 731 units ascribable to social causes, and 301 and 269, respectively, due more to the fault of the individual. Such a generality, however, can scarcely fail to be misleading if used alone, and can only be looked upon as one of many things to be considered in determining the responsibility for human misery.

A study of the interdependence of causes as shown by the table gives some interesting results. Taking the statistics from the Stock Yards neighborhood, in the 92 cases where lack of employment is the main cause, intemperance is a contributing factor in 11 instances, incompetence in 17, and sickness in 22. In the 84 cases from the Englewood district giving lack of employment as a main cause, incompetence enters 10 times, laziness 9, sickness 6, and intemperance only 4 times.

In the Stock Yards district the burden of sickness upon the poor is seen to be extremely heavy. Although when the cases are known through a long period of time its importance as a prime cause lessens, it is shown to be a contributing factor in a large number of cases. While only ten times does it become a dominant cause, it is present in 53 instances in a sufficient degree to entitle it to be considered among the contributing causes of distress. This raises it in the final totals from a little over 10 per cent., according to "case counting" methods, to 15.4 per cent. That this cause does not attain the same prominence in the Englewood tables is undoubtedly due in some degree to the more healthy locality, the Stock Yards neighborhood being notoriously unsanitary, and the employment injurious to health.

All other factors, however, seem to sink into insignificance

when compared with the dominating cause, lack of employment. Although the tendency of this method is to decrease the percentage contributed to the whole mass of distress by this cause below that indicated by "case counting," as it often shows that lack of employment is accompanied by subsiduary and contributing causes, still an inadequate labor market contributes nearly three times as many units to the total sum of distress as any other one cause and more than any other four combined. Ninety-two in the Stock Yards and 84 in Englewood out of the 100 cases would have been improved by a better adjustment of the labor market. This was in spite of the fact that the mode of selection would tend to eliminate the purely "out of work" cases, and the further fact that the long continuous knowledge possessed regarding the families caused many who would at first sight have been unhesitatingly classified as unemployed to be placed under other heads because of the development of hidden weaknesses and defects.

In both tables intemperance is shown to be of comparatively minor importance. It is generally a subsiduary cause, as is shown by the fact that, although it enters into a considerable number of cases in both tables, the average number of units assigned it per case is in each instance a trifle over four.

Perhaps the greatest discrepancy between the two tables is seen in the importance assigned to laziness. This may be partially accounted for by the fact that the Englewood compiler was inclined to put more emphasis on individual defects of character than the one from the Stock Yards, and felt that the table of causes was deficient in that it did not sufficiently provide for such defects. Therefore, many other forms of individual weakness, especially moral ones, were included by him under the general head of laziness, and it must not be concluded that in every case so marked the party had refused work. Incompetency is another cause where subjective differences undoubtedly show themselves. In other respects, however, the uniformity of the results obtained is little less than wonderful when it is remembered that the analyses were made entirely inde-

I. STOCK YARDS.

SUMMARY.

	Total units	Number of cases of each degree										Total five units and over	Contributing causes									
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		Lack of employment	Intem-perance	Laziness	Incom-petency	Death of breadwinner	Desertion by breadwinner	Insanity	Sickness	Old age	Pauper association
Lack of employment	92	8	3	4	8	10	15	14	15	10	5	48		11	6	17	2	1		22	3	1
	456													*25*	*11*	*33*	*9*	*2*		*59*	*10*	*1*
Intemperance	39			1	2	8	7	3	6	10	2	18	15		4	6				9		1
	157												*40*		*6*	*10*				*18*		*1*
Laziness	17						1		5	3	8	1	1						1			
	34												*4*						*1*			
Incompetency	31					1		1	5	12	12	1	1									
	61												*5*									
Death of breadwinner	7				1	1	1	3	1			3	3						1			
	33												*10*						*2*			
Desertion by breadwinner	11					4	2	3	1	1		6	6	2		1				3		
	51												*14*	*5*		*2*				*5*		
Insanity	2								1		1											
	4																					
Sickness	53			1	2	3	4	4	11	17	11	10	9	1	1	1	1					
	154												*31*	*3*	*2*	*1*	*3*					
Old age	8	1					2	1	2	1	1	3	1	1						1		
	33												*5*	*3*						*1*		
Pauper association	6					1	1			2	2	2	1					1		1		
	17												*3*					*4*		*2*		

II. ENGLEWOOD.

SUMMARY.

	Total units	Number of cases of each degree										Total five units and over	Contributing causes									
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		Lack of employment	Intemperance	Laziness	Incompetency	Death of breadwinner	Desertion by breadwinner	Insanity	Sickness	Old age	Pauper association
Lack of employment	84	20	1	11	5	6	5	13	9	13	1	48		4	9	10	2	1		6	3	
	499													*9*	*21*	*22*	*6*	*3*		*20*	*6*	
Intemperance	23	2		1	1	2	5	2	5	5		11	6		6					3		
	105												*15*		*16*					7		
Laziness	40				1	6	3	3	10	14		13	9	3		2						
	160												*18*	*10*		*4*						
Incompetency	18							1	3	9	5											
	36																					
Death of breadwinner	7					1	2	1	3			3	2		1	1				1		
	29												*4*		*2*	*3*				*5*		
Desertion by breadwinner	6					1	1	1	1	2		2	1		1						1	
	22												*2*		*2*						*5*	
Insanity																						
Sickness	22	2		1	1	1	3	4	4	5	1	8	4	1		1	1					
	95												*16*	*2*		*1*	*5*					
Old age	14					3	3	2	2	3	1	6	4		2	1		2				
	54												*11*		7	*2*		7				
Pauper association																						

pendent of each other and the further fact that the families were taken from two neighborhoods differing largely in their economic and social organization. The Stock Yards is a specialized industrial community, almost all the residents being connected with the one industry, with its peculiarities of wages and trade fluctuations. Englewood, on the other hand, is almost suburban in many of its characteristics; has no dominant industrial center; its residents are engaged in a great number of small and considerably diversified industries. The small number of cases selected makes this uniformity more remarkable, and if it had been possible to have analyzed a much larger number, undoubtedly many of the existing differences would have been eliminated.

That the method as here carried out has many defects no one is more thoroughly aware than the writer, and it might be well, in conclusion, to say just a few words regarding the more evident criticisms. In the first place, the list of causes might easily be criticised, both for sins of omission and commission. It is especially deficient, perhaps, in those causes, indicating lack of moral character—dishonesty, roving disposition, moral weakness, etc. But these are causes particularly susceptible of subjective influence, and do not lend themselves readily to classification, and, finally, it is always a question with such characteristics,

NOTE.—In the left half of the tables the cases are arranged after the name of each factor in the order of the number of units contributed by the factor, as indicated by the figures at the head of the column; for example, in the Stock Yards table, lack of employment contributed the entire 10 units in eight cases, 9 units in three cases, etc. In the right half of the tables those cases in which the main cause (given at the extreme left) contributed more than 5 units are further analyzed to show the character and importance of contributing causes. For example, in the Stock Yards table, in those cases in which lack of employment was the principal cause (contributing 5 or more units), intemperance was a contributing factor 11 times; laziness, 6; incompetence, 17, etc. The extent to which these contributing causes entered is shown by the number of *units* they contributed, indicated by the *italic* figures placed beneath the number of cases. For example, intemperance contributed 25 units in the 11 cases in which it entered. In every instance the upper figures indicate number of cases, the lower, *italic*, the units. As there seemed to be several instances where no one cause contributed five units, the footings of the right half of the table will not agree with those on the left.

more, perhaps, than with any other class, in how far they are actually causes, and how far they are effects of poverty. Other causes are omitted because they so seldom appear that they may be disregarded without affecting the final result. There are also, undoubtedly, evils of overlapping in the schedule used. In reply to all such criticisms it may be said that the schedule was only selected after examination of those used by Chas. Booth and by German investigators, together with the schedule adopted by the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and that the one finally selected seemed best fitted for the purpose at the time, although experience would now suggest some changes.

Perhaps the most vital defect of such a table must always be that it will to some degree reflect the personal bias of the compiler. It can only be said that every effort has been made to avoid this element. Pains were taken to study each case apart from all others, and not to allow any consideration of effect upon final results to determine individual decisions. This defect was still further minimized by the fact that the two schedules were prepared wholly independent of each other, and by persons with different economic ideas.[1] This element can be almost entirely eliminated if a large number of persons could be induced to carry on similar studies, and it is hoped that this may be done in the near future.

A. M. SIMONS.

[1] Thanks are due to Mr. C. F. Weller, of the Englewood district of the Bureau of Charities, for the preparation of the schedules from that neigborhood.

OFFICIAL STATISTICS.

THE statistics of manufactures and of wealth as published at the Eleventh Census are frequently criticised as in a large part worthy of no confidence whatever, and, instead of promoting an intelligent understanding of social conditions, have chiefly served to mislead.

While these statistics are fully explained in the official reports and the totals there given are a true presentation of the facts, the continued reiteration of the statement that the true facts have not been shown is liable to mislead those who have not the time or the inclination to study the voluminous reports.

It will be my endeavor to so present the truth in regard to the statistics relating to manufactures that their value and utility may be fully appreciated.

It has been the aim of the superintendent of each census to secure a complete report for each branch of statistical inquiry. Of the numerous investigations undertaken those pertaining to population, agriculture, and manufactures have always ranked first, and every effort has been made to obtain a complete report concerning them, even if it necessitated the neglect or abandonment of other inquiries. Therefore the total of manufactures published at each census presents as nearly as possible the true total for the products of industry. In this the Eleventh differed in no respect from prior censuses, and on this theory it is perfectly proper to compare the results. Speculation as to the omissions, incomplete canvass, etc., cannot be relied on to correct these totals, which are the results of a personal canvass and the application of the best statistical methods known at the time.

The criticism of the totals of the Eleventh Census has invariably been that they are too large: that they were so swollen by the complete canvass and the inclusion of industries not before enumerated that they show an abnormal increase. The totals cannot be too large to present the true facts at each period

unless there has been fraud perpetrated, and that charge has not been seriously made.

During the preparation of the final reports of the Eleventh Census a careful examination and comparison were made of the totals for each industry as published at the censuses of 1870, 1880, and 1890. This comparison developed the fact that certain industries, such as dressmaking, bottling, millinery, cars and general shop construction, and repairs by steam railroads, manufacture of gas, etc., had apparently been included in the total of 1870, but in 1880 they had either been omitted or the reports classified with other industries in such a manner that it was impossible to identify them. These industries were enumerated, and their total, amounting to $315,672,287 in value of product, deducted from the grand total of 1890, gives a result that was possibly a truer comparison with totals for 1880.

This disposes of the criticism as to the inclusion of industries not previously canvassed. There was no attempt to conceal the fact that they were probably not included in 1880, although they had been reported in 1870, and it was evidently the intention in 1880 to make as complete a canvass as that of ten years previous. But the omission or inclusion of these minor industries in the total of nine billion as compared with five billion can have but slight effect.

As to the more thorough enumeration in 1890. It is possible that the methods adopted in 1890 did result in a fuller report for certain industries, especially those coming under the head of hand trades. But the schedule of inquiry used in 1890 was more conducive to the omission of the large establishments by the enumerator than was that used in 1880. In 1890 a separate schedule, with in the neighborhood of 100 inquiries, was used for each establishment. In the majority of cases it required a special visit from the enumerator to secure this schedule. In 1880 there were only eight or ten questions asked, and a large number of establishments reported in the same schedule; the schedules were, therefore, secured by the enumerator at the same time he gathered the statistics of population.

That there were establishments omitted from the canvass at each census cannot be denied. The omissions in 1890 are referred to in the reports. The extent of these omissions at prior censuses no one can determine. I, however, have an idea of the extent of the omissions in 1890, and recall the fact that some of the largest ship-building establishments of the country, some of the largest sugar refineries, paper mills, cigar factories, and establishments engaged in other industries, absolutely refused, or willfully neglected, to furnish the information required for the census. A number of cases were referred to the Attorney General to institute legal proceedings in order to secure the data, but the suits were abandoned, for various reasons, among others because the information could not be secured in time to be included in the reports. While the omission of these establishments may not materially affect the totals, they undoubtedly offset the inclusion of the minor industries referred to, and tend to counterbalance the results of the more thorough canvass.

The establishments of productive industry being largely concentrated in cities, a special effort was made at both the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses to make a complete canvass of the cities. It is in the cities, if anywhere, that the canvass of 1890 is more complete than that of 1880, for I am confident that in the rural districts, as a whole, the canvass of 1880 resulted in securing a larger number of reports than did that of 1890. A greater number of cities were especially canvassed in 1890, and this with their possibly better canvass accounts for any increase that may be due to the character of the enumeration.

The extent that the possibly better canvass of the cities has affected the grand totals cannot be determined. The only industries that could be perceptibly affected are those generally conducted in small establishments, such as carpentering, blacksmithing, tailoring, etc. In these industries a very large number of establishments control but a very small percentage of the total product for all industries. The canvass for the large establishments was in all probability as thorough throughout the entire country in 1880 as in 1890. In view of these facts it is absurd to

say that the more thorough canvass, or the inclusion of additional industries, has destroyed the utility of the totals of 1890 for the purposes of comparison with 1880.

It is asserted that the schedule of inquiry used in 1890 was so entirely different from that of 1880 that, if exactly the same establishments had been enumerated at the two censuses, the results could not be compared, and that the totals for 1890 do not show true conditions. If the schedule used at 1890 has resulted in obtaining such a distorted report that it cannot be compared with 1880, it certainly has not secured a true statement of the conditions of industry.

The differences in the schedules used at the two censuses consisted entirely in itemizing the questions contained in the schedule of 1880 and the incorporation of one additional question. The schedule of 1890 was an advance in statistical methods in that it not only developed the full totals, but enabled a presentation that would show all the items of which the totals were composed, so that in the future no question could arise as to the intention of including or excluding certain facts.

The questions concerning employés and wages have been the particular object of criticism. The schedule of 1880 called for the average number of employés — men, women, and children respectively — engaged during the year and the total amount paid as wages. No class of employés was excepted. The evident intention was to secure a complete return of all classes. The schedule of 1890 required the employés — men, women, and children respectively — to be reported in five groups: first, skilled workmen; second, officers and firm members; third, clerks; fourth, unskilled workmen, and, fifth, piece workers. There were other subdivisions of the question at both censuses, but nothing foreign to the inquiry of 1880 was added in 1890, the intention being only to secure a complete and full report. As stated in the census reports, "the tendency of the questions used in 1880 was to obtain a number in excess of the average number of employés, while it is believed the questions used in 1890 obtained the average number. The questions in 1890

also tended to increase the amount of wages as compared with 1880, and secured a more complete return of the officers, firm members, and clerks and their salaries." This is a correct theoretic comparison of the two sets of questions. The actual number of employés and the amount of wages that were reported in answer to the detail question of 1890 and that would not have been reported if the identical question of 1880 had been used, are only a matter of conjecture. An examination of the original reports of 1880 reveals the fact that, to some extent at least, officers, firm members, and clerks, as well as other employés, were reported indiscriminately and one lump sum given as wages for all. It, therefore, would be impossible to say how many, or what proportion of the wages, reported in 1890 should be excluded in order to make an exact comparison with 1880, and manifestly improper to apply an estimate to correct either set of figures so as to satisfy our ideas as to what the true conditions are.

The totals for the two censuses are the results of inquiries designed to develop the same facts; they contain the same elements, and were compiled in many respects by the application of identical methods, and their presentation side by side with the detail figures for 1890 and the full explanatory text given in the final reports are beyond criticism; certainly the charge that they were designed to mislead cannot be substantiated.

It is asserted that the presentation of $484.49 as the average per capita wages for all classes of employés, or $444.83 as the average for the employés exclusive of officers, firm members, and clerks, in comparison with $346.91 for all classes in 1880, is erroneous; also that the division of the total wages by the average number employed is not the correct method of obtaining the average wages.

The comparison with 1880 is not affected by the method of obtaining the average, because that was the same at both censuses. We have seen that all classes were included in 1880, but as the question used in 1890 may have developed a more complete report of officers, firm members, and clerks, this class

with their salaries has been excluded and the average given as $444.83. Then the only possible factors that entered into this average wage of $445 for 1890 that would possibly tend to abnormally increase it, as compared with the average of $347 for 1880, and which could not be eliminated except by the application of an arbitrary estimate, are the more thorough enumeration and the inclusion of additional industries previously referred to and explained ; also a question which required the classes of employés and their wages to be reported separately ; and the greater care, if any, taken in the editing or preparation of the schedules for tabulation.

If we exclude from the totals for 1890 not only the officers, firm members, and clerks, but all the employés and the wages paid in the industries that were possibly omitted or not thoroughly canvassed in 1880, we still have an average annual wage of $429.47 for 1890. This average is evidently still too high for those who have criticised it, but I do not believe the change in the form of the question has had any material effect on it, for the obvious reason that the total amount paid in wages is the item of all others that the manufacturers were able to report with exactness: it was the item most readily ascertained at both censuses. This being the case, the same total would invariably be given, no matter whether a lump sum was required, as in 1880, or an itemized statement, as in 1890. Then, having eliminated the officers, firm members, and clerks as a class that was possibly more fully reported in 1890, we have left as an abnormal factor, so far as the questions are concerned, that part which related only to the number of employés. In 1880 the greatest, the least, and the average number employed during the year, or the time in operation, were required to be reported. In 1890 the average number only was required to be reported by the classes previously enumerated.

There is a possibility, which is explained fully in the final reports, that the question of 1890 resulted in securing a smaller number of employés than did that of 1880, but if the difference was great enough to make any perceptible difference in the

average wages, it was not detected in the careful examination and comparison made by the census office.

The method of editing or preparing the schedules for tabulation was practically the same at the two censuses, the only changes for 1890 being those necessitated by the individual schedules and the additional checks afforded by the detail questions. Under no circumstances, except when a clerical error was apparent, was the amount reported as wages changed, nor was the number of employés increased or diminished except when an evident error appeared.

The number of employés and the total wages at both censuses are substantially as reported by the enumerators, and the enumerators of 1880 were probably as intelligent as those of 1890. Under these circumstances for the department to apply an arbitrary percentage of correction to either the total or average wages would have been worse than absurd. A personal canvass was not made with the intention of securing results that would be corrected to suit the ideas of anyone concerning the amount paid as wages. The data secured by this canvass have been honestly tabulated and presented. They are the only data that can be relied on as showing the actual facts.

Whether the average, the total, the greatest, or the least number of employés engaged during the year should be taken as the division for the total wages, in order to ascertain the average, is a subject that has received the consideration of the best statisticians of the world, and they have invariably taken the average number. It is needless to discuss it further, but it must be remembered that the wages reported were paid to have certain positions of employment filled, and the number of those positions is probably the true divisor for the total wages; the average comes nearer this number than does the total or the greatest number. But, as carefully explained in the census reports, the average given for wages is not the true average yearly earning per workman. Because of the constant shifting of workmen from one employer to another, and other contingencies enumerated, the only true way to ascertain the exact amount earned during a year is to con-

sult the workman himself and ascertain from him the amount of wages he actually received. When you have obtained this from all the workmen in the country, the total wages may be divided by the total number and the true average earnings ascertained. It is only under such conditions that the total number can be correctly used as a divisor. A similar division may, of course, be made for a representative number, but it will only be a representative average wage. This representative average is the only average that it is practicable to obtain, and it is given in all statistical works on wages.

A serious error is frequently made in the use of census statistics by blending data reported in answer to apparently similar questions, but applied to entirely different lines of investigation. For instance, one writer states: "There is another important factor in this problem entirely overlooked by Colonel Wright. The census reports as adults males over sixteen and females over fifteen, classifying the remainder as children. In ascertaining the age, however, the question asked at the last census called for 'age nearest birthday,' which would include as children males under sixteen and a half, females under fifteen and a half. At the preceding census 'age last birthday' was called for, which would include males to their seventeenth and females to their sixteenth birthday." The census reports that classify as adults males over sixteen and females over fifteen relate entirely to the statistics of manufactures as reported by establishments. The latter portion of the quotation refers to questions contained in the general population schedule. The two have no connection whatever. Colonel Wright had reference entirely to the statistics as reported by manufacturing establishments, and in them the question as to "age nearest birthday" or at "last birthday" did not appear at either census. The writer quoted was endeavoring to criticise the statistics of population, which for 1890 show the number of children in occupations arranged in age-groups of ten to fourteen years, inclusive, instead of ten to fifteen, as at prior censuses. While I was not connected with the compilation of the statistics of population, it appears that the quinquennial age period was

adopted in grouping those engaged in occupations as being the most convenient mode of tabulation, and at the same time showing the actual facts relative to the employment of children. While the age at which children may engage in occupations varies according to the laws of the different states, the majority of the states have fixed the age of non-employment at fourteen, or some year under that age.

The census office has published the total annual value of the products of establishments engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries as $9,372,437,283. It is asserted that this is wrong, and that it should be reduced by $5,162,044,076, the cost of materials, and the difference $4,210,393,207 given as the true value of products. This latter sum comes nearer representing the enhanced value of the raw materials, or the value added by the expenditure of capital, labor, and other manufacturing processes. It is the amount added to the wealth of the country by manufacturing processes, but it is not the true value of the products of the manufacturing establishments of the country. One writer criticising these totals even went so far as to say that the two values had been published in official reports as the value of the products of industry, yet one was 66 per cent. greater than the other, and that the public was expected to accept both as showing the same thing. The public will accept nothing of the kind, though the writer referred to may.

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THE LAW RELATING TO THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENTS. III.

IMMIGRANTS AND TRAMPS.[1]

LEGISLATION concerning those without a legal residence in a community has been necessary partly to definitely locate the responsibility for the care of the destitute, partly to repress vagrancy and to punish the tramp. In the preceding papers we have considered the legal provision for the care of the *resident* poor. In this paper we shall consider the provisions concerning the immigrant and non-resident poor on the one hand, and tramps and vagrants on the other.

I. LEGISLATION CONCERNING NON-RESIDENT PAUPERS.

In the law concerning the immigrant and non-resident poor, we meet with three points to be noticed, viz.: the conditions of a legal settlement or residence, the restrictions on immigration, and the provision for the relief and removal of those applying for relief in a community in which they have no legal residence.

Prefacing these remarks with the facts that a married woman takes the residence of her husband, children that of their parents, bastard children usually that of the mother, apprentices that of the master, and that an unmarried woman gains a settlement like a man, we shall notice the conditions of a legal residence or settlement.[2]

[1] While it is not our purpose to enter upon a discussion of the administration of the poor laws, perhaps it may be well to state that the laws discussed in this paper are rarely strictly enforced. Our only reason for giving them so much space is that it is often as well to state what exists in name only as well as that which is actually carried out.

[2] While the statement made holds true generally, some explanations should be made and a number of exceptions stated. In the first place, if her husband have no legal residence, a woman takes that which she had at the time of her marriage. In the second place, bastards do not always take the settlement of the mother. Under the

The conditions for securing a legal settlement are designed to fix definitely the responsibility for the care of the immigrant class and to guard against those transients who would become a burden upon the community. The usual requirement is that the person shall have resided within the town or county for a given time.[1] This is the only condition found in twenty of the forty-

old common law a bastard had neither father nor mother. Then he took his settlement from the place of his birth. A few of the older commonwealths, as New Hampshire and New Jersey, which provided settlement regulations while holding closely to the old common law, still retain this provision. In the newer states, however, it is a matter of statutory regulation that the bastard child shall take the settlement of its mother. As to the settlement of apprentices, another exception needs to be made. In a number of states an apprentice does not immediately take the settlement of the master, but must pass through one year's service. Among these states may be named New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, and Minnesota.

[1] The courts have construed the term "residence" in various ways. In some states time spent in a penitentiary or a hospital for the insane is considered as time in residence, because the person is detained by law. In other states the contrary rule obtains. In some cases the place of one's employment is to be taken as his residence. This obtains in Illinois (17, ch. 107, Hurd's Statutes, 1895, and 74 Ill., 101), and in Colorado, where the Illinois construction has been taken as a precedent. In New Hampshire the courts have held (3 N. H., 203, and 30 N. H., 71) that in order to secure a settlement one must have been in actual residence for the time required. In Minnesota (29 Minn., 240) likewise "continuous residence" is required. Residence in Iowa (50 Iowa, 439) means "personal presence in a fixed permanent abode." In Vermont (68 Vt., 487), Connecticut (29 Conn., 74), and Ohio (2 Ohio S., 32) it has been held 'that one's settlement is in that place from which he may have removed if he returns there at intervals and would return there in case of unemployment. It is impossible to appreciate these rulings when thus put, but when applied to cases diverse results are obtained.

When references are given by section numbers only, it is understood that they refer to the statutes used of the state in question. The statutes used were given in a preceding paper, but for convenience's sake are repeated here. They are: Ala., Code of 1886; Arizona, R. S., 1887; Ark., Sandell and Hill's Digest, 1894; Cal., Deering's Code and Stat., 1889; Colo., Mill's Annot. Stat., 1891; Conn., Gen. Stat., 1888; Del., Rev. Code, 1853, as amended in 1893; Fla., R. S., 1892; Ga., Clarke, Cobb, and Irwin's Code, 1882; Idaho, R. S., 1887; Ill., Hurd's R. S., 1895; Ind., Horner's A. R. S., 1896; Iowa, McLain's Annot. Stat., 1888; Kan., Taylor's Gen. Stat. 1889; Ky., Barbour and Carroll's Stat., 1894; La., Stat., 1884; Me., R. S., 1883; Md., Gen. Laws., 1888; Mass., R. S., 1892; Mich., Annot. Stat., 1882; Minn., R. S., 1894; Miss., Thompson, Dillard, and Campbell's Annot. Code, 1892; Mo., R. S., 1889; Mont., Annot. Stat., 1895; Neb., Comp. Stat., 1895; Nev., Bailey and Hammond's Gen. Stat., 1895; N. H., Pub. Stat., 1891; N. J., Gen. Stat., 1896; N. M., Comp. Laws, 1884; N. Y., Birdseye's R. S., 1890; N. C., Code of 1883; N. D., Rev. Code,

eight commonwealths. In the western states having such a requirement the time is noticeably short. In the northern and eastern states it is longer. In twelve states, eleven of them west of the Mississippi, the residence required in a town or county is from one to six months, while in nine states, six of which belong to the north central group, it is one year.[1] In Virginia three years' residence is an alternative for one year's residence without public relief.[2]

Eight states, including Virginia already mentioned, have a condition of self-maintenance or maintenance without public relief, in addition to the time qualification.[3] A number of the eastern states have a property qualification. This is handed down from the colonial period, where it had been copied from the English law.[4] In ten states, all southern and western (Maryland,

1895; Ohio, Gaique's R. S., 1890; Ore., Hill's Annot. Laws, 1892; Oklahoma, R. S.; Penn., Brightly Purdon's Digest; R. I., Gen. Laws, 1896; S. C., Gen. Laws and Civ. Code, 1882; S. D., Ter. Code of Dakota, 1887; Tenn., Code of 1884; Tex., Sayle's Stat., 1888; Utah, Comp. Stat., 1888; Vt., R. S., 1880; Va., Code of 1887; Wash., Laws and Code of 1896; W. Va., Code of 1891; Wis., R. S., 1887; Wyo., Hill's Annot. Laws, 1892. References to decisions and to acts passed since the statutes used were compiled are given in full.

[1] In Nebraska a pauper is chargeable to the county in which he resided thirty days previous to his application for relief (3936). In Montana (3209) and Colorado (3392) sixty days' residence is required; in Oklahoma (3647), North Dakota (1478), South Dakota (2144), Wyoming (1956), and Oregon (3948), ninety days; and in Mississippi (3144), Kansas (4031), Nevada (1987), and Washington (1601), six months. One year's residence is required in West Virginia (5, C. 46), North Carolina (3543), Tennessee (2691), Michigan (1787), Indiana (6070), Illinois (17, C. 107), Minnesota (1954), Missouri (7329), and Iowa (2139).

[2] 876.

[3] In order to secure a legal settlement in New York (16, p. 2259), Virginia (876), Ohio (1492), and Wisconsin (1500), the person must have been a resident of the county (or town) one year, and have received no public relief during that time. In South Carolina (880), Connecticut (3288), Maine (1, ch. 24), and New Jersey (Act of April 14, 1891), the same condition is found, except that the period is three years, four years, five years, and ten years, respectively. In New Jersey this period of ten years' residence without receiving public relief may be reduced to one year. Upon entering a town the person may notify the overseers of the fact, and, if they approve, he gains a settlement in one year. The overseers may refuse to approve, and, returning his notice, may remove him from the town at any time within the twelve months. If not removed, a person giving such notice gains a settlement with one year's residence.

[4] In Massachusetts (1, 2, ch. 83) holding office one year, possessing a freehold

Florida, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and California), no settlement qualification whatever is found. Georgia, while having no definite settlement qualification, has a law making one liable for the support of a pauper when removed to a county in order to secure public support there for him.[1] Similarly in Arkansas the poor authorities are not responsible for the care of any who may have removed in order to secure public support.[2] In Vermont the old settlement law has been repealed and a mere residence qualification substituted for it.[3]

and living thereon three years, or five years' residence in the town, with the payment of a poll-tax for three years, is required. In New Hampshire (1–4, ch. 83) not only is self-maintenance (maintenance without public relief) necessary, but also the payment of taxes on real estate of the value of $150 or personal property of the value of $250, for four years, or the payment of a poll-tax for seven consecutive years. (See also 3 N. H., 203, and 30 N. H., 71.)

In Rhode Island (1, ch. 78) the requirement is the payment of taxes for five years on a freehold worth $200, or the ownership of an estate netting $20 per year, for three years. In Delaware (12, ch. 46) holding office one year, paying poor rates for two consecutive years, paying $50 rent on property or owning $100 of real property, together with one year's residence, is necessary. The provision in Pennsylvania (50, p. 1705) differs from this only in that the payment of rent need be but $10, instead of $50.

New Jersey also had a property qualification similar to these given, but in 1891 the law was so amended as to abolish it. The last legislature of Pennsylvania, also, considered a bill for the repeal of the highly complex and useless law of that state and the substitution of one year's residence without public relief for it, but the measure did not succeed in getting through.

[1] The law provides (769) that when a pauper is removed "for the purpose of burdening some other community, the person so engaged shall be personally liable for the support of the pauper in the county where he locates." If such person be insolvent, the county from which the pauper is removed becomes liable (768).

[2] Section 860 provides that each county shall be liable for the relief and support of any needy poor "who have not removed from any other county for the purpose of imposing the charge of keeping them on any county other than the one in which they last lived."

[3] In 1886 the old law whereby four years' residence without public relief was necessary to secure a settlement was repealed. Now only a residence qualification is found. "To retain a residence under the pauper law there must be a definite intention to return and a place to which the person has a right to return" (68 Vt., 487) "Transients" are to be relieved where they are and returned to the place where they resided sixty days previous to their application for relief. So Vermont, while repealing her old law, has substituted for it a measure definitely fixing the responsibility for "transients." (See Act of November 24, 1886, and No. 55, Acts of 1892.)

Perhaps, before we proceed to the laws against the migration of paupers, it may be well to speak of the retention of a settlement when once gained. As a rule a settlement is retained until a new one is gained, or until the person has been absent from his settlement sufficiently long to have secured a new one elsewhere. In some states, however, absence does not forfeit a settlement unless another has actually been secured. In a few states a settlement is not lost until a new one has been gained within the state.[1]

As was noted above, in New Jersey a person likely to become dependent may be removed before he secures a settlement. A number of states have similar provisions.[2] In this we find a further restriction on removing and securing a new settlement. In these states, if one is about to become dependent, it is the duty of the poor authorities to report him to the justice of the peace. His condition is investigated, and upon the decision of the court, unless, as in Pennsylvania, security for his support can be given, he is removed to his place of settlement. Similarly, in Iowa the county supervisors or the township trustee may

[1] Thus the statutes of Oklahoma (3648), Indiana (6070), Wisconsin (1500), Kansas (4031), North Dakota (1478), and South Dakota (2144), have the provision that one settlement is lost when a new one has been secured, or after a willful and continuous absence sufficiently long to have gained a settlement elsewhere. On the other hand, in Maine (3, ch. 24), Connecticut (4 Conn., 114), Pennsylvania (2 Sup. Court, 259), Ohio (1493), and Iowa (2140), we find the one settlement retained until a new one is secured; while in Massachusetts (3, ch. 84), New Hampshire (7, ch. 83), and Illinois (25 Ill., 125) one settlement is retained until another is secured within the state, regardless of the fact that in the meantime one may have been secured in some other state.

In locating the responsibility for a "transient" it is very frequently found that he has no settlement. Thus if one leaves a settlement in Indiana or Wisconsin and is absent for a year, he loses his right to relief there, although he has, in all probability, not become entitled to public relief elsewhere. If he start from Maine or Massachusetts, however, there must always be some place from which he is entitled to public relief.

[2] Besides in New Jersey (Sec. 17, Act of April 14, 1891), this provision is found in Rhode Island (11–14, ch. 81), Pennsylvania (58, p. 1706), West Virginia (10, ch. 46), Virginia (878), Delaware (13, ch. 48), and Indiana (6079). It came originally from the old English law, having been incorporated there in 1662. In England the provision led to so much abuse that it was stricken from the law in 1795. Perhaps it is never enforced in any of our commonwealths.

"warn" such a one, whereupon he cannot secure a settlement.[1] In Missouri a person migrating in order to secure public relief cannot become an "inhabitant."[2] However, in this state, in the administration of relief, the court may, at his discretion, disregard settlement qualifications.

To avoid being burdened with paupers, cripples, defectives, and others landed by the steamship companies, most of the Atlantic coast states have statutes requiring the captains of vessels to give bond for the support of, in some cases all non-resident defectives, in others, of all non-residents, landed.[3] In Rhode Island the law extends to railroad companies. These really form a part of our immigration laws.

The laws directed against the migration of paupers are of three kinds according as they are directed, (1) against bringing a pauper into a county or town in which he has no settlement, or (2) against the poor authorities and prohibiting the removal of a pauper in order to avoid supporting him, or (3) particularly against "interstate migration." However, they all have the one purpose of checking the tendency of communities to shift the responsibility for the support of their poor.

In as many as nineteen states,[4] mostly northern, we find it unlawful to bring a person about to become dependent into a county or town (according as the "county" or the "town system" prevails) of which he is not a legal resident with the intention of there securing his support.[5] As a rule the offending

[1] 2142, 2143. [2] 7329.

[3] Such provisions are found in Massachusetts (1–4, ch. 84), New Hampshire (16, 17, ch. 85), Rhode Island (2–9, ch. 80), New Jersey (2, p. 2511), Pennsylvania (1–5, p. 1010), Delaware (16, 17, ch. 48), Georgia (769), Mississippi (3164, 3165), and Alabama (1470). The bond usually covers a period of years closely corresponding to the time required for securing a settlement. Refusal to give bond is subject to fine.

[4] These states are New Hampshire (11, ch. 85), Vermont (2844), Maine (49, ch. 24), Rhode Island (1, ch. 80), New York (46, 47, p. 2265), South Carolina (887), Georgia (767, 768), Kentucky (3922), Michigan (1767), Illinois (13, ch. 107), Ohio (986–993), North Dakota (1508–1510), South Dakota (2176, 2177), Nebraska (3941), Wyoming (1958), Colorado (3395), Nevada (1591), Oregon (3952), and Washington (1595).

[5] The qualification of intent is very important. Bringing a pauper into a county or town or into the state is unlawful only if there is a definite intention to make such

party forfeits a fixed sum for the support of such a pauper, or is fined or imprisoned and charged with his support or removal.[1]

Of the states named in connection with the above, the statutes of New York, Michigan, North Dakota, and South Dakota also apply to the removal of a pauper from his place of settlement in order to avoid supporting him. In Connecticut, Kansas, and Wyoming it is unlawful to remove a pauper from his settlement.[2] In Connecticut and Wyoming no penalty is attached. In Kansas there is a fine of not to exceed $100, or imprisonment not longer than a year.

A number of states have enacted particularly severe legislation against "interstate migration." Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Minnesota make it unlawful to bring a pauper into the state with the intention of causing him to be there publicly supported.[3] In Vermont the migrating pauper himself is

person a public charge there, and in a prosecution such an intention must be established. The statutes of Maine (Act of 1891), Rhode Island (1, ch. 80), South Carolina (887), Michigan (1767, 1776), Ohio (985), Illinois (13, ch. 107), Wisconsin (1515), Minnesota (1968), Nebraska (3941), Nevada (1991), and Oregon (3952), apply to only those cases where the act is done knowingly and with malicious intent. Also, in Massachusetts (16 Mass., 393; 18 Mass., 465), Vermont (50 Vt., 173), New York (8 Wend, 672), and New Hampshire (45 N. H., 181), it has been held by the courts that such malicious intent must be established. This condition may perhaps render the law almost worthless. Under the law applying to the removal of a pauper to avoid supporting him conviction would not be so difficult.

[1] The penalties in the several states are as follows: Illinois, Nebraska, Washington, Oregon, and Nevada, a forfeit of $100; in Colorado a forfeit of $200; in Ohio a fine of not to exceed $50; in Maine and South Carolina a fine of not to exceed $100; in Wyoming a fine of from $25 to $100; in Vermont a fine of not to exceed $500, and the costs of support or removal; in North and South Dakota a fine of not to exceed $100, or imprisonment not longer than a year, or both; in Michigan a fine of not to exceed $100, or ninety days in jail, or both; in New Hampshire a fine of not to exceed $200, or imprisonment in jail not longer than six months; in Rhode Island a forfeit of $100, or a fine of not to exceed $20 together with the costs of removal; in New York a forfeit of $50 and a fine of not to exceed $100, or imprisonment not longer than six months, or both. In Georgia a person removing a pauper in order to secure his support becomes personally liable for such support. So, too, in Kentucky the law provides that the guilty person shall give bond for the poor person brought in, or is fined not to exceed $100.

[2] 3310; 4065, 4066; 1958.

[3] 31, ch. 84; 13, ch. 85; 2843; 1891; 81, p. 2269; 57, p. 1706; 12, ch. 46; 1515

fined not to exceed $20, or imprisoned not longer than six months, when entering the state in order to secure public support. It is to be noted, too, that where there is no special legislation against "interstate migration," the law against bringing a pauper into a county or town in which he has no settlement applies.

When we turn to the treatment of the non-resident poor, we find the provisions various. As was noticed, ten states have no settlement requirement, and, consequently, no distinction of persons as resident and non-resident. Of these, Utah expressly provides that "transients," as well as others, shall be cared for by the several counties.[1] As was also noticed, the counties of Arkansas and Georgia are not responsible for the relief and support of non-residents removing in order to secure public support. In Missouri the court in whom is vested the power to provide for the poor may, at his discretion, disregard all settlement requirements. Were he to regard them, no provision would be found for the care and removal of the non-resident. The state of Tennessee makes the distinction between the "resident" and the "non-resident" poor, and admits the former to the almshouse, but no special provision is found for the relief or removal of the latter.[2] The remaining states make special provision for either the support or removal of non-resident dependents.

It will be well to distinguish between two classes of non-residents, viz.: (1) those who have no known residence in the state, and (2) those who have a residence in some town or county of the state other than that which they are in. We shall first notice the provisions concerning the former class.

The residence of a person of this former class may or may

1968. In Massachusetts and West Virginia a person bringing a pauper into the state is liable to a fine of not to exceed $100; in Minnesota, a forfeit of $50, and a fine of not to exceed $100, or imprisonment not longer than three months; in Wisconsin and New York, a forfeit of $50, and in Pennsylvania, a forfeit of $75, together with the expense of his removal or support; in Maine, a fine of not to exceed $300, or imprisonment not longer than one year, with all costs of support; and in New Hampshire, a fine of not to exceed $500, or imprisonment not longer than one year, or both, together with the costs of support.

[1] 187. [2] 2114.

not be known. A number of states make it a mere matter of convenience to care for those who are residents of another state or to remove them to their residence, the implication of the law being that, if they have no residence, or if they have one and are not removed to it, they are to be cared for. In this group we find Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, Ohio, and Iowa.[1] In Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Kansas it is made discretionary with the poor authorities to care for those whose settlement cannot be established.[2] This discretion, however, does not extend to the sick, who must be cared for. In the seven states of Maine, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Oregon all non-residents of this class are to be cared for. In New York and Michigan their removal is explicitly prohibited.[3]

When this class of non-residents is cared for, it is in most cases done at the expense of the town or county in which they may be. There are a number of exceptions to this, however. In Maine, Connecticut, and Oregon such expense is recovered from the state.[4] Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York have made state provision for their care. Massachusetts has a state almshouse in which all such as can be removed are cared for under the direction of the state board of lunacy and charity. Such as cannot be removed are cared for by the town overseers and the expense recovered from the state.[5] Rhode Island also has a state almshouse, in which state paupers (also, by special contract, some town paupers) are cared for under the direction of the state board of charities and corrections.[6] Those

[1] 38, ch. 84; 3292; 19, ch. 85; 58, p. 1706; 10, ch. 46; 13, ch. 48; 969; 2141. In every case, except in Connecticut, the statutes authorize the removal of paupers to their settlements only. In Connecticut, however, they authorize the removal of a pauper to his settlement in some other state or to the boundary of the state through which the pauper entered the state of Connecticut.

[2] 3655; 1484; 2151; 4038. [5] 13–43, ch. 33. [6] 126, ch. 79.

[3] Act of 1887, and 38 Me., 472; 90, 91, ch. 225; Acts of 1896; 1769; 6077; 16, ch. 107; 1517; 3950.

[4] 30, ch. 24, and Act of 1887; 3311; 3950. Non-residents are a state charge in Connecticut for six months, after which period they become local charges.

persons not having a county residence of sixty days in New York are state charges and are under the supervision of the state board of charities. The state has no almshouse, but has selected fifteen county almshouses at which its charges are kept. At the expiration of sixty days the pauper becomes chargeable to the county in which he became dependent.[1]

Thus we find that, with the exception of a few states, those making special provision for this class leave much of it to the discretion of the poor authorities, and the matter is largely one of convenience. Looked at from the standpoint of legal provision, the treatment of non-residents of the second class—those having a legal settlement in some town or county of the state—is, on the other hand, not so much a matter of mere convenience. Here the purpose of the law is to provide for the immediate necessities of the indigent person and to remove him to his place of settlement, both relief and removal being at the expense of the place of settlement. The details of the provisions for this second class are diverse.

The most highly developed provisions are that the non-resident applicant shall be given temporary relief and notice of his indigence be sent to the authorities of his place of settlement. Upon receipt of this notice the authorities must remove the indigent to his settlement and pay all costs of his temporary relief. This provision is found in some sixteen states, mostly northern and eastern.[2] The regulations are such as to cause early notice of the person's indigence to be given and to effect his removal immediately upon receipt of the notice.[3]

[1] 31, ch. 463, Acts of 1896.

[2] Massachusetts (29, ch. 84); Connecticut (3304–3306); Vermont (Act of April 14, 1886); Maine (4, ch. 24); New Hampshire (1, 13, ch. 84); Rhode Island (29, ch. 79); New York (18, p. 2259); South Carolina (883–886); Michigan (1768–1770); Ohio (Act of 1892); Illinois (16, ch. 107); Wisconsin (1513, and 51 Wis., 185); Nebraska (3937); Iowa (2144–2146); Nevada (1988–1989); and Colorado (3391–3394).

[3] The intent of the law is that notice of a non-resident's indigence shall be given the authorities of his place of settlement as soon as possible, and that, upon the receipt thereof, such authorities shall remove the indigent person without delay. Some states have definitely limited the time for which recovery for expense of relief may be had. For example, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire this limit is ninety days. On the

A few states provide that a county shall relieve an indigent non-resident and remove him to the place of his settlement, the expense of both relief and removal being recovered.[1]

In a number of states, on the other hand, "common practice" seems to have been enacted into law. They have the provision that a non-resident indigent shall be cared for or else removed to his settlement.[2] Whether one shall be cared for or removed depends upon which is the more convenient. In Oklahoma, Indiana, the two Dakotas, and Kansas it is expressly a matter of convenience. The sick, however, are in no case to be removed.[3]

When a town or county is notified by another town or county of the indigence of one of its residents, it must remove him or else, if it feels aggrieved, protest his residence. When a pauper is removed by a town or county to his reputed settlement, he must be received, but such action may be protested. Settlement is a question of fact, and all protests are decided by the court or by a body authorized to decide such cases.[4]

other hand, the statutes of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, and New Hampshire provide that a pauper must be removed or his settlement protested within sixty days, or protest of residence or expense is debarred. In Rhode Island protest is limited to forty days; in South Carolina, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, thirty days. In Ohio Nevada, and Colorado paupers are to be removed immediately.

[1] Pennsylvania (7 Kulp., 199, and 12 C. C., 305); Delaware (13, ch. 48); North Carolina (3540–3546); Mississippi (3145–3147); Minnesota (1965); Oregon (3950); and Wyoming (1957). In Pennsylvania such expense can be recovered only when the pauper has been removed to his settlement with reasonable promptness. In Delaware such recovery is definitely limited to six months. In Minnesota the pauper is to be warned to leave the county, and, if he does not do so within a reasonable time, he is to be removed.

[2] New Jersey (17, 23, Act of 1891); West Virginia (10, ch. 46); Virginia (878); Oklahoma (3657–3665); Indiana (6079); North Dakota (1485–1486); South Dakota (2151–2161); Kansas (4040–4050); Washington (1603); and Montana (3209–3211).

In Washington, as in Minnesota, a non-resident applying for relief is to be warned by the constable to leave the county. If he does not leave, he is to be removed.

[3] In New Jersey (8, Act of April 14, 1891), Indiana (6089), and Kansas the expense incurred in the care of the sick is recovered from the place of settlement. In other cases it seems to be at the expense of the county caring for the sick. The courts of Dakota have held (1 S. D., 131) that the expense incurred in caring for the sick could not be recovered.

[4] In a few states disputes between towns are settled by bodies other than the court.

II. LEGISLATION CONCERNING TRAMPS.

Under the topic of legislation concerning tramps and vagrants, we have to do not so much with a question of public relief as of the repression of "frauds" and the punishment of those who would live upon private charity. A "tramp," in the popular sense, is one who goes from place to place begging. The statutes of the several states, however, apply the term "tramp" to able-bodied persons roaming from place to place, asking or subsisting upon charity. The term "vagrant" is used to include tramps, able-bodied beggars, petty gamblers, and others living without work. Here, however, we shall consider the vagrancy laws only in so far as they apply to tramps and "common beggars."

Recurring for a moment to the statutory use of the term "tramp," let us notice the classes excluded from it. These are minors, females, and such males as from defect or incapacity are unable to perform manual labor. The age limit for minors varies in the different states, ranging from fourteen to seventeen years.[1] Persons not yet arrived at this age, if found wandering about, are usually cared for as dependent children or sent to the reform school as incorrigibles. In Kentucky and Missouri young vagrants are to be bound out.[2] Neither does the law usually apply to females. Throughout the South and West tramps are punished

This is the case in Michigan and New York, where cases of dispute between towns are decided by the superintendents of the poor. The court in which the protest is filed and heard is usually that of the county asking the removal of or removing the pauper. To avoid needless friction, protests are in many instances, when made, to be filed within a few days of notification, and if protest is not made within such period, it is barred. This time is two months in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine; forty days in Rhode Island; thirty days in South Carolina, Wisconsin, and Iowa; twenty days in Oklahoma, Indiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Kansas; and ten days in Michigan and New York.

[1] In Massachusetts (38, ch. 207) and New Hampshire (7, ch. 286) the law applies to males over seventeen; in Vermont (3967), Connecticut (1551), Rhode Island (36, ch. 28), Delaware (Act of March 27, 1879), Wisconsin (1547), and Iowa (Act of May 3, 1890), to those over sixteen; and in Maine (21, ch. 128), North Carolina (3833), Indiana (2135), and Ohio (6995) to those over fourteen years of age.

[2] 4762; 8850.

under the vagrancy laws applying to able-bodied males.[1] The northern and eastern states usually make an exception of the blind and the otherwise defective.[2]

A further limitation of the term is found in several states where the law applies to those begging beyond the limits of their city, town, or county. In Connecticut the law applies to males begging beyond the limits of their city.[3] In Rhode Island and Wisconsin the law applies to those begging in a town, in Indiana and Ohio to those begging in a county other than that of their legal settlement.[4] In Pennsylvania and Delaware it applies to those strolling about without a fixed abode, and having no occupation.[5] In New Jersey the law applies to non-residents who go about begging, or who, having no visible means of support, cannot give a good account of themselves.[6] However, in Connecticut, cities have power to restrain and punish begging, while in all other states, save Maryland and New Jersey, all beggars not included under the term "tramps" are held to be vagrants and receive punishment similar to that of tramps.

While the term "tramp" is thus limited, it must be borne in mind that there is further legislation to supplement that against "tramps." Cities and towns (villages) usually have power to regulate, restrain, and punish street begging. In a few states all legislation on this subject is left to them. This is the case in

[1] We may quote parts of the vagrancy laws of Montana and Colorado as typical. That of Montana (1155) declares (1) "every person without visible means of living, who has the physical ability to work, and who does not seek employment, or labor when employment is offered him," and (2) "every healthy beggar who solicits alms, as a business," etc., to be a vagrant. That of Colorado (1362) reads: "Any person able to work and support himself in some honest calling, who shall be found loitering or strolling about, frequenting public places, or where liquor is sold, begging, or leading an immoral or profligate course of life, or not having any visible means of support, shall be deemed a vagrant. . . . ."

[2] In Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, Indiana, and Ohio the law applies neither to the blind, to females, nor to minors. In Pennsylvania the crippled, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the otherwise defective are excepted, as are the disabled and incapable in Virginia (884). See the references given above.

[3] 1551.

[4] 36, ch. 281; 1547[d]; 2135; 6995.

[5] 1, p. 2066; 275.

[6] Act of April 19, 1876.

Texas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Kansas.[1] In two states, Alabama and Oregon,[2] no legislation whatever upon the subject has been found.

Turning now to the punishment of tramps, we find that in the two states of West Virginia and Kentucky they are not considered as misdemeanants, and are, therefore, not punishable at all. In the former state "every overseer [of the poor] shall exert himself to prevent any person from going about begging or straying in any street or other place to beg. Every such person, if properly a county charge, shall immediately be taken up and conveyed to the place of the general reception for the poor of the county in which he may be, if there be one." If not properly a county charge (if he have no settlement in that county), he is to be removed to his place of settlement.[3] In Kentucky the county judge is to send all persons found begging to the poorhouse along with other indigents.[4] This provision is supplemented in this state, however, by the vagrancy law. Vagrancy is a high misdemeanor, and the vagrant may be bound out or sold into servitude for not longer than twelve months.[5] In most states, however, "tramping" is considered a misdemeanor, and as such is punishable.

[1] The provision found in Texas (399), Minnesota (1085 3t, 1289 3t), North Dakota (2148 5t), and South Dakota is that city councils have power "to restrain and punish vagrants, street beggars, and prostitutes." The law in Oklahoma (592) provides that a city council "may arrest and imprison, fine, or set at work all vagrants and persons found in said city without visible means of support, or some legitimate business." The Kansas law (571, 819, 987) is similarly worded.

[2] Oregon's vagrancy law was repealed in 1889, and nothing seems to have been substituted for it. It read in part: "All idle or dissolute persons who have no visible means of living, or lawful occupation or employment by which to earn a living; all persons who shall be found within the state of Oregon begging the means of support in public places or from house to house, or who shall procure a child or children so to do; all persons who live in or about houses of ill-fame or of ill-repute, shall be deemed vagrants." Such were to be fined from $20 to $250, or committed to jail for from ten to twenty-five days, and employed upon the streets by the sheriff eight hours per day.

[3] 13, ch. 46.

[4] 3929.

[5] "If any able-bodied person be found loitering or rambling about, not having the means to maintain himself, or who does not betake himself to labor . . . . he shall be taken and adjudged a vagrant, and guilty of a high misdemeanor" (4758).

The usual method of punishment provided for is to commit the convicted tramp to jail, where he is confined on a determinate sentence. With a few exceptions, every state west of the Mississippi having a statute upon the subject employs this method. In New Mexico the law provides that tramps shall be employed at hard labor from one to ninety days upon the streets or elsewhere, but they are, presumably, lodged at the county jail.[1] In Wyoming they may be employed upon public works or confined in jail.[2] In Missouri the "idle" and "dissolute" (vagrants) are to be hired out for six months to the highest bidder "with cash in hand."[3] This method of committing the tramp to jail prevails among the southern states, also. While still the usual provision among the northern states, it is frequently supplanted by other legislation. In Massachusetts tramps are committed either to the state workhouse or to the house of correction;[4] in Rhode Island to the workhouse or to the house of correction;[5] in Connecticut to the state's prison;[6] in Maryland to the house of correction;[7] in Illinois to the jail or to the house of correction.[8] In New York the law providing for the commitment of tramps to jail or to the almshouse was amended in 1891 so that they may be sent to the nearest local penitentiary and there employed at hard labor at state expense, such expense not to exceed thirty cents per day.

In Louisiana and Vermont tramps and vagrants are to be committed to the almshouse.[9] In some other states, as in Michigan and New Jersey, they *may* be committed to the almshouse. In the former state they are to be committed either to the alms-

When bound out, the money advanced for his labor, after deducting costs, goes either to his family, or to himself, upon his release (4761, 4763, 5 Lit., 166). This does not apply to cities and towns which are empowered to legislate upon such matters (4767).

[1] Act of February 8, 1889.

[2] 3647.

[3] 8846.

[4] 39, ch. 207.

[5] 30, ch. 281. Sturdy beggars are sent to prison for from six months to three years.

[6] 1546. It has been said that the adoption of this law in Connecticut for a time stopped vagrancy, but that, as time went on and no arrests were made (none have been sent to prison), it became as prevalent as it had been before.

[7] 275.

[8] 270, ch. 38.

[9] 3877; 3968.

house or to the workhouse,[1] and in the latter to the almhouse, jail, or workhouse, or are to be employed upon the streets.[2] Virginia should be mentioned along with New Mexico and Missouri, as she employs her tramps and vagrants on public account or hires them out for three months.[3] So, too, in Delaware[4] a vagrant may be bound out no longer than one month or confined in jail; while in Georgia[5] he may be confined in jail, fined, bound out for not longer than a year, or dismissed upon bond for one year's good behavior. In a few states a fine instead of imprisonment may be imposed; but as this fine is almost invariably worked out in jail, it is merely another way of fixing the length of a sentence to jail.[6]

A sentence to prison without hard labor is not very effective in repressing vagrancy. Where tramps are committed to the state's prison, house of correction, or workhouse, work is provided for them. This is also the case in Virginia, Missouri, and New Mexico, where they are employed on public account or hired out. It is not always the case, however, where commitment to the jail or to the almshouse is provided for. In Vermont they are committed to hard labor in the almshouse. Hard labor is also required in Michigan and New Jersey, where such *may* be committed to the almshouse. The ten states of Maine, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa,

[1] 1834. In Detroit tramps are to be sent to the house of correction (9858).

[2] Act of April 17, 1876. [3] 885. [4] Act of March 27, 1879.

[5] 4560. Most of these laws providing for the binding out of vagrants are very old, and perhaps all "dead letters."

[6] In South Carolina (Act of December 22, 1893), if a vagrant cannot give bond for good behavior, he is fined not to exceed $100 or imprisoned not longer than thirty days. In Tennessee (2024, 2025) a fine of from $5 to $25, instead of imprisonment in the county workhouse from ten days to twelve months, may be imposed; in Illinois (270, ch. 38) $20 to $100, instead of from ten days' to six months' hard labor in jail or in the house of correction; in Nebraska (6908) not to exceed $50, instead of not to exceed three months' hard labor in jail or elsewhere; in Colorado (1362) $25 to $200, instead of from ten to ninety days in jail; in Arizona (Act of March 19, 1891) $3 to $50, instead of from one to ninety days in jail; in Indiana (2134, 2135) and Ohio (6994) the punishment is a fine of from $10 to $50. The laws of Ohio and Colorado provide that such fines shall be worked out in jail — in the former at 75 cents, in the latter at $2 per day.

Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada commit them to hard labor in jail.[1] The ten states of New Hampshire, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Indiana, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and California commit them to jail, but no provision requiring them to be employed has been found. Whether or not they are employed there depends upon the practice in the several institutions.

In Pennsylvania tramps are to be committed to hard labor with solitary confinement. Wisconsin and Iowa provide short terms in jail with solitary confinement for shorter terms at hard labor.[2] Arkansas still prescribes the "bread and water diet" for half of a sentence of from thirty to ninety days.[3]

But little need be said concerning the length of sentence. Usually the maximum sentence is fixed. In some cases a minimum is also fixed. The one noticeable feature about the length of sentence is that it is quite long in the North and East and gradually becomes shorter as we move south and west.[4] But this is only one instance of the greater strictness of the law in the North and East—a fact so obvious from the details already given that attention need not be called to it.

As has already been stated, commitment is for a definite term—the sentence is "determinate." When the sentence has

[1] 17, ch. 288; 3, p. 2066; Act of 1861; Act of December 22, 1893; 6994; 1547[2]; 6908; 5527; 1362; 4768. In Maine tramps are to be required to work for ten hours per day for not less than sixty days.

[2] The punishment of tramps in Wisconsin is a sentence to hard labor in jail for not longer than sixty days, or solitary confinement for from three to ten days. In Iowa (Act of May 3, 1890) vagrants are to be sentenced to not more than ten days' hard labor in jail or to not more than five days' solitary confinement.

[3] 1919.

[4] The length of sentence to jail, state's prison, workhouse, house of correction, or almshouse, as the case may be, in the several states is as follows: in Massachusetts, from six months to two years; Rhode Island, one to three years; Maryland, two to twelve months; Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois, one to six months; Tennessee, ten days to twelve months; Arkansas, thirty to ninety days; New Mexico and Arizona, one to ninety days. In New Hampshire it is not longer than fifteen months; Connecticut and Michigan, one year; New York, Florida, Washington, and California, six months; Wisconsin, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada, ninety days; Delaware, sixty days; North Carolina and South Carolina, thirty days; Iowa, ten days at hard labor or five days in solitary confinement. In Maine it is not less than two months.

expired, the misdemeanant is released without any assurance as to his future good behavior.

One more point remains to be spoken of, viz., the extraordinary provision and the extra inducements found in a few states for the apprehension and conviction of tramps. In New Hampshire and Pennsylvania anyone witnessing an act of beggary on the part of a tramp may take him before the proper authority to be held for trial.[1] Upon conviction, in New Hampshire, a person so taking a tramp receives a reward of $10. Similarly, in Connecticut and Rhode Island, an officer receives a reward of $5 from the state for every tramp arrested and convicted, while in Nevada the district attorney receives $10 for each case successfully prosecuted.[2] Maine provides for special constables in each school district to apprehend and arrest tramps.[3] Massachusetts and New Hampshire likewise provide for the appointment of special officers in cities.[4] In a few states, as in Vermont, Maryland, and Nebraska, refusal on the part of a tramp to work for what he gets is punishable.[5] Other states add penalties for building fires, trespassing, etc., all of which discourages tramping and adds inducement for the tramp's arrest.

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[1] 5, ch. 286; 2, p. 2066.
[2] 1549; 33, ch. 281; 4774.
[3] 24, ch. 128, as amended in 1889.
[4] 40, ch. 207; 6, ch. 286.
[5] 3968; Act of April 6, 1894; 6908.

SOCIAL CONTROL. XII.

SOCIAL VALUATIONS.

I.

FROM the great and fruitful truth established by Lester F. Ward that human desires are the springs of conduct and the true causes of social phenomena it follows that a scientific control of man will be one that modifies his desires. And hence in all the modes of control I have described we do, in fact, see society in some way crossing, blocking, weakening, or supplementing these central forces of human life.

A desire, however, is not an original datum. It is necessary to distinguish impulsive and imitative desires from those which follow upon a judgment of approval. In the case of the appetites for food, drink, sex, and sleep, and the passions, such as love, envy, jealousy, and revenge, the impulse precedes any imputation of worth, or is, at least, proverbially uninfluenced by it. When one ventures to ascribe real worth to the objects of such desire, his estimate is so manifestly due to the radiance with which yearning invests its dear object that the pessimist may well be pardoned for denying it any validity.

Such desires arise as spontaneously as the sap mounts or the tree puts forth buds. But there are desires less insistent and imperious that wait upon rather than precede judgments of approval. The blind outward surging toward this or that is not the type of the pursuit of knowledge or æsthetic enjoyment or personal excellence. When not under the spur of the appetites and passions, man shows himself a reasonable being by directing his endeavors toward "goods," *i. e.*, objects which his judgment tells him are the causes of pleasure. With vision no longer dimmed by the mounting of hot desire, he selects *values* as the goal of his endeavor. In his reflective moments he

reviews the possible experiences that beckon to him and passes upon them various judgments of approval or disapproval, attaches to them different degrees of esteem. And as are these valuations, so will be his choices and conduct.[1]

Now the ascendency of the rational faculty and the growing habit of letting "I would" wait upon "I approve" gives society a new opening in its perpetual struggle with the anti-social nature of the individual. If it can get him to adopt its valuations of the goods of life, the problem of control will be considerably narrowed.

Civilization is not wholly the progress of the arts, the discovery of new and better ways of satisfying wants; it is also the evolution of wants in number and variety, and the shifting of the accent from type to type. Food, drink, shelter, sex make up the animal group of wants. To this are added in the higher mammals curiosity and the desire for play and for companionship. Early man begins to be urged on by love of colors, of ornament, of noise, of rhythmic action in unison (dancing), by desires for festivity, converse, collective excitement, and social esteem. In the historic period the scale of wants is gradually extended by the spread of new habits of pleasure — friendship and the higher forms of love, sympathetic pleasures, music, the delight of power, the charm of the beautiful, poetic and religious feeling, intellectual activity, the quest for truth, the thrill of the onlooker, cosmic emotion, and a multitude of others hard to name or classify. Now this development of wants has been hastened by a development of values largely due to the social factor. The visible evolution which results in the civilized man has not been a spontaneous ascent of the individual, but, in its later stages especially, has been assisted and presided over by society.

II.

How comes that mounting of desire that gives us moral civilization? How is it men come to spend themselves for excel-

[1] Most illuminating on this point is Professor Giddings (*Principles*, Bk. IV, chap. 3), to whose exposition I am much indebted.

lence or knowledge instead of for booty or for women? Shall we credit the ascent of Pisgah to the seers and poets, who, like Merlin, have caught the splendor of a new gleam, and beckoned the multitude to follow it? Was it Isaiah who enamored humanity of justice, Æschylus who charmed it with heroic duty, Dante who made purity precious, Petrarch who taught men how to love, Thomas a Kempis who made the spiritual life inviting, Goethe who gave self-culture supreme value? While these stand out as the authors of uplifts that really required the coöperation of many men greater and lesser, we can freely grant the rôle of invention and the worth of individual initiative in the slow mounting of the human spirit to finer joys and nobler aims. All honor to the men of insight and imagination who pioneered the race up from the bog of animal satisfactions! But apart from great men we can detect in *mere association* certain forces of uplift.

Human beings after they are associated do not glance coolly about them, survey deliberately the desire-awakening contents of existence, and choose each for himself at what goods he will level his endeavor. Their communication one with another begets reciprocal suggestion, exchange of ideas, transfusion of feelings. By the channels of intercourse there is set in circulation a mass of beliefs and desires, which, as they do not exist in any individual mind, might, without straining the metaphor, be termed the contents of the social mind. It is the shaping power of these which makes society the silent partner in nearly all the weighings and choosings of associated man.

If the desires and ideas thrown out and set circulating by Tom and Dick and Harry merely met and blended, the net result of social intercourse would be the lessening of individual differences and the emergence of types. In the social mind would be formed a composite photograph of each class of elements contributed by Tom, Dick, and Harry to the common stock; and in this image would the member of the group be fashioned.

But such is not the fact. There is at work here a principle of selection and survival which brings about a development in

the contents of the social mind, and consequently a development of individuals so far as they are influenced by the social mind. For instance, when groups hitherto aloof strike up intercourse, all manner of customs are put in circulation. The result is not a *potpourri*, but an all-round advance brought about by the dropping out of those forms of life most inconvenient and the spread of those most fit and commodious. Similarly, when many beliefs concerning anything are set afloat, the high death rate among them assures the triumph of those beliefs which for the time and place are *truest*. And every extension of intercourse permits a further beneficent selection. Here we glimpse the secret of the great historical cross-fertilizations of culture, Phœnicia with Egypt, Greece with the Orient, Israel with the Græco-Roman world, Christendom with the Moors.

Now what happens when men communicate to one another their desires and their valuations of the object of desire? What in such cases are the requisites of survival? Clearly not as with customs, *fitness;* for desires are neither fit nor unfit. Clearly not as with beliefs, *truth;* for desires are neither true nor untrue. Of course, intense desires prevail over weak ones, and the preferences of the superior man reverberate farther than the preferences of the mean man. Valuations, moreover, are judgments, and those which declare the real worth of the prizes of life improve thereby their chances of survival. But in this clash and contention the leading law of selection will be this: *The desires most egoistic and the valuations most menacing to the common welfare are suppressed; while a fillip is given to those desires and estimates that many may entertain in safety, e. g., desire for common enjoyment and esteem of collective or ideal goods.*

A practice is eliminated by refusal to imitate, a belief by refusal to accept. But a desire or valuation is eliminated chiefly by refusal to communicate. One may be inflamed by bestial lusts or judge life from the point of view of a Yahoo, but he refrains from deliberately inciting his neighbors in turn. People who live in glass houses will not extol stone-throwing; and we all live in glass houses. The libertine will not care to spread

an appetite that might ravage his own family. The buccaneer will deprecate wassail and women till snug harbor is reached. The thief will still strive to impress his fellows with the preciousness of class honor. The proposals men press upon one another are proposals for common enjoyment, and the pleasures they praise most are not those which sunder, but those which unite them. Brutal anti-social appraisals, therefore, like bad coins, are continually checked in circulation; while the valuations that many may hold in common receive currency, indorsement, and furtherance.

The values that we hear on every lip are, therefore, those that have passed through a certain sifting. They have run the social gauntlet. They do not come from the overlappings of private estimates as a price results from a thousand private valuations of buyers and sellers. They give us life as refracted in a social medium. It would not be too bold a metaphor to say that the social mind ruminating upon the appraisals cast into it arrives at certain valuations of human experience; and that these are *social* valuations, seeing they measure things from the standpoint of society and not from the standpoint of the individual. These collective appraisals of goods are ever in contact with private valuations, and are perpetually modified by them. So long as the "old Adam" rekindles in his descendants desires selfish or base, it is impossible for social valuations to rise clear of private judgments. But in any case their plane is higher, and so far as they influence man at all, they will draw him upward and fit him for society.

To this "spontaneous generation" of social values we must add the zeal of the *élite* of a people to press its desires, tastes, and moral opinions upon the rest. This is a factor by no means to be despised. According to one view the progress of a society in civilization resembles the trailing of an ill-organized procession along the street — quickstep at the front, but the rear straggling out indefinitely. That is to say, advance takes place by the inherent power of the superior practice, belief, or want to overcome the inferior, and so passes from man to man, from class

to class, from people to people. It is thus, for example, that the use of soap or underwear or forks or wedding journeys becomes common.

But the fact is that the van of the procession is not content to be followed by who will and at such pace or interval as pleases him, but actively urges and forces the stragglers to close up ranks. In other words, the progress of a folk is not mere imitation of example, but partly response to insistent suggestion. In the classic world, it is true, the *élite* was fain to draw apart for the pursuit of its refined enjoyments and leave the rude multitude to its gross pleasures and brutal amusements. But such cleavage betrayed old race lines. The *élite* of Israel never stood so aloof; and Christianity was born with the imperishable instinct to impregnate the meanest man with its soul. At one time even the church seemed about to fall under the sway of an intellectual syndicate that echoed the sneer of Basilides: "I speak for one in a thousand, the rest are dogs and swine." But the democratic instincts of the church threw off the yoke of the gnostics, and the *élite* went on with the great missionary task of spreading their desires and valuations throughout society. For a thousand years a proselyting church sought to leave upon every man, even the nethermost slave and serf, the impress of its notions of life and conduct. Then secular culture became missionary and proselyting, and for three centuries we have seen it striving by means of education to imbue every human being with those tastes and views we term "civilized," or at least equip him with that knowledge of letters that shall put him *en rapport* with the *élite* of the race. Thus Prospero busies himself with the teaching of Caliban.

Let me be understood. It is not society that kindles strange longings or invents new pleasures, but individuals. Society can only await these Prometheans and spread broadcast the fire they have stolen from the gods. If a people can provide no *élite* to discover the ideal goods, the higher tastes do not develop. Where, as with Carthaginians or Turks, the initiatives are lacking in those desires, aspirations, interests, and pursuits which consti-

tute *civilization in the person*, the power of the society to influence the valuations of its members can avail but little.

To the influence of *conventionality* and the influence of the *élite* must be added the force of *tradition*. Whatever once dominates society acquires in time authority and prestige by reason of the dovetailing of generations into each other. The impersonal products of the past—institutions, beliefs, valuations—become semi-independent factors, working along with living men and women in shaping the life of the present. The natural ascendency of the old over the young assures social valuations of vastly more power over the generation that receives them than they can ever gain over the generation that originates them. Becoming fixed in literary and artistic traditions, religious systems, moral theories, and worldly wisdom, they are skillfully brought to bear on the minds of the young in home and church and school and social life, till they become a staunch but unseen prop of the social order.

III.

Just how will social valuations be employed?

In the first place, the qualities prized by society become "virtues" and are held to be of intrinsic value. Those qualities by which a people overcomes its enemies and maintains an orderly common life—courage, justice, honesty, fidelity—are conceived as ends in themselves. In all early wisdom they are naïvely compared to gems, jewels, fine gold, king's treasures, or beautiful damsels. Later on they are lifted quite away from ordinary goods and become incomparable "moral values." It is then that qualities become "good" and "bad" instead of merely "good" and "evil." But by so much as our striving away from "evil" exceeds in energy our striving away from the "bad," by so much is control of values to be esteemed above control of moral notions. For the power to award, praise, or dispraise is the power to create good and evil, and the power to create good and evil is the power to guide the choosing of men.

In the second place, those pleasures which are anti-social,

exclusive, collision-provoking, or liable to excess are steadily depreciated. It were a wise leader of the pack who should get them to bay the moon instead of fighting over a bone; for there are not enough bones, but there is enough moon. It is equally politic to divert men from pleasures, such as those connected with sex and property, the pursuit of which endangers social peace. The sexual instinct, for example, is habitually dismissed with slanting allusion and contempt. In all schedules of social values the great motor force of reproduction cuts, indeed, a sorry figure. Then feasting and drinking, orgy and fighting, so naïvely esteemed by natural men, come to be frowned upon. First deemed to be sinful, then abominable, they are finally declared to be evils and not goods. In this way the animal eager to eat, drink, mate, and fight seems to get metamorphosed into a creature of fine tastes and noble aims. And yet these crude pleasures bulk so largely in the concern of men as they are that we cannot regard the low appraisal everywhere openly put upon them as a mere consensus of opinion. It is the valuation of society acting under the instinct of self-preservation. It resembles that conventional distinction between clean and unclean in the flesh of animals which has become sacrosanct to most of us.

In the third place, society "appreciates" the safe pleasures —those, like companionship, converse, or sport, which are *coöperative;* those, like the enjoyment of nature or music or works of art, which are *inexclusive;* those, like health or beauty or humor or knowledge or personal excellence, which *can be expanded without limit and without clash* with others; those which, being *ideal*, do not wastefully consume strength and life. The appetites and passions would tear society to pieces. But the longing for these pleasures but confirms and perfects men in their association. A luring of the individual in this direction by high appraisals is, therefore, as valid a method of social control as the terrifying thunders of a Sinai.

Quite of themselves men come to covet the conditions of physical well-being. It is chiefly in their attitude toward non-

physical goods that the influence of others is decisive. The more life escapes from the creature-needs, the more it obeys the movements of the social baton. Control by valuations is, therefore, a late development, being most effective in the era of a diffused economic surplus, leisure, and a high standard of living. Then only will the finger post pointing to home, social pleasure, knowledge, and contemplation be heeded.

The conspiracy of occidental philosophy, ethics, and literature to exalt peace as opposed to ambition, striving, or activity is a striking example of social valuation. It is certainly not individual valuation. The dry rot of a race which manifests itself in a shrinking from strong emotions, a distaste for strenuous effort, and a love of tranquil existence, is by no means so far advanced with us as the prevailing tone would suggest. There are, of course, overspanned wills that turn gladly to quiet, meditation, and faint emotions. The cloister compensates for the camp, and the peace of the hermit atones for the stress of affairs. But the note of quietism that sounds like a minor chord throughout the art and faith of the most striving, pushing, overcoming people of history, the English race, is not the mere expression of individual feeling. The accent is put on "tranquility" "serenity," "quiet and freedom of spirit," "inward calm," "still and quiet conscience," because the group instinctively seeks to blunt the greed, ambition, and enterprise of its members. So that the quietism running through our religion testifies, not to the weakness of desire, but to its excessive and dangerous strength. What irony in the spectacle of men banding themselves into a society for upholding the worth of detachment and spiritual serenity, while driven each by some passion, low or high—greed, love, ambition, rivalry, the spirit of enterprise, or the zeal for activity!

That the valuations we are bred to are not generally valid for the individual is shown by the way they are affected by experience. The frequent and oft-deplored deflection from the noble idealism of youth, and the growth of sordiness as the years bring wisdom, betray the fact that we are trained to high-keyed

social appraisals of things. This lament is heard only in modern societies, where the youth is carefully inoculated with a set of notions intended to civilize and socialize him. With a people like Uzbegs or Afghans, that have developed no such subtle and pervasive means of control, it is the young men with their passions and willfulness that endanger the social order, and it is the old men who safeguard it.

IV.

In this century we have listened to thinkers who deny that society needs to concern itself with the control of its members. Dispensing with the sanctions of religion, the authority of moral ideas, and the compulsion of law, they point to democratic progress as the natural cure for moral ills. Let free course be given to the improvement of technique, the diffusion of light, and the spread of new tastes. In the evolution of desires among an intelligent people, coupled with the means of satisfying them, lies a better guarantee for order than jails and churches, Scriptures and Sunday schools. Led by these ideas a considerable party makes "Enlightenment," "Progress," "Liberal Thought" the watchwords, not only for the increase of happiness, but, as well, for moral advance.

These ideas have a seeming justification in the undoubted fact that the great democratic diffusions of prosperity have been attended by an upward development of wants. But this is not due to the mysterious law that "the satisfaction of any want gives rise to a new want of a higher order than the want whose place it takes,"[1] but to the fact that the conservative forces of society preside over valuations and consequently over the direction of desires. The mere multiplication of wants is no guarantee of moral progress. The instinct is sound that regards luxury as a spur in the flanks of egoism and not a curb. Far too often has there been an evolution of wants that the social spirit was powerless to control. Undoubtedly with the growing passion for the sweets of philosophy, poetry, music, games, and drama,

[1] BLAIR, *Human Progress*, p. 168.

there went on, for a while, an ennobling and refining of Greek character. But certainly in 60 A. D. the hope of the classic world lay not in the new desires that, fostered by the world's riches flung into the lap of Rome, were rapidly undermining the old simplicity, but in the little ascetic communities in the back streets of Ephesus and Philippi.

The unsuspected influence of conventional values is shown by the fate of the Humanists. The Humanist enjoyed release from authority, as does the man of today. But, so great was the disruption of ideas at his time, he was steadied by no such long-elaborated system of values as shapes the choices of the modern man. Consequently his attitude toward life was inadmissible, and he fell into ill-odor and contempt. With his craving for praise, appreciation of the sensuous, contempt of a quiet life, scorn of domesticity, neglect of character, enthusiasm for ancient learning, worship of success, and apotheosis of genius, he made sad shipwreck. Such men could not be tolerated, and their free and unconventional valuation of life came justly to be regarded as a dangerous distemper.

The new methods in mission work testify to the possibility of altering character by influencing valuations. To the old-time missionary, seeking to save souls by changing the heathen's religious beliefs and worships, succeeds a teacher and civilizer, striving to develop in his flock an appreciation of clothing, cleanliness, privacy, order, property, domestic affection, and family unity, the elementary goods of the white man. And it is this patient guidance of backward peoples along the path by which the civilized races have reached their present elevation that bids fair to bear fruit both abundant and lasting. The lightning process of converting, baptizing, and veneering with a thin layer of morality makes the docile neophyte whose character collapses the moment the supporting hand is withdrawn. Such was the work of the Jesuits in California and Paraguay, in China and Japan, and such has been too much of the mission work of this century. The patient fostering of new wants and imparting of new standards of appreciation produce results less

brilliant, but far more enduring. A like change of method is taking place in the inner missions and social settlements dealing with the "cellars" and "swamps" of modern society.

The uplifting of the American negro is another field for the method of control by social valuations. It is now recognized that not churches alone will lift the race; not even schools; not even contact with the whites. But all of these coöperating with the wider means secured by efficient industry can do it. The growth of new wants, presided over by intelligence and culture, is the best lever for raising the status of the idle, quarreling, sensual, ravishing Afro-American. Certainly the infecting of the backward portion of the race with a high estimate of cleanliness, neatness, family privacy, domestic comfort, and literacy is an agent quite as moralizing as the dread of future punishments or the love of an ethical God.

The songs, ballads, proverbs, and tales that well up from the heart of the folk are instinct with a frank delight in meat and drink, in hues and sounds, in revel and song, in love and war, in freedom and danger. The native literature of Arab or Cossack or Magyar pictures his reigning pleasures with a naïve veracity which startles while it charms the modern man. But when culture ceases to be local and *volksthümlich* and becomes national and central, this fidelity to fact and life is lost, and it becomes a wheel in the moral administration of society. Singer or sage may not thrive, save as he kotows to the notions that assist in moral government. In the country and the backwoods, in isolated rural communities and mountain settlements, the acknowledged inculcated estimates are shrewd and practical and racy of the soil. Here the values taught to sons and daughters spring most directly from the lives and experiences of the people, and, while lacking in the high-pitched idealism we find in the tideways of culture, do really rule the choices of those who profess them. But when this indigenous culture dies out, and each community becomes dependent on a national literature, art, philosophy, or religion, no longer rooted in popular life, the valuations it receives and supports drift ever farther from reality.

This rift that opens between profession and performance, the nominal and the real, what we recommend to our neighbors and what we adopt for ourselves, we cannot escape. It is the price we pay for using gentle, inobvious forms of control. We cannot manage men by social suggestions, ideals, or valuations, unless these are *above* them. For sincerity and frankness let one betake himself to Kabyles or Bedouins. Genuineness is not for a society that prefers to maintain its social order by sweet seduction rather than by rude force.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF SOCIAL GROUPS.[1]

It is the doubtful advantage of incipient sciences that they must temporarily furnish refuge for all sorts of vagrant problems. The boundaries of new sciences are necessarily indefinite and indefensible. They are thus open to all the homeless. They therefore gather by degrees a miscellaneous content which cannot be managed. Then the process of limitation begins. The immediate effect is disappointing, but, on the other hand, precise bounds secure sciences against later disappointment. The new science of sociology is entering the stage of definition. It is beginning to assort the confused mass of problems that threatened to overwhelm it. Suffrage within the science is no longer unchallenged. The exact boundaries of the science are not yet beyond dispute, but in every direction earnest scientific efforts are evident to draw permanent lines of division. For a while the term "sociology" seemed to be a magic word that promised to solve all the riddles of history and of practical life, of ethics and of æsthetics, of religion and of politics. The source of this error is in the conception that the subject-matter of sociology is the whole sum of occurrences which take place in society. From that standpoint all problems that do not belong to physical science seem to fall within the scope of sociology. It is self-evident that this standpoint is untenable. It is plainly nonsensical to throw into one big pot labeled "sociology" all those researches which have been satisfactorily conducted by national economy, history of civilization, philosophy, political science, statistics, demography, juridical science, and ethics. That gives us a new name, but no new knowledge. In point of fact, most of the so-called sociological investigations belong within the field of one of these already existing sciences, for there is no content of life which would not be proper subject-

[1] Translated by Albion W. Small.

matter of one or other of these. If, therefore, sociology is to have a peculiar and independent significance, its problems must consequently concern, not the contents of social life, but its form—the form which brings it to pass that all those contents which are treated by the special sciences are "societary." Sociology rests its whole right of existence as a separate science upon this abstraction of the forms of society, just as mathematics rests upon an abstraction of the mere spatial forms from material things, or as linguistic science rests upon the one abstraction of the forms of speech from the various linguistic representations in which men express themselves.

The subject-matter of sociology is, therefore, the forms or ways in which human beings exist beside, for, and with each other. The purposes for the sake of which these socializations come into being—economic and social,[1] religious and criminal, sexual and military, political and ethical, etc.—will be treated by other sciences. Since now socialization only occurs among human beings for the sake of such purposes, we shall discover the laws of social forms only by collecting such societary phenomena of the most diverse contents, and by ascertaining what is common to them in spite of their diversity. In this way the diverse contents of the forms of socialization nullify each other, and that which is formally the same, the societary form as such, must clearly appear. For instance, we observe the formation of parties on political and artistic, on religious and economic ground. By searching for that which is common in these phenomena, in spite of wide variation of purposes and interests, we discover the laws and species of party formation as such, as a form of the coexistence of human beings in general. By this method we discover, for example, as such forms, superiority and inferiority, the erection of hierarchies, competition, division of labor, imitation, representation, and countless other types of human socialization. Only after all their separate forms, from their most primitive to their most developed types, have been inductively determined

[1] In the conventional sense.

and psychologically interpreted, can we gradually solve the riddle: "What is society in its essence?" For society is surely not a structure so unitary that a single exhaustive definition is possible. Society consists rather of the sum of all the ways and means of combination that appear among its elements. It cannot be said that "society" must exist before all these separate relations make their appearance in society. Any single relation may be eliminated, to be sure, since in the societies known to us there are always enough remaining relations. If we try to project our thought beyond all these relations, however, there remains no society at all.

Merely as an example of this method I shall attempt in the following to exhibit the specific ways in which society as such maintains itself. In this attempt I use the term "society" not in the now usual sense of the whole great complex of all the individuals and groups held together by common nationality or common culture. I see society rather wherever a number of human beings come into reciprocity and form a transient or permanent unity. In each such unification the phenomenon emerges which also determines the life of the individuals, viz., that at every moment destructive forces attack the life both from within and from without, and, if these alone operated, the unity would soon be resolved into its elements or transformed into other combinations. But opposed to these destructive forces there are preservative influences which hold the individual parts together by maintaining reciprocity between them, from which comes cohesion of parts, and hence a unity of the whole. This unity is of longer or shorter duration, until, like everything earthly, it at last yields to decomposing forces.

At this point the justification must appear for speaking of the society as a special unity over and above its individual elements. These phenomena of the self-preservation of socities are by no means identical with the instinct of self-preservation in the individual members. The latter, on the contrary, calls for quite different treatment; it employs quite different forces from those that preserve the group to which the individual belongs; so that

the self-preservation of the individuals may be complete while that of the group is weakened and destroyed, or, on the contrary, the latter may show itself still in full force after the self-sustaining power of the individuals is in decadence. These facts have done the most to recommend the idea that the society, the unified group, is a structure of independent reality, which leads its life after peculiar laws and by virtue of peculiar forces, independent of all its individual components. In fact, when we consider the development and the characteristics of language, morals, church, law, political and social organization, that conception seems inevitable. All these seem to be products and functions of an impersonal structure. They seem to belong to all in common, as a piece of public property belongs to the community, yet in such a way that no individual could be named as the sufficient cause or the determining purpose of the same, nor could the precise share of any single individual in its creation be distinguished. These products stand rather over against the individual as something objective, absolved from the limitations of personal life. On the other hand, it is certain that in the last analysis only individuals exist, that there are human products apart from human beings themselves only in the case of material things; that, on the other hand, spiritual structures like those just mentioned have their existence only in personal minds. Every attempt to think of them outside of persons is a mysticism like the conceptual realism which made independent substantial entities of human ideas. How, then, if we hold fast to the existence of individuals only, shall we explain the super-individual character of those structures, the objectivity and independence of societary forces and organizations?

So far as I can see, this antinomy can be resolved in only one way. From the view point of completed knowledge we must hold unconditionally to the fact that there are only spiritual individuals. An all-penetrating vision would peremptorily resolve that appearance which seems to announce a new independent unity above the individuals into the reciprocity which plays between the individuals, and it would see that, if this reci-

procity were actually separated from the individuals, nothing of it could remain. But this completed knowledge is denied to men. The relations of human beings to each other are so complex, so ramified, and so compact that it would be a wholly hopeless task to resolve them into their elements, and we are consequently compelled to treat them as unities rather than as self-existing structures. It is, therefore, only a methodological device to speak of the essence and the development of the state, of law, of institutions, of fashion, etc., as if each of these were a unified entity. We cannot resolve the unitary aspect which they present to us into its components, and it is, therefore, a scientific interim-filler if we treat this aspect as a something that has an independent existence. This provisional convenience is like our treatment of the "life processes" as though they were a proper entity, although we assume that they are merely the complex of the endlessly complicated mechanical reciprocities of the minutest parts of the organic body. In like manner is the conflict to be adjusted between the individualistic and, as we may term it, the monistic conception of the social structure. The former corresponds with the fact, the latter with the limited power of analysis; the former is the ideal of intelligence, the latter the stage of understanding actually attained. In our knowledge of physical organisms we have succeeded in thinking beyond the idea of a vital power that seemed to sway over the separate organs, and to compose a new entity in addition to them. We have, in part at least, substituted for this conception the reciprocal action of the organs. In like manner we must attempt in the social sciences to approach nearer and nearer to the individual operations which produce the social structure, however far we may be obliged to stop short of complete analysis. In the case of our particular subject-matter the question might be formulated in this way: When we see that the most manifold socializations betray the operation of apparently specific efficient forces, in order to self-maintenance, into what more primary processes may these phenomena be resolved? Although the continuance of the group, after it is once in existence, seems to

declare at the same time a special vital force, a stability having a unified source, all this is nevertheless the consequence, or rather summation (*Zusammenfassung*), of a collection of separate and manifold fragmentary processes of a social nature. Our task, therefore, is to search these out.

The most general case in which the persistence of the group presents itself as a problem occurs in the fact that, in spite of the departure and the change of members, the group remains identical. We say that it is the same state, the same association, the same army, which now exists that existed so and so many decades or centuries ago. This, although no single member of the original organization remains. Here is one of the cases in which the temporal order of events presents a marked analogy with the spatial order. Out of individuals existing side by side, that is, apart from each other, a social unity is formed. The inevitable separation which space places between men is nevertheless overcome by the spiritual bond between them, so that there arises an appearance of unified interexistence. In like manner the temporal separation of individuals and of generations presents their union in our conceptions as a coherent, uninterrupted whole. In the case of persons spatially separated this unity is effected by the reciprocity maintained between them across the dividing distance. The unity of complex beings means nothing else than the cohesion of elements which is produced by the reciprocal exercise of forces. In the case of temporally separated persons, however, unity cannot be effected in this manner, because reciprocity is lacking. The earlier may influence the later, but the later cannot influence the earlier. Hence the persistence of the social unity in spite of shifting membership presents a peculiar problem which is not solved by explaining how the group came to exist at a given moment.

The first and most obvious element of the continuity of group unity is the continuance of the locality, of the place and soil on which the group lives. The state, still more the city, and also countless other associations, owe their unity first of all to the territory which constitutes the abiding substratum for all

change of their contents. To be sure, the continuance of the locality does not of itself alone mean the continuance of the social unity, since, for instance, if the whole population of a state is driven out or enslaved by a conquering group, we speak of a changed civic group in spite of the continuance of the territory. Moreover, the unity of whose character we are speaking is psychical, and it is this psychical factor itself which makes the territorial substratum a unity. After this has once taken place, however, the locality constitutes an essential point of attachment for the further persistence of the group. But it is only one such element, for there are plenty of groups that get along without a local substratum. On the one hand, there are the very small groups, like the family, which continue precisely the same after the residence is changed. On the other hand, there are the very large groups, like that ideal community of the "republic of letters," or the other international associations in the interest of culture, or the groups conducting international commerce. Their peculiar character comes from entire independence of all attachment to a definite locality.

In contrast with this more formal conditon for the maintenance of the group, of incomparably greater importance to the same end is the physiological connection of the generations —in general the whole concatenation of blood relationships. Community of stock is not always enough to insure unity of coherence for a long time. In many cases the local unity must be added. The social unity of the Jews has been weakened to a marked degree since the dispersion, in spite of their physiological and confessional unity. It has become more compact in cases where a group of Jews have lived for a time in the same territory, and the efforts of the modern "Zionism" to restore Jewish unity on a larger scale calculate upon concentration in one locality. On the other hand, when other bonds of union fail, the physiological is the last recourse to which the self-maintenance of the group resorts. The more the German *Zünfte* declined, the weaker their inherent power of cohesion became, the more energetically did each *Zunft* attempt to make itself

exclusive, that is, it insisted that no persons should be admitted as *Zunftmeister* except sons or sons-in-law of masters or the husbands of masters' widows.

The physiological coherence of successive generations is of incomparable significance for the maintenance of the unitary self of the group, for the special reason that the displacement of one generation by the following *does not take place all at once.* By virtue of this fact it comes about that a continuity is maintained which conducts the vast majority of the individuals who live in a given moment into the life of the next moment. The change, the disappearance and entrance of persons, affects in two contiguous moments a number relatively small compared with the number of those who remain constant. Another element of influence in this connection is the fact that human beings are not bound to a definite mating season, but that children are begotten at any time. It can never properly be asserted of a group, therefore, that at any given moment a new generation begins. The departure of the older and the entrance of the younger elements proceed so gradually and continuously that the group seems as much like a unified self as an organic body in spite of the change of its atoms. If the substitution of elements took place all at once and suddenly, in such a way as to affect the group throughout, it could scarcely be said that in spite of the disappearance of individuals the group maintains its unitary selfhood. Since at each moment those who were members of the groups in earlier moments constitute a vast majority over the entering members, the identity of the group is saved, in spite of the fact that moments far separated from each other may have no common elements.

The foregoing is one of the few cases in which the fact that change is gradual furnishes a real explanation of the change. In general, care must be taken not to imagine that a change from one condition into another quite different is explained when it is described as "gradual." When we use that formula, we are apt to think of a multitude of intermediate stages interposed between the two extremes in question. We assume that the difference

between any two contiguous stages was so minute as to be a negligible quantity, so that no great spiritual force was demanded to make the transition, but, on the contrary, the mind could glide over easily from the earlier stage to the later. This too frequent attempt to get rid of the problem and its difficulties by simple reference to the gradualness of the change or development is a self-deception as seductive as it is fatal. We are justified in extreme incredulity whenever "gradualness" is alleged as basis of explanation. Even in the case before us, the change itself, the ultimate substitution of wholly different group elements, is not to be explained by the formula of gradualness. The form of gradualness in which the alteration actually occurs explains rather how it happens that we regard the group as persistent in spite of the shifting membership. This form is the vehicle of the group unity throughout the succession of members, somewhat as the form of reciprocity performs the same function for contemporaneous members. This form of gradualness, moreover, is obviously operative, not merely when the unity of the group is to be preserved in spite of the change of membership. It works, also, in cases where change affects other elements of group unity. For instance, where the political forms, the law, the customs, the entire culture of a group change to such an extent that after a time the group presents a wholly altered aspect, our right to speak of it as the identical group depends upon the fact that the alterations did not affect all the vital forms of the group simultaneously. If the change were instantaneous, it is doubtful if we should be justified in calling the group "the same" after the critical moment as before. The circumstance alone that the transition affected in a given moment only a minimum of the total life of the group makes it possible for the group to retain its selfhood through the change. We may express this schematically as follows: If the totality of individuals or other conditions of the life of the group be represented by *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*; in a later moment by *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*; we may nevertheless speak of the persistence of identical selfhood if the development takes the following course: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*—*m*,

b, c, d, e—m, n, c, d, e—m, n, o, d, e—m, n, o, p, e— m, n, o, p, q. In this case each stage is differentiated from the contiguous stage by only one member, and at each moment it shares the same chief elements with its neighboring moments.

This continuity in change of the individuals who are the vehicles of the group unity is most immediately and thoroughly visible when it rests upon procreation. The same form is found, however, in cases where this physical agency is excluded, as, for example, within the Catholic clerus. Here the continuity is secured by provision that enough persons always remain in office to initiate the neophytes. This is an extremely important sociological fact. It makes bureaucracies so tenacious, and causes their character and spirit to endure in spite of all shifting of individuals. The physiological basis of self-maintenance here gives place to a psychological one. To speak exactly, the preservation of group identity in this case depends, of course, upon the amount of invariability in the vehicles of this unity, but, at all events, the whole body of members belonging in the group at any given moment only separate from the group after they have been associated with their successors long enough to assimilate the latter fully to themselves, *i. e.*, to the spirit, the form, the tendency of the group. The immortality of the group depends upon the fact that the change is sufficiently slow and gradual.

The fact referred to by the phrase "immortality of the group" is of the greatest importance. The preservation of the identical selfhood of the group through a practically unlimited period gives to the group a significance which, *ceteris paribus*, is far superior to that of the individual. The life of the individual, with its purposes, its valuations, its force, is destined to terminate within a limited time, and to a certain extent each individual must start at the beginning. Since the life of the group has no such *a priori* fixed time limit, and its forms are really arranged as though they were to last forever, the group accomplishes a summation of the achievements, powers, experiences, through which it makes itself far superior to the fragmentary individual lives. Since the early Middle Ages this has been the

source of the power of municipal corporations in England. They had from the beginning the right, as Stubbs expresses it, "of perpetuating its existence by filling up vacancies as they occur." The ancient privileges were given expressly only to the burghers and their heirs. As matter of fact, they were exercised as a right to add new members, so that, whatever fate befell the members and their physical descendants, the corporation, as such, was held intact. This had to be paid for, to be sure, by the disappearance of the individual importance of the units behind their rôle as vehicles of the maintenance of the group, for the group security must suffer the closer it is bound up with the perishable individuality of the units. On the other hand, the more anonymous and unpersonal the unit is, the more fit is he to step into the place of another, and so to insure to the group uninterrupted self-maintenance. This was the enormous advantage through which during the Wars of the Roses the commons repulsed the previously superior power of the upper house. A battle that destroyed half the nobility of the country took also from the house of lords one-half its force, because this is attached to the personalities. The house of commons is in principle assured against such weakening. That estate at last got predominance which, through the equalizing of its members, demonstrated the most persistent power of group existence. This circumstance gives every group an advantage in competition with an individual. It has been remarked of the East India Company that it won its mastery over India by the same means which grand moguls had used before. Its advantage over other usurpers was simply that its life could not be destroyed.

On this account special arrangements are necessary so soon as the life of the group is intimately bound up with that of a leading, commanding individual. What dangers to the integrity of the group are concealed in this sociological form may be learned from the history of all interregnums—dangers which, of course, increase in the same ratio in which the ruler actually forms the central point of the functions through which the group preserves its unity, or, more correctly, at each moment creates its unity

anew. Consequently a break between rulers may be a matter of indifference where the prince only exercises a nominal sway —"reigns, but does not govern"—while, on the other hand, we observe even in the swarm of bees that anarchy results so soon as the queen is removed. Although it is entirely false to explain this latter phenomenon by analogy of a human ruler, since the queen bee gives no orders, yet the queen occupies the middle point of the activity of the hive. By means of her antennæ she is in constant communication with the workers, and so all the signals coursing through the hive pass through her. By virtue of this very fact the hive feels itself a unity, and this unity dissolves with the disappearance of the functional center.

In political groups the attempt is made to guard against all the dangers of personality, particularly those of possible intervals between the important persons, by the principle: "The king never dies." While in the early Middle Ages the tradition prevailed that when the king dies his peace dies with him, this newer principle contains provision for the self-preservation of the group. It involves an extraordinarily significant sociological conception, viz., the king is no longer king as a person, but the reverse is the case, that is, his person is only the in itself irrelevant vehicle of the abstract kingship, which is as unalterable as the group itself, of which the kingship is the apex. The group reflects its immortality upon the kingship, and the sovereign in return brings that immortality to visible expression in his own person, and by so doing reciprocally strengthens the vitality of the group. That mighty factor of social coherence which consists of loyalty of sentiment toward the reigning power might appear in very small groups in the relation of fidelity toward the person of the ruler. For large groups the definition that Stubbs once gave must certainly apply, viz.: "Loyalty is a habit of strong and faithful attachment to a person, not so much by reason of his personal character as of his official position." By becoming objectified in the deathless office the princely principle gains a new psychological power for concentration and cohesion within the group, while the old

princely principle that rested on the mere personality of the prince necessarily lost power as the size of the group increased.

The most obvious way in which the persistence of the group depicts itself in the continuance of the ruler is in the heredity of the princely dignity. The physiological connection within the reigning family reflects the intricate connection within the group. The group perpetuates itself without intermission and as a matter of course from age to age. In no other way can this fact be more precisely and appropriately expressed than in the provision that the father shall be succeeded by the son, who in turn is designated from birth as heir apparent of the throne, and is always ready to assume the prerogative. Since the heredity of the regal office makes the same independent of the qualities of the personalities who occupy it (in which is also the questionable element of the device), it at the same time clearly shows that the coherence of the group has made itself independent; that it has become objective; that it has gained for itself status and durability which are no longer affected by the accident of the personality by which they are represented. The hereditary principle is often called senseless and dangerous, because it is purely formal in nature, and consequently may bring to the throne the most unfit person as well as the most fit. Precisely this circumstance, however, has a very profound meaning, for it demonstrates that the form of the group, the relation between ruler and ruled, has become real and settled. So long as the character of the group is still uncertain and variable, the supreme head, whose office it is to hold the group together, can perform the function only by virtue of very definite personal qualities. The Greek king of the heroic age had to be not only brave, wise, and eloquent, but also distinguished in athletic exercises, and, so far as possible, a superior carpenter, shipbuilder, and tiller of the soil. In general, social interest takes care further that, in groups that are still unstable, conflict and selection go before the acquisition of sovereignty. Wherever the form in which the group maintains itself is already established and secure, the personal element may withdraw in favor of the formal principle. That

species of sovereignty may now gain the front rank which best expresses the continuity and theoretical eternity of the group life so formed. That form is the hereditary sovereignty. It most adequately and intelligibly expresses the principle that the king never dies.

The objectification of the coherence of the group may, also, do away with the personal form to such an extent that it attaches itself to a material symbol. Thus in the German lands in the Middle Ages the imperial jewels were looked upon as the visible realization of the idea of the realm and of its continuity, so that the possession of them gave to a pretender a decided advantage over all other aspirants, and this was one of the influences which evidently assisted the heir of the body of the deceased emperor in securing the succession.

In view of the destructibility of a material object, since too this disadvantage cannot be offset, as in the case of a person, by the continuity of heredity, it is very dangerous for the group to seek such a support for its self-preservation. Many a regiment has lost its coherence with the loss of its standard. Many kinds of associations have dissolved after their palladium, their storehouse, their grail was destroyed. When, however, the social coherence is lost in this way, it is safe to say that it must have suffered serious internal disorder before, and that in this case the loss of the external symbol representing the unity of the group is itself only the symbol that the social elements have lost their coherence. Where this last is not the case, the loss of the group symbol not only has no disintegrating effect, but it exerts a direct integrating influence. While the symbol loses its corporal reality, it may as mere thought, longing, ideal, work much more powerfully, profoundly, indestructibly. We may get a good view of these two opposite influences of the forms of destruction of the group symbol upon the solidity of the group by reference to the consequences of the destruction of the Jewish temple by Titus. The hierarchical Jewish state was a thorn in the flesh of the Roman statecraft that aimed at the unity of the empire. The purpose of dissolving this state was

accomplished, so far as a certain number of the Jews were concerned, by the destruction of the temple. Such was the effect with those who cared little, any way, about this centralization. Thus the alienation of the Pauline Christians from Judaism was powerfully promoted by this event. For the Palestinian Jews, on the other hand, the breach between Judaism and the rest of the world was deepened. By this destruction of its symbol their national-religious exclusiveness was heightened to desperation. Thus the destruction of the group symbol works in two directions upon the persistence of the group: destructively where the integrating reciprocal action of the members is already weak, and constructively where these reciprocal influences are so strong in themselves that they can replace the lost tangible symbol by its spiritualized and idealized representation.

The significance of a material symbol for the persistence of a society is much heightened when the symbol, besides its suggestive use, is a real social possession in itself, that is, when the centralizing functions of the society depend upon it, or are facilitated by it, when the material interests of all the members of the group converge in this symbol. In this case it will be of peculiar importance for the maintenance of the group to secure this common possession against destruction, somewhat as is done in the case of the personal group center by the fiction that the king does not die. The most frequent means to this end is "the dead hand," the provision that the property of corporations, which as such should be permanent, shall not be alienable. As the transitoriness of the individual is reflected in the destructibility of his property, so the indestructibility of the association is mirrored in its inalienable and non-assignable tenure of possessions. The proprietary qualifications of the ecclesiastical corporations especially resembled the maw of the lion, which every thing could enter, but from which nothing ever came out. For the church the eternity of her tenure was a symbol of the eternity of the principle in which her coherence was founded. The dead hand secured for such associations an impregnable defense and rallying point, an invaluable means of

group maintenance. This character of the dead hand was supported further by the fact that the possessions of such corporations were chiefly real estate. In contrast with all movable property, especially with money, property in land has a stability, an indestructibility, a fixity which renders it the most appropriate content for the "dead hand" form of tenure. Moreover, the local definiteness and precision of this tenure bring it about that those who enjoy its benefits have in it the fixed point by means of which they can always keep their reckoning and, at the same time, either directly or indirectly in their interests, can unite without confusion. This significance which the continuance of landed property has for the maintenance of a social form has found expression in the hypothesis that landed possession on a large scale was one of the origins of hereditary monarchy. Superior riches secure, at all events, a leading position in a group. So long, however, as wealth consists only in herds, it is very insecure and may easily die out. Only when it has become immobile is there good chance that it may remain in the hands of one person or family. The stable character of landed property, even if only in the hands of the leader, is favorable to the stability of the constitutional form. It secures for the above discussed hereditary principle a basis that is at once adequate and of corresponding form.

Thus the "dead hand" was by no means merely a matter of material advantage. It was rather a subtle agency of preserving the form and substance of the group. This very fact, however, often entangles the group in a conflict of typical sociological significance, and for the reason that the group thus assisted in its self-preservation is only a portion of a larger civic society containing it. Almost all sorts of human association, whatever be their specific content and character, have to work to secure the coöperation in social unity of certain parts that persist in following a certain egoistic impulse. The form and tendency of these parts duplicate in miniature those of the group of which they are members, with which however they are often, for this very reason, in disagreement. The rôle appropriate to them as

part and member of a comprehensive whole does not comport with the part they are trying to play as egoistic wholes. I shall return presently to the principles involved in this tragic relation, which recurs within all large societies. At this point I merely observe how prominently it impresses itself in the case of the "dead hand." While, as above indicated, it is of extreme importance for the status of a close corporation that it has its own territorial foundation as firm basis of its unity, and as means of delimitation, it is also highly critical if a portion of such society demands the same for itself. The conflict of interest thus arising between the part and the whole appeared immediately in the fact that the "dead hand," as a rule, demanded and obtained exemption from taxation. Indirectly, but still more significantly, the antithesis appeared in the injury to national industry from withdrawal of such properties from the stream of commerce. The firmness of social structure that comes from indestructibility and inalienability of property works as a thorn in the flesh so soon as it comes to be an attribute of a distinct portion of a large group. In that case the state of things which promotes the persistence of the fractional group is, from the standpoint of the larger containing group, directly antagonistic, because it leads to the benumbing and finally the excision of an organic member.

From the long history of the "dead hand" I will here only remark further that as early as 1391 its disadvantages led to a law in England which simply prohibited the acquisition of real estate by such perpetual corporations as guilds and fraternities. From the same point of view, opposition is made in modern times to the patents of the nobility, which pursue the corresponding purpose of creating an objective organ of the unity and stability of the family, an instrument which shall not be affected by the fortunes of individual members of the family. In this case, also, a certain inalienable and indivisible possession is calculated to be not merely the economic basis upon which the continuity of the family is maintained under all circumstances. It affords, at the same time, a rallying point of family coher-

ence. By it not merely the material conditions of the stability of the family, but its sociological form as well, is assured. In this case again however, at least in the opinion of many, this centripetal self-maintenance of a small group comes into antagonism with the containing civic whole. The latter will be absolute, and for that reason it can concede to its parts only a relative character.

Modern inclinations try by other forms of device to secure the same ends which were served by the patent of nobility and the "dead hand." The fundamental idea of both these forms was the withdrawal of the possession guaranteed by the form from the uncertainty to which the fortunes of the individual are liable, and its establishment as an independent, objective, durable structure. Thus certain associations bind their members by the provision that in case of withdrawal the contribution of the seceder to the association is not repaid. The idea behind this provision is that the group and its interests have placed themselves quite beyond the sphere of interests pertaining to the individual members; that the group leads a life of its own; that it completely detaches the quotas of possessions from their former owners who contributed them; and that it can no more give these back than the organic body can give back to their sources the particles of food that have become parts of its substance. The continued and self-sustained persistence of the group is promoted, not merely directly by this mode of procedure, but still further indirectly by creating in the individual member a lively sense of a group-unity which is a super-individual existence independent of all personal variations.

The sociological technique of self-preservation operates again in higher potency in the regulation of certain associations that, even in case of the dissolution of the association, its property shall not be distributed among its members, but shall revert to some union for similar purposes. Self-maintenance is concerned in such case, not with the physical existence of the group, but with its idea, which is incarnated in the group that becomes its heir, the continuity of which is just as well provided for through

the transference of its property to that group. This correlation is to be seen very clearly in the case of many French labor organizations in the fifth decade of this century. We find in their statutes the provision that the property of the association should under no circumstances be divided. This idea went still further, so that associations of the same character often formed syndicates, to which each delivered its indivisible fund, so as to form thus a group property in which the contributions of the separate associations combined as a new and objective unity, as the contributions of the individuals had previously done in the fund of the several associations. Herewith there was produced a sort of sublimation of the thought of the separate associations. The syndicate was the incarnated and independent substance of the socializing interests which had previously existed only in the more individual form of the associations, and had consequently been more or less obscured by the peculiar purposes of the association. The social motive of these unions was thus lifted to a higher plane, upon which, if other powers had not exerted a destructive influence, it might have maintained itself in full security against all individual and material variations.

I come now to a further type of means for social maintenance. It may be described as both ideal and concrete. It constitutes, in fact, a peculiar species beyond this antithesis, and finds its most efficient example in *honor*. The sociological significance of honor, as a form of cohesion which reappears as formally the same in the most diverse socializations, is extraordinarily great, and can be understood only after extended observation. In general, it may be said that, through the appeal to honor, society secures from its members the kind of conduct conducive to its own preservation, particularly within the spheres of conduct intermediate between the purview of the criminal code, on the one hand, and the field of purely personal morality, on the other. If we place these three forms of imperative in a series — morality, honor, criminal law — each earlier member of the series covers the range of the remaining, but the scope of a latter member does not cover that of a predecessor.

Complete morality contains what honor and law can only command and forbid. Fulfilled honor prohibits of itself what the law lays under penalty, but honor does not assure everything which morality demands, nor does the criminal law secure everything that morality and honor decree. From this series we may immediately conclude that honor corresponds, as a social requisite, to the needs of a somewhat contracted circle, between those of the largest civic group, which coerces its members by penal law, and those of purely personal life, which finds its norms only in the autonomy of the individual. In the executive action of these three sorts of law the intermediate position of honor also shows itself. While civic law employs physical force as its sanction, while personal morality has no other recourse than the approval or disapproval of conscience, the laws of honor are guarded by penalties which have neither the pure externality of the former nor the pure subjectivity of the latter. This peculiar intermediary position of honor points to the perception which arises from the most general observation of the workings of honor, viz.: that honor is originally a class standard (*Standesehre*); *i. e.*, an appropriate life-form of smaller circles contained within a larger whole. By the demands upon its members contained in the group standard of honor the group preserves its unified character and its distinctness from the other groups within the same inclusive association. That which we think of as honor in a larger sense than this, as human honor in general, or, otherwise expressed, as purely individual honor, is an abstract idea made possible by effacing the boundaries of the class (*Stand*). It is, indeed, impossible to name any single procedure which assails human honor as such, *i. e.*, every human being's sense of honor without exception. It is a matter of honor with the ascetic to let himself be spit upon; with the girls of a certain African tribe to have as many sexual relations as possible. Accordingly the essential thing is the specific idea of honor in narrow groups—family honor, officers' honor, mercantile honor, yes, even the "honor among thieves." Since the individual belongs to various groups, the individual

may, at the same time, be under the demands of several sorts of honor which are independent of each other. One may preserve his mercantile honor, or his scientific honor as an investigator, who has forfeited his family honor, and *vice versa;* the robber may strictly observe the requirements of thieves' honor after he has violated every other; a woman may have lost her womanly honor and in every other respect be most honorable, etc. Thus honor consists in the relation of the individual to a particular circle, which in this respect manifests its separateness, its sociological distinctness from other groups.

So far as its content is concerned, honor seems to me to get its character as duty of the individual from the circumstance that, in preserving his own honor, the individual preserves at the same time the honor of his own social circle. The officer guards, in his own honor, that of the whole corps of officers, the merchant that of the mercantile class, the member of the family that of his family. This is the enormous advantage which society derives from the honor of its members, and for the sake of which society permits the individual to do things which are otherwise both by ethics and law positively forbidden.[1]

When the social group intrusts to each of its elements its total honor *pro rata*, it confides to the individual at the same time a good of extraordinary value, something that the individuals are, as a rule, not in a position to gain for themselves, something that they have simply to keep from losing. Since the honor of the whole circle becomes thus at the same time the private possession of the individual, and in this individualization becomes his honor, it thereby demonstrates a unique and extremely close coalescence of individual and social interest. The latter has taken in this case, for the consciousness of the individual, a completely personal form. Herewith the enormous service is manifest which honor renders to the self-maintenance of the group, for what I called the honor of the group, represented by the honor of the individual, proves,

[1] For further discussion of the idea of honor I refer to my *Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft*, I, 190–212.

on close examination, to be nothing else than the stability, the unity, and the durable character of the group. Honor demands from the individual those kinds of conduct which promote these ends of his society. Since conformity to this demand acquires, on the one hand, an ideal worth, so ideal and so powerful at the same time that honor is preferred to life; since the preservation of honor, on the other hand, has very sensible pleasurable effects upon the individual, and its loss produces equally keen pains, it comes about that honor constitutes an extraordinarily close bond between the whole group and its elements. Accordingly honor is one of the most thorough means of maintaining the existence and specific significance of the group.

From such recourse of social self-preservation to individual persons, to a material substance, to an ideal conception, we pass now to the cases in which social persistence takes advantage of an organ composed of a number of persons. The objective principle in which unity manifests itself again exhibits societary character. Thus a religious community embodies its coherence and its life principle in its priesthood; a political community its inner principle of union in its administrative organization, its union against foreign power in its military system; this latter in its corps of officers; every permanent union in its official head; transitory associations in their committees; political parties in their parliamentary representatives. The structure of such organs is the result of sociological division of labor. The reciprocity between individuals in which all socialization consists, and the special form of which determines the character of the group as such, goes on at first immediately between the separate members of the society as such. The unification of operations comes about from direct agreement or from mutual adjustment of interests; the unity of the religious community through the common longing of the religious sentiment for union; the military constitution of the group through the interest of every man capable of military service in being strong for offense and defense; the administration of justice through immediate judg-

ment by the community as a whole; the organization of leaders and led through the personal superiority of certain members over the rest; the economic system through direct exchange between producers.[1]

These functions, at first exercised by the persons immediately interested, presently pass over to special functional groups. The previous reciprocities of the elements give place to a condition in which each element comes into relations with the newly developed organ. Otherwise expressed, while previously, where there was no structure of organs, the individual primary elements alone had a substantial existence, and its coherence was merely functional, now the coherence of organs gets an existence of its own, and, more than this, an existence not merely apart from all the members of the group in which the new organ belongs, but even separate from those individuals who are the immediate constituents of the organ itself. Thus the mercantile element in a society is a structure which has an existence for itself. As such it fulfills its function as medium between producers indifferent to all change of individuals within its structure. More evidently still an administrative department (*Amt*) exists as an objective organ through which the individual officials again also pass, and behind which their personalities often enough disappear. Thus the state as receiver of taxes appropriates to itself those sacrifices which one interested circle of citizens demands of others, but at the same time the state subjects each of those intrusted with this function of tax collection to the same liability to taxation. The church, in like manner, is an impersonal organism whose functions are undertaken and exercised, but not produced, by the individual priests. In short, what was once erroneously assumed to be true of physical life, viz., that it is something maintained by a peculiar vital spirit, instead of being, as we now know, a sort of reciproc-

[1] I will not assert that this logically primary condition has everywhere been the historical starting point of the further social development, yet in order to make clear the essential meaning of the division of labor among social organs the assumption of this primitive condition is permissible, even if it is only a fiction. In numberless cases it surely is not fiction.

ity between certain physical atoms—this, or something closely corresponding with it, is true of social life. In origin it is a direct reciprocity. Presently it is maintained by a special self-existing structure. These structures represent the idea or the power which holds the group together in this particular respect, and they, at the same time, consolidate the group coherence so that it passes from a mere functional to a substantial character.

It is one of the profoundest facts about humanity, and of most specific application to human conditions, that individuals as well as groups have derived considerable powers and advantages from structures which they have themselves endowed with the energies and qualities from which these reinforcements come. The effective energies of an actor, with which he secures his maintenance and development, exhibit themselves very often in the roundabout way of first producing an apparently objective structure, from which they then flow back upon the actor. Thus, for illustration, we act like a party waging war, who secures an ally, but first furnishes that ally with all the military resources which he is to use. Think, for instance, of the idea of the gods, whom men first endowed with all sorts of qualities, worthinesses, and excellencies reflected from human souls. Then the same men used these gods as a source of moral laws and of power to enforce them. Think again how we endow a fine country in which we live with meanings taken from our own feelings, and then draw from contemplation of the same comfort, earnestness, and impulse. Think again how often friend or wife seems to enrich us in thought and feeling, until we perceive that all this spiritual content came from ourselves, and is only reflected back upon us by these helpers. If in all such occurrences a deep self-deception is concealed, it is surely not without profound utility. Without question many powers of our nature require such extension, transformation, and projection in order to reach their highest use. We must set them at a certain distance from ourselves in order for them to work upon us with maximum force. Illusion about their actual source is evidently very advantageous in preventing interference with this influence.

Social elaboration of differentiated organs for special purposes occurs in many ways under the form-type just discussed. The group forces are concentrated in a special structure, which, in turn, with its own status and character, places itself in antithesis with the group as a whole. Since this organ promotes the purposes of the group, it appears as though independent energies proceeded from it. They are, in fact, nothing but the transformed energies of the same elements upon which the organ now reacts. Of what significance such organs are for the persistence of the group may be most clearly seen, perhaps, from observation of a contrasted instance. The original constitution of Germany, composed of numberless petty associations, went to pieces partly for the reason that the confederacies constructed no organs. They remained identical with the sum of the confederated members. The confederacy did not raise itself as an objective unity above these, and consequently did not succeed in giving this unity an incarnation in special functionaries. It had, to be sure, representatives with specific powers, but these were of purely individual character. A certain trusted person was commissioned to discharge just the needed functions. Such commissions from case to case are very often the origin of administrative offices and permanent organs of public life. In the early history of the German peoples, however, progress did not reach that stage. The unity of the group remained limited to the immediate reciprocities of the personal elements. This unity neither advanced to the objective civic idea, which the aggregate of individuals at any time would merely exemplify or represent, nor for that very reason to the special organs, of which each would assume a particular function, of which the whole body as such would accordingly be relieved. The disadvantageous influences of this lack upon the persistence of the group may be approximately summarized under the following heads:

1. The specialized organ permits greater flexibility of movement in the social body. So soon as it is necessary for the whole group to put itself in action for a single purpose, such as political determinations, judicial judgments, administrative meas-

ures, etc., the group will suffer from clumsiness, and that in two different ways: first, physically or locally. In order that the group as a whole may take action, it must needs assemble. It is so hard, and it takes so much time, and it is so often impossible to bring the whole group together, that many movements are altogether prevented, and others are so long impeded that they are at last too late. But if this external difficulty of assemblage is overcome, the difficulty of psychical approach arises—the task of bringing a great mass to unanimity. Every farsighted action of a large body must overcome the force of doubts, objections, antagonistic interests, and especially the indifference of individuals. The social organ that exists exclusively for this purpose, and which is composed of relatively few persons, is free from a large proportion of these obstructions. Such organs of the group promote its persistence, therefore, through an increased quickness and precision of social action, in contrast with which the movements of a whole group have an inflexible and dilatory character. These physical and psychological difficulties, so to speak, may dispose a mass to appoint representatives, even in case no technical difficulties of the tasks make it inevitable to do so. Thus an ordinance of the end of the fifteenth century, in the Dürkheim district, speaks of affairs "which would be too difficult for a whole community to manage. Accordingly eight competent persons were chosen from the community. These took oath that they would do all that the community had to perform." There are innumerable cases of similar representation of a large number to reach this external factor—agreement. A group of smaller number has merely for that reason, and without qualitative superiority, the advantage of easier mobility, of greater rapidity of assemblage, and of more precise determination, as compared with a multitude. The local difficulty appears, moreover, not alone in cases requiring the congregation of the whole group. It emerges in connection with economic exchanges. So long as exchange and purchase take place only when producers and consumers are actually in each other's presence, the transactions are evidently

clumsy and imperfect, and the difficulties of these local limitations must be contended with continually. So soon, however, as the trader intervenes, and finally a mercantile class systematizes exchange and brings into existence every sort of relationship between people with economic interests, the whole coherence of the group becomes immeasurably closer and stronger. The introduction of a new organ between the primary elements, like the sea between countries, operates, not as a barrier, but as a bond of union. The unity of the group, which consists in the commerce of each member with each other member by some sort of means, must become much more energetic and intimate when assisted by the activity of the mercantile class. Presently, through the continued action of this class, there arises a system of regularly functioning, reciprocally balanced forces and relations, as a universal form, in which production and consumption by individuals have a place as an accidental content. This general form rises above the single action, as the state is superior to the single citizen, or the church to the individual believer. By virtue of this development unlimited room is made for the economic relationships of individuals with each other. The endless multiplications of transactions, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the continuance of the organization itself, even in cases of occasional economic crises, bear witness to the significance which the elaboration of special organs has for the intimacy and durability of group union. At the same time, these phenomena bring clearly to view the imperfections of immediate reciprocity between individuals.

2. In case the whole group of equally privileged and equally stationed elements must exert itself for a specific purpose, there inevitably arise within the group counter efforts, each of which has *a priori* equal weight, and for which there is no decisive court of appeal. The most adequate expression of this condition is the case in which not even a majority may decide, but each dissenter either defeats the decision altogether or at least is personally not bound by it. This danger, not only for the external purposeful action, but also for the internal form and unity of the

group, is met by the development of social organs, at least in two directions. First, an administrative agency (*Amt*), a commission, a delegation, etc., will have more special knowledge than the aggregate of other persons. By resort to these substitutes those frictions and oppositions will be avoided which come from pure ignorance of the things involved. The group will be the more able to maintain such unity of action as comes from knowledge of the conditions concerned, and from exclusion of the vascillations due to mere subjective influences, the more the direction of its special plans is committed to an organ separately designated for the purpose. The significance of a second and related factor is not so obvious. The absence of adaptations to the circumstances, which so often prevents unity in the actions of the mass (for subjective errors are numberless, while in the case of objectively correct representations all must at last come to the same result), is not always the consequence of mere ignorance of the subject, but often also of the very important sociological fact that the factions, which, in connection with any important subject, always divide the group, stand for mental differences upon matters far removed from and wholly unrelated to the question in hand. These differences are evidence that accord is radically impossible. The party divisions that have arisen from any cause whatsoever are preserved throughout the whole range of interests, and bring it to pass that, for example, political parties must occupy hostile camps, even about religious, æsthetic, personal, and culture questions of every sort, even in cases where the content of the new party programmes has no real connection with that which caused the original division. The line which divides parties in any vital matter is produced through affairs of every possible sort, from generalities to particularities, and simply because opponents upon the important subject will not coöperate upon any other. The mere fact that the one party has taken sides upon any open question is sufficient to make the opposing party take the other side. This power of party, as a mere form which shows itself in unbroken continuance throughout the most heterogeneous kinds of inter-

ests, is one of the weightiest obstacles to the unification of a group, and even to the performance of any group action at all. This production of the line of hostility occurs also not merely where it separates whole divisions of groups. It appears as well in the relations of individuals with each other. The mere fact that *A* votes for the measure *m* is often enough to make his enemy vote against it. The factionalism and obstruction that follow should promote the tranference of group business to special organs. Since these are constituted with sole reference to the definite purpose in view, the latter is set farther apart psychologically from the other interests and opinions of the person to whom the purpose is intrusted. This purpose, therefore, receives on behalf of the members of the group an emphasis which would be lessened or lost if it were naïvely jumbled together with essentially unrelated tendencies. When social action is thus freed from the oppositions, entanglements, and centrifugal movements which spring from the association of special issues with other personal and party positions, this action becomes much more unified, animated, and purposeful (*zielbewusster*). The power of persistence in the group gains in the ratio in which that waste of energy ceases, which is involved in the above noted confusions and consequent paralyzing of forces, and which is unavoidable in the neglect of group tasks that is sure to exist if the group as a group tries to do its needed work.

3. While these advantages of social organs over the group as a whole in promoting the persistence of the group thus fall in with the *tempo* and rhythm of the powers or process that preserve the group, they extend furthermore to certain qualitative conditions. In the first place, it is decisive that the total action of the group will always be on a relatively low intellectual level. This is due to the fact that the particular point about which a large number of individuals agree must always be close to the level occupied by that one of them who stands lowest. This is evident from the fact that those who stand higher can descend, but not everyone on a lower intellectual level can ascend. The

latter sort, therefore, and not the former, determine the level which may be occupied in common.

In cases of agitation and expression of feelings this rule does not hold, because in an actually assembled mass of people there develops a certain collective irritability, a rapture (*Mitgerissen-werden*) of emotion, a reciprocal stimulation, so that there may follow a momentary elevation of the individuals above the average intensity of their feelings. This in no wise prejudges the appropriateness or inappropriateness of these feelings, nor the wisdom or foolishness of their content. In this respect the sentiments of the mass will remain on that level below the average which is accessible to lower and higher alike. That level may be raised sometimes, as experience shows, in respect of feeling and willing, but not in respect of intelligence.

While now the persistence of the group rests, on the one side, upon the immediate relations of individuals to individuals, and in so far the individual may unfold all the powers of intellect with which he is endowed, this is not absolutely true in those matters in which the group has to act as a unity. We may call the former the molecular action of the group, the latter the molar action. In the former kind of action representation of the individual is, in principle, neither possible nor desirable. In the latter it is both possible and desirable. When a group of any considerable size conducts its affairs directly, the group is shut up to relatively trivial actions by the inexorable condition that each member must in some degree comprehend and approve each group measure. Only when the guidance of group action is intrusted to an organization consisting of relatively few persons can specific talent be enlisted for its direction. Within a group acting as an undifferentiated mass such endowment and special knowledge as only the few may possess must at best fight their way to influence in each particular case. Within a differentiated organ, on the other hand, such endowment and knowledge have, in principle at least, uncontested influence.[1]

[1] To be sure, contrasted phenomena occur. Within an official bureau jealousy sometimes prevents talent from exerting its proper influence, while on the other hand

Therein lies the superiority of the parliamentary system over the plebiscite. It has been observed that direct popular votes seldom show a majority for original and bold measures. The popular majority is rather on the side of caution, convenience, and triviality. The single representative, whom the mass chooses, possesses still other personal qualities besides those which—especially during the epochs of purely partisan choices—are in the consciousness of the electing multitude. He brings to his post something in addition to that which was really chosen in selecting him. Hence in parliaments personal talents and intellectual shadings, such as are found only in single persons, may win a high degree of influence. They may even be able to promote the stability of the group by exerting influence that reaches over the gaps between parties which so often

the masses may sometimes easily follow a talented individual even when he leads contrary to their judgment. It is impossible for an abstract science like sociology to exhaust the whole abundance and complications of historical action when it exhibits the separate typical relationships. For, however correct may be the assertion of relationship, and however influential, the concrete occurrence will always contain a number of elements beside this, and in the final, visible, aggregate effect the influence of the typal form may be concealed. The science of physics is analogously made up in part of certain regular relationships of movements which never appear in the actual world just as they work out mathematically, or as they can be produced in the laboratory. Nevertheless, the demonstrated relations of force are real and operative in all those cases in which science has discovered their participation. Only their *visible* action is not entirely in accordance with the scientific schedule in which it is formulated, because beside them a number of other forces and conditions operate upon the same substance. In the resultant of both the former and the latter, which constitutes the actual event, the share of the formulated influence may be concealed from immediate observation. It may have contributed only an insensible and indistinguishable part. This indadequacy, which is exhibited by every sort of cognition through types, when compared with the concrete actuality, evidently reaches its culmination in the psychical sciences. In their territory not only the factors of the particular occurrence mix in almost inextricable complexity, but even the fate of a given element, that may be analyzed out of the confusion, is beyond determination by mathematics and experiment. No matter what correlation of cause and effect may be looked upon as the normal form by which to interpret historical events and psychological probabilities, there will be many cases in which the conditions of that type seem to be present, but the type itself does not emerge. This need not shake confidence in the correctness of the abstraction. It shows only that other, perhaps contrary, forces have worked upon the individuals in question, and that these latter have outweighed the former in the total or visible effect.

threaten group unity. To be sure, the effectiveness of the personal principle in parliaments is modified by new levelings; in the first place, because the parliament to which the single person speaks is itself a relatively large body. It includes extremely diverse parties and individuals, so that the points of common and reciprocal understanding can lie only very low in the intellectual scale.[1] In the second place, because the individual belongs to a party which, as such, stands not on an individual but on a social plane, by which its parliamentary activities are *a priori* reduced to an average level. In the third place, because the individual speaks, indirectly but intentionally, to the whole country. These subtractions from the intellectual advantages of constituting organs are necessary only in the case of parliaments. They do not equally affect other forms. Indeed, these very disadvantages give proof, as the higher developments of parliamentarism show, that the differentiation of organs is necessary. In England the impossibility of governing with a body so numerous, so heterogeneous, so inconstant, and yet at the same time so immobile as the house of commons, led at the end of the seventeenth century to the establishment of the ministry. The English ministry is in fact an organ of Parliament. It is related to Parliament somewhat as the latter to the whole country. Since it is composed of leading members of Parliament, and represents the majority of that body for the time being, it combines the total tendency of the largest group—which it at the same time displays in sublimated form—with the advantages of individual gifts. This combination could nowhere else have such effectiveness as in a system of leadership by single individuals and within a body as small as a ministry. The English ministry is a well-adapted means of further concentrating the differentiated organ, and thus of counterbalancing the deficiencies in which the organ reproduces the defects of the aggregate group action, to avoid which the organ was instituted.

[1] What a poor order of wit, for example, is shown by parliamentary reports to have roused the legislators' hilarity.

The proof of the necessity of building such organs is not to be derived in part only, as in the above case, but in other cases entirely *ex contrario.* The enormous expenditure of time and means required for progressive measures by the civic machinery in the United States is charged by Bryce to the fact that public opinion has to accomplish everything, while there is no such guiding authority as the ministries are in Europe. Neither in Congress nor in the legislatures of the several states are there administrative officers with ministerial authority, whose special duty and life task it would be to take the initiative upon untried ground, to unify legislative consideration by introducing guiding ideas, to bear responsibility for maintenance and progress of the whole — in short, to do what only individuals as such can do, and which, as this example shows, cannot be supplied by the mass action of the primary group element — here in the form of "public" opinion.

All these factors combine to expose a society without differentiated organs not merely to the disintegrating and destructive forces which every social structure develops in itself, but also to powerful individual forces, in confronting which such a society is defenseless. In the very case to which we attached this discussion, the old German confederate constitution, this condition was fatal. It was not strong enough to oppose those masterful rulers who appeared during and after the Middle Ages in the provincial and central principalities. It collapsed because it lacked what only organs constituted by individual powers can assure to a state — quickness of decision, unconditional concentration of all resources, and that highest intellectuality which is developed only by individuals, whether because their motive is love of power or the sense of responsibility.

On the other hand, the persistence of the group depends on the fact that the organ thus differentiated does not attain *absolute* independence. Rather must the idea remain ever operative (although by no means always conscious) that the organ is in fact only a corporealized abstraction of the reciprocal action within the group itself. The group remains always the founda-

tion. Its powers, developments, purposes, only receive a peculiarly practical form in the organs. The latter only exhibit the mode in which the directly reciprocating primary elements of the group may work out their latent energies most completely and efficiently. So soon as the differentiation of the organ releases it from dependence upon the aggregate movements of the group, its preservative action may be turned into a destructive influence. I suggest two types of grounds for this: First, when the organ gains too vigorous independent life, and does not place the emphasis of its importance upon the worth of its service to the group, but upon its value to itself, the persistence of the organ may come into conflict with the persistence of the group. A relatively harmless case, but for that very reason one that quite clearly represents the type, is the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic body, a formal organization for exercising an extended administration, constitutes in itself a scheme which frequently clashes with the variable requirements of practical social life. This, on the one hand, because the departmental work of the bureaucratic system is not adjusted with reference to very individual and complicated cases, which none the less must be disposed of by means of the bureaucratic machinery; on the other hand, because the *tempo* in which the bureaucratic wheels must revolve is often in striking contrast with the urgency of the particular case. If now a structure with such functional inadequacies forgets its rôle as merely servitor of the group, and deports itself as though its own existence were its ultimate purpose, the difference between its life forms and those of the whole group must eventuate in positive harm to the latter. The persistence of both is no longer compatible. In this respect we might compare bureaucratic with logical schematism. The latter bears about the same relation to knowledge of reality in general that the former bears to civic administration. Each is a tool and a form, indispensable in connection with the content which it is called to order, but the whole meaning and purpose of each lie in this content. When logic poses, however, as independent knowledge, and, without reference to the real content of which

it is a mere form, presumes to construct of itself a separate intelligence, it makes for itself a world which usually presents marked contrasts with the real universe. The logical forms abstracted and organized into a science are merely an organ for comprehension of the totality of things. So soon, however, as logic declines this rôle and strives after complete self-sufficiency, so soon as logic attempts to be the conclusion rather than the medium of understanding, it becomes as obstructive to the preservation, extension, and unification of knowledge as bureaucratic schematism may be to the aggregate interests of the group.

Even the law does not always avoid this sociological complication. The law is aboriginally that form of reciprocal relationship between the group members which has approved itself as most necessary for the stability of the group. The form which the law defines is not sufficient of itself to assure this stability or the progress of the society in which it is in force. The law of any group is the minimum, which must be preserved as the foundation of the existence of that group. The elaboration of organs is, in this connection, double. From transactions actually demanded, and as a rule really customary, there differentiates itself "the law," the abstracted form and norm of just these transactions, logically connected and completed, which then remains as a standard to which real action shall conform. This group-preserving organ, being composed of ideas, needs still further a concrete organ in order that it may be effective against opposition. Technical relations brought about the destruction of that original unit in which either the *pater familias* or the assembled group rendered judgment. A special class became necessary to assure the integrity of the legal norms in the acts of the group elements. But useful and necessary as are both these developments—the abstraction of group conduct with arrangement into a completed system of laws, and the incarnation of the law in a judicial class—yet from both comes unavoidably the danger that the very necessary firmness and completeness (*innere Geschlossenheit*) of these structures may some time come into collision with the demands of group prog-

ress or with the requirements of cases containing specific complications. Through the logical cohesion of its structure and the dignity of its administrators, the law attains not only an independence which is actual, and for its purpose necessary to a very great extent, but it derives from within itself—by a *circulus vitiosus*, to be sure —a claim to unlimited and irresponsible independence. Since now the concrete circumstances of the group sometimes demand other conditions for its maintenance, situations occur which have been expressed in the words *fiat justitia pereat mundus*, and *summum jus summa injuria*. The attempt is made to give the law that flexibility and adaptability which are appropriate to its character as an organ, by leaving to the judge a certain scope in the application and interpretation of statutes. On the borders of this territory within judicial discretion occur those cases of collision between the persistence of the law and that of the group which may here serve as illustrations of the fact. The group must allow its organs to acquire a certain staunchness and independence, or they could not promote the maintenance of the group. Precisely this necessary stability of the organ may efface its organic character. The autonomy and rigidity of the organ that acts as though it were an independent whole may turn into an injury of group unity.

In the case of bureaucracy, as in that of legal formalism, this conversion of an organ into a self-governing totality is the more dangerous because it takes the appearance and offers the pretext of being always for the sake of the whole. The attitude of the army sometimes fulfills this sociological form. This organ of group maintenance must, for technical reasons, be itself, so far as possible, an organism. To develop its professional qualities, particularly its close inner coherence, there is need of sharp distinction between it and other social classes. Hence the utility of various means, from the special code of honor among the officers to the distinctive uniform. Much as this promotion of the military order to independence serves the interests of the whole, it may assume such absoluteness and rigidity as to set the army apart from the group as a state within the state. This

cuts the connection with the root, from which after all its whole force and direction must come. The modern national army tries to anticipate this danger. By the device of universal liability to military service for a certain period a fortunate means is found of combining the independence of the military system with its organic character.

But not alone the possible antagonism between the whole and the parts, between the group and its organ, should hold the independence of the latter within certain bounds; but the same is desirable in order that, in case of necessity, the differentiated function may revert to the group. There is this peculiarity about the evolution of society, that its preservation sometimes calls for temporarily throwing out of service organs that have already been differentiated. This is not to be regarded as closely analogous with those structural degenerations which take place in animal organisms from changes in the conditions of life, as for example in visual organs that have become rudimentary after the habitat has long been in the dark. In these cases the function itself becomes superfluous, and for that reason the organ performing the function gradually dies away. In the social developments now in mind, on the contrary, the function is indispensable, and on that account, when the organ proves unequal to its performance, recourse must be had to that unmediated reciprocity between primary group elements as a substitute for which the organ was originally developed.

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(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft.

GEORG REIMER, Berlin, has issued the first number of this journal, which is to appear monthly, under the editorial direction of Dr. Julius Wolf, formerly of Zürich, now professor of the social sciences at Breslau, author of *System der Sozialpolitik.*

The new journal is "not for investigators alone, but for citizens, members of parliament, and administrators and their officials, merchants, employers, and laborers." "The occupations of all these make attention to social questions necessary." It proposes to be "scientific," but not "technical." It will "cultivate the whole field of the social sciences. The heaviest burden will fall on national economy, but this is not the only science which must furnish building material for the structure of social science. More and more are other sciences professing to work upon problems of a social nature, and to make the results tributary to social solutions. The *Zeitschrift* accordingly has two objects: first, to be a bridge between social science and the public; second, to be a point of union between the exponents of natural science and the exponents of economic and other political sciences, in so far as both concern themselves with social affairs. National economy, social philosophy, and social ethics, also social history and social jurisprudence, ought to direct their pursuits toward synthetic results. Not in treatment of problems strictly within their own limits, but in dealing with so-called social problems, these sciences will have a place in the *Zeitschrift* in company with the evolutionary theory, anthropology, mass and individual psychology, medicine and hygiene."

While not neglecting more general considerations, the *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft* will pay particular attention to aspects of social problems that are of special interest to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. We welcome the new journal, and hope it will be able to realize its ideals.

ALBION W. SMALL.

Année Sociologique.

A NEW sociological review (annual) is announced, with above title, under the direction of Professor Émile Durkheim, of Bordeaux. The contents of the first number, which has not yet reached us, are as follows: Première partie—*Mémoires originaux:* I, É. Durkheim, "La prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines (L'exogamie);" II, G. Simmel, "Comment les forces sociales se maintiennent."[1] Deuxième partie—*Analyses et notices bibliographiques des ouvrages et articles parus sur les questions suivantes:* I, "Sociologie générale;" II, "Sociologie religieuse" (Études générales de religions comparées. Religions primitives. Cultes domestiques. Rites funéraires et cultes des morts. Cultes agraires. Rituel. Mythes. Organisation du culte); III, "Sociologie morale et juridique" (Études sur l'évolution du droit et de la morale. Études sur les mœurs en général. La Famille. Le Mariage. La Peine. L'organisation sociale. Le droit de propriété. Divers); IV, "Sociologie criminelle" (Statistique morale. Le crime et les races. Facteurs particuliers du crime: sexe, âge, profession, alcoolisme. Vagabondage. Criminalité, politique. Questions diverses); V, "Sociologie économique" (Études sur la valeur. Conceptions économiques générales. Groupes professionnels. Histoire du travail. Évolution commerciale); VI, "Divers" (L'Anthropo-sociologie. La socio-géographie. Questions de démographie). A. W. S.

Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie. Von DR. PAUL BARTH, Privatdocenten an der Universität zu Leipzig. Erster Teil: Einleitung und kritische Uebersicht. Leipzig, 1897. Pp. xvi + 396.

THE author's position appears in such propositions as these: "History as science has for its subject-matter human societies and their changes. In recent years sociology has claimed this definition for itself. Sociology is, therefore, nothing but history arrived at consciousness of its task" (p. 4). "A complete sociology would, therefore, be completely identical with historical philosophy. There is only a difference in the names. Since the name 'sociology,' however, *i. e.*, 'the science of society,' emphasizes only one object (*i. e.*,

[1] This is an abbreviated version of the paper by DR. SIMMEL of which the first half appears in the present number of this JOURNAL.

society), and leads to neglect of the other object, the human type, it is advisable to call the scientific treatment of history 'philosophy of history,' a name with a much older historical claim than sociology" (p. 10). "There is but *one* science of the fortunes of the human species, call it sociology, or the philosophy of society, or, as we have decided for ourselves, philosophy of history" (p. 12).

It is fortunately dawning upon a great many students that there can be "but one science of society," but few are now so bold as to think the time has come to give that one science a perfectly adequate name. The main thing is to be sure that, whatever be the section of the sometime-to-be "one science" in which we are doing our work, our method is fit to make our work tributary to the ultimate result. We ought not to waste much more time about names, unless it is clear that they seriously help or hinder scientific processes. Whether Dr. Barth's work will contain an actual contribution to the "one science" cannot be judged until the second volume appears. The present volume contains some very acute criticism, by no means always valid, however, but it is chiefly a résumé of the various sociological theories from Saint-Simon to Kidd. The book will be to many a convenient epitome of the growth of sociology up to date. Dr. Barth discusses first the beginnings of sociology. With summary reference to Plato, Aristotle, the mediæval and Renaissance philosophers, he virtually credits Saint-Simon with having originated the new way of looking at society for which his pupil presently supplied the name. Barth makes a very successful exhibit of the further dependence of Comte upon his master and rival. The author, nevertheless, calls Comte's "the first sociological system." Barth discusses the successors of Comte under the heads: "The Classifying Sociology": viz., E. Littré, De Roberty, De Greef, Lacombe, and Wagner; "The Biological Sociology": Spencer, Lilienfeld, Schäffle, Fouillée, Worms; "The Dualistic Sociology": Ward, Mackenzie, Hauriou, Giddings, and various popular writers. The author adds to his account in each case an estimate of the group discussed.

The second division treats of "The One-sided Conceptions of History," *i.e.*, first, the individualistic; second, the anthropological; third, the ethnological; fourth, the "cultural;" fifth, the political; sixth, the ideological; seventh, the economical. The third and last division approaches what seems to be the purpose of the author, the proposal of a new philosophy of history. The first chapter attempts to argue

down the view that a philosophy of history is impossible. The second sketches the author's own view, viz., that we must take the horde as the germ of human society, with promiscuity and belief in spirits as its prominent traits. From this as a beginning the course of development is through the "first organization," the tribe (*Stamm*), arranged in "group-families," contemporary with animism; second, the tribe arranged in *gentes*, contemporary with naturalistic polytheism. Then law-giving, from which came social classes, and from natural religion legal religion. The decline of class structure came along with heterogeneous conceptions of the world. Mediæval social stratification was broken up by absolutism, yet a great revival followed in the sixteenth century, due to the ethical idealism of Protestant religion and the culture of "humanism." In the present century "liberalism" has prevailed, side by side with an inductive, analytical habit. The outcome is present need of revising ethical judgments to get a basis for a better social order.

Readers would look for the second volume with more interest if the sketch contained in this third division thus outlined had been omitted. It promises something more like a topical index than a philosophy, and it provokes the suspicion that its expansion will turn out to be very weak dilettantism.

ALBION W. SMALL.

The History of Mankind. By FRIEDRICH RATZEL. Translated from the German by A. J. Butler. Vol. II. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Pp. 562, 8vo.

THIS second volume continues the work, which will probably be completed in three volumes. It is a description of the world's populations from the ethnographic standpoint. The parts of the work contained in Vol. II are: Book II—D. "The Americans;" E. "The Arctic Races of the Old World;" Book III—"The Light Stocks of South and Central Africa;" Book IV—"The Negro Races;" A. "The South and East Africans." Necessarily the treatment is of the most condensed sort. To cover the whole field of ethnography in three volumes is no easy task. The work is naturally one of reference rather than of easy reading. The two most extended and important discussions in the volume are those dealing with the Americans and with negro peoples of south and east Africa. It is possible to err in

dealing with such vast masses of population as units. Could we be sure that all Americans or all negroes were of a single origin, such a mode of considering them and dealing with them might be justified. As it is, a generalization drawn from Eskimo may have little application to Botocudos. The book is handsomely illustrated with pictures of race types and objects of culture in great variety. These themselves are a valuable contribution to science.

F. STARR.

La Pubertà studiata nell'Uomo e nella Donna in rapporto all'antropologia, alla psichiatria, alla pedagogia ed alla sociologia. Per ANTONIO MARRO. Torino: Fratelli Bocca editori, 1898. Pp. 507.

THE author is already well known in the field of psychiatry and criminology by important works. He has been trained for this special investigation by his education and experience as a general physician, a medical officer in a prison and an asylum for the insane, and by his position as docent in the university.

Much of this work must be left to medical men, and especially to alienists, for criticism. The early chapters are devoted to the normal physiology of adolescence, and to the important physical and psychical phenomena of this crisis period. The fifth chapter gives an account of the abnormal phenomena in degenerates. The appearance of insanity at this crisis is next studied, and then the effects of surgical operations. Three chapters are given to etiology of degeneracy; four chapters to hygienic treatment, and the other divisions discuss educational, prophylactic, and social measures for prevention or mitigation of evils.

Among the causes of morbid developments at puberty the author names the alcoholic habit of parents. Temperance reformers will find fresh ammunition in these pages. Statistical proofs are given of the injurious effects in offspring of the marriages of persons of advanced years.

The author counts among the most valuable means of health for adolescents careful physical training, nutritious food, abstinence from stimulants and narcotics, and plenty of outdoor exercise. He has confidence in the regulative power of music. The bicycle merchant can well afford to republish his praises of the wheel, and reckless

riders would do well to lay to heart his counsels of moderation. He favors coeducation for most young people, and has a good word for the American girls who earn their own way along with the college boys. He would have shops, gardens, and fields connected with all secondary schools and colleges, on the principle that useful work in the open air has great physical and moral value for adolescents.

The author lays great stress on the doctrine that early marriages and sexual commerce are injurious, and that illicit intercourse is especially harmful. The normal development of the entire body is perverted, the happiness of the individual is discounted, offspring are likely to be defective, pauperism is made more certain, and society is burdened with a proletariate. The accumulation of energy depends on the cultivation in youth of the power and habit of inhibition of appetite. Self-denial must be learned by continence. Criminals, as a rule, are devoid of foresight and self-control; they yield easily to instincts of combativeness and lust; and their thefts are frequently committed to secure means of winning women. Early sexual satisfaction does not regulate but intensifies this savage and animal disposition and character. This chapter is a good antidote for the wicked advice given in Bebel's *Die Frau*, which is so popular among certain socialists of Germany.

C. R. HENDERSON.

Anarchism. A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory. By E. V. ZENKER. Pp. xiii + 323. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

"ONLY when we have ceased to thrust aside the theory of anarchism as madness from the first; only when we have perceived that one can and must understand many things that we certainly cannot like, only then will anarchists also place themselves on a closer human footing with us, and learn to love us as men, even though they often, perhaps, cannot understand us, and of their own accord abandon their worst argument, the bomb." (Preface, p. 9.)

"Anarchism may be defined etiologically as disbelief in the suitability of constituted society. With such views there would be only one way in which we could cut the ground from under the anarchists' feet. Society must anxiously watch that no one should have reason to doubt its intention of letting justice have free sway, but must raise up the despairing, and by all means in its power lead them back to

their lost faith in society. A movement like anarchism cannot be conquered by force and injustice, but only by justice and freedom." (P. 322.)

Between this premise and conclusion the author has inserted a complete, orderly, and discriminating account of theoretical anarchism. He occasionally waxes so sympathetic toward the views he is expounding that doubts about his "hostility to anarchism" perplex the reader. He tones down much of the bitterness of anarchistic philosophy by infusion of his own good will, and in expurgated rendering he makes much plausible that refutes itself by its own vehemence in the original. In spite of this idealization of conceptions that are ill-balanced at best, in spite of a pervading implication that, because the authors of these vicious theories are not as bad as their theories, therefore the theories themselves are not bad, the material is well organized, and the book will be useful. ALBION W. SMALL.

The report of the National League for the Protection of the Family.

THE report for 1897 contains material which every student of the domestic institution should consider. The former name of the society was the Divorce Reform League, and the change is an improvement. The topics discussed are: "Legislation on the Family in 1897," "Marriage Laws," "Divorce Legislation," the "Relation of the Home to Other Subjects." Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D., Auburndale, Mass., is secretary. C. R. HENDERSON.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Studies in Anthropo-Sociology.—Two principal anthropological elements compose the population of Europe: *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*, differing in general in height, complexion, and color of hair and eyes, but definitely distinguished on the basis of length of head—the former being dolichocephalic, the latter brachycephalic. Each element has its peculiar aptitudes and tendencies, and the aptitudes and tendencies of a population appear to vary according as it contains a majority of dolichocephalics or brachycephalics. The relations which exist, or seem to exist, between certain anthropological characters and certain social phenomena have been formulated in laws, and the whole constitutes a new science, anthropo-sociology. Cranial measurements made by the author on a considerable number of pupils in different schools have furnished results of two sorts. First, they simply verify the laws formulated by Ammon and Lapouge on the basis of several thousand measurements. Other results seem to indicate that there exists a relation between the form of the skull and certain tendencies, radical or conservative, in the substance of instruction, and a relation between scholastic success and the absolute dimensions of the skull. The longer cranium seems to coincide either with more energy or with greater intellectual aptitude. Of the anthropo-sociological laws three in particular are verified by the author's measurements—the law of urban indices, the law of stratification, and the law of intellectual classes with an important restriction. Four tables are given in verification: Table I, urban and rural indices (Saint-Brieuc); Table II, cephalic indices of day-scholars (urban) and boarders (rural); Table III, cephalic indices of pupils and peasants of Saint-Brieuc; Table IV, résumé and proportion of subjects to various indices. Comparing the dimensions of the skulls of the better students with the poorer in the same classes, Table V shows in the classes of science and modern (technical) instruction 62 of the better students with an average index of 82.01, and 156 of the poorer students with an average index of 82.92. Moreover, the absolute dimensions, both breadth and length, are greater in the case of the former. In the classical instruction the case is quite different, Table VI showing the brachycephalics to be at the head of the classes, with both greater breadth and less length of skull, the index being 83.81 to 82.72 for the poorer students. This variation is partially explained by the geographic origin of the classical students from the most brachycephalic region. But there still remains the fact that the dolichocephalics go by preference to the modern instruction and succeed little in the classic. This is to be explained on the general ground of the differences in the tendencies of the two types. "The brachycephalic is the man of tradition." The dolichocephalic seeks action, functioning. His superiority is accentuated in real life, and he attains the highest political, commercial, industrial, or scientific position.—H. MUFFANG, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, November, 1897.

Economic Progress and Social Ethics.—The economic side of life is entirely dominant in society and it constitutes the very basis of the social movement of our epoch. The problem, then, is to discover the formulæ of economic progress and social well-being corresponding to the necessities of our time and the needs of a *partie sociale*. Examining man from the social point of view, but without reference to any existing organization, these formulæ are: (1) "Theoretically, every normal man is obliged to produce, directly or indirectly, and under pain of vital loss, everything that is indispensable to his nutrition, clothing, lodging, protection, and amusement, in quantity and quality appropriate to his temperament, his state of health, the place he

inhabits, and his kind of labor." (2) "The general or average well-being of man can be obtained, especially in our epoch, only by the labor of the capable man utilizing chiefly his force of will, his intelligence, and his power of action over other men and over machines, associated, on the one hand, with that of the man of less capacity acting chiefly as an animated motor, and, on the other hand, with that of the machine." (3) "Theoretically, the time economized in the labor of the total production, due to the intervention of the capable man and the use of machines, ought to be devoted to the instruction of the productively capable," in order that the total production may be increased without increase in the number of men devoted to it. Considering society as it is, however, these economic laws are considerably disturbed. Each actual man does not furnish his quota to the total production, according to the first law. Contrary to the second law, really incapable men are engaged in production because they are capitalists, and capital has a power of action superior even to true productive capacity. Moreover, the evil is often multiplied by capitalistic heredity. The direction of progress in society ought to be such that this evil may be progressively reduced. The practical means to this end is an inheritance tax progressing by generations, with a view to the ultimate elimination of capital transmitted by heredity. The true social party should reject the sentimental formula, "to everyone according to his needs," for the formula of economic progress — to everyone according to his productivity useful to the universal well-being. Passing to the intellectual domain, the first consideration of the social party should be the principle of free inquiry, to seek the positive truth and to reject the arbitrary. In science, religion, and ethics the immediate end should be the gradual extension of the proven or generally accepted body of knowledge in the different spheres to every man according to the degree of his receptivity and by virtue of the time progressively economized in production. The final situation aimed at in the application of the formulæ of the social good and the social evil is the greatest possible material and intellectual equality between men, and in consequence the universal elevation of the average life of man, in which we sum up the whole *morale sociale*.—E. SOLVAY, *Annales de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales*, December, 1897.

Ideal and Positive Science in Sociology.—Today the opinion is general that sociological research should end where truth may only be divined, not demonstrated. But to admit hypothesis and pure reason in sciences such as chemistry, physics, and natural history, which treat of external phenomena accessible to experiment, and not admit them in a subject whose phenomena originate in the human mind and are manifested by a mechanism so complicated as society, is contrary to good sense. That the human mind seeks the hidden realities, inaccessible first causes, is an observed fact proved by the study of every epoch and by the feelings of each people and individual. It is then legitimate, being necessary and natural. De Santis said: "The germs of metaphysics are so alive in the human heart that even the materialists had some." Comte said that positivism signified the insurrection of science against the heart.

True, the principles obtained by ideal science will never reach the certainty of those of positive science. Ideal science exists for particular sciences as well as for science as a whole. Physics comes upon the enigma of *force*, biology to the great mystery of *life*, etc.

Every social phenomenon results from human action, and hence originates in the stimuli which direct human conduct; so it contains the same problems as metaphysics, though presented more concretely. Their solution is of more than philosophical interest. Why is the human conscience growing more altruistic? Why does not the evolution of conscience in various peoples follow the same track? Why does it not advance with the same rapidity? What end will it reach? What is the relation between the social conscience and that of individuals? What is the law of moral progress? These and others are the high problems of ideal science, certainly important for sociology. What are the formulæ of civilization? History cannot tell us, neither can observation, for the perfect civilization does not yet exist. Sociology studies such problems from a special point of view, connecting results with what has been ascer-

tained by positive science. To deny sociology access to this ideal sphere is to keep it inadequate and fragmentary.—VINCENZO TANGORRA, *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, September, 1897.

Sociology and Juridical History.—The plodding scholar who turns from his minute and patient historico-juridic investigations will be struck by the abundance of sociological works lately produced. He may comfort himself by thinking that a little truth is better than a gigantic hypothesis. What he makes known may be little, but is never irrelevant or useless. He coöperates in the common work, as the microscopist contributes to natural history. Most sociologists do not recognize the value of his work. Since Darwin and Spencer the savage is their chief material. Historic erudition, minute investigation to wrest from antiquity a small secret, seem to many useless pedantry. Travelers' tales of barbarians, colored by preconceived theories and uncorrected by philology, have been unduly valued. The juridic student believes as firmly as anyone in evolution. He sees it today in the struggle between institutions. He understands the advantage of applying to sociology the methods of natural history, but he has seen with regret a mania for generalizing, a borrowing of terms rather than methods. Juridic history should furnish the bones for reconstructions. We ought not yet to say what society is, much less to describe its future phases. Imitate naturalists. They do not say what a species will be two centuries from now. True, many students of the philosophy of law spread their wings in an atmosphere far from things of this world, while many devotees of sociology, without knowing at all the history of their own country, fancying that great biological principles are enough, confidently declare the past, present, and future of human society. It is time for all to use judgment. True science will gain when the study of human society is begun and continued by a study of facts, in a scientific spirit, with all the means that ethnical, philological, and juridical culture offers. What is lost in extension will be gained in intensity.—N. TAMASSIA, *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, September, 1897.

The Sociology of Suggestion.—In a recent volume Nordau has treated the theory of social suggestion in much the same manner as Tarde. His main point is his conception of the genius as exercising the same functions in society as the nerve centers in the individual. Nothing appears to him more delusive than the search for permanent characters in the social mind which is in reality constantly modified by individual minds. Under the term suggestion is put another phenomenon, that of the powerful action of the social environment upon the individual. This seems more easily sustained than the former. The influence of tradition is so great that men seem incapable of adopting a universal language. The fact that the actual leaders of a people are seldom its superior men stands in marked opposition to Nordau's theory of genius suggestion. The explanation of suggestion by a study of hypnotism as merely an exaggerated form is incorrect. The causes of hypnotism are secondary and abnormal in themselves, and do not form the law of normal states. The theory of hypnotism cannot be carried over and applied to unconscious suggestion. The "sense of imitation" is put upon a purely mechanical basis. "In normal conditions the more perfect individual exercises suggestion over the less perfect, but the inverse does not occur." Experience does not favor this doctrine. An explanation of intellectual phenomena is not found in suggestion. Suggestion comprehends only the affective states, whose intensity and duration have no relation to culture, intelligence, or the normal action of the will. A great difference exists between the reproduction of examples (imitation) and the socialization of general inventions. History presents this general law: "A doctrine can conquer the world only by loosing its personal connection with its founder; example operates to maintain small groups of disciples who vanish; the mass adapts the invention to its conditions of life, makes it its own, and renders it sometimes unrecognizable."—*Le Devenir social*, August–September, 1897.

Official Investigation of the George Junior Republic.—The Committee of the New York State Board of Charities on Placing out Dependent Children, after a visit in the summer of 1897 to the George Junior Republic, made a report derogatory to the

latter, which was circulated by the Associated Press, and worked serious injury to the financial support of the republic. As a consequence the trustees appointed a committee to visit the republic and make a report to the trustees concerning the validity of the charges, and also to address a letter on the subject to the state board and to the public. The committee was composed of Professor J. W. Jenks and Professor Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of Cornell University; Professor W. F. Blackman, of Yale University; Professor J. R. Commons, of Syracuse University; Mr. D. M. Osborne and Mr. F. W. Richardson, of Auburn; and Mr. Frederic Almy, of the Buffalo Associated Charities. The substance of the state board's report is as follows: They assert (1) that the children are kept at the republic for only a short time in the summer, and that the plan of self-government was devised solely to keep the youngsters from depredations upon the farmers of the neighborhood; (2) that Mr. George and his family are alone in the experiment, and that they do not grasp the situation in all its bearings; (3) that the financial support is voluntary and inadequate; (4) that there is a total absence of family life among the boys and girls, and a promiscuous "hotel" takes its place; (5) that familiarity with the "police" court and trials of the republic is demoralizing; (6) that sanitary conditions are lacking, and (7) that there is disorder and uncleanliness. The final paragraph circulated by the Associated Press was as follows: "That, so far as it has been developed, this effort stands only as an experiment and endeavor to establish, under a police system, respect for and consideration of the rights of others on the part of a miscellaneous community of hitherto neglected juveniles. That, while it takes from the crowded slums of our great cities a few wayward and neglected children needing a change of scene and air, and during a brief period restrains them from trespassing upon the rights of others, it lacks those features which are essential to success and permanence. Without any suggestion of the family, and barren of any educational provisions, which are the foundation upon which all efforts for reform must be based, and upon which ordinary social life is dependent, it stands only as an ingenious effort at temporary restraint. Laying aside all sentiment, and viewing it solely from the standpoint of the practical, your committee feels that it possesses none of the essentials of success."

The committee appointed by the board of trustees of the republic, in a note drafted by Professor Jenks and addressed to the state board of charities, called their attention to the fact, (1) that, while the republic originated as a fresh-air camp, its promoters are now emphasizing continuous residence for two or three years with a gradual elimination of the summer encampment, and that the winter residents now number forty-six. (2) That, while the boys make their own laws, Mr. George controls them actually by suggestion rather than dictation. (3) That the republic should not be judged by the ideals of a reform school, where the superintendent enforces right *actions* in the way of neatness, order, and industry, though those actions may not betoken a corresponding disposition. In the republic the child is expected to acquire his good habits as a result of experience, and, therefore, if the plan is to be fairly tried, the superintendent might properly be censured if the conditions were not the free ones of daily life; that there is a decided improvement in order and cleanliness among the citizens who have been longest in residence. (4) That a school system has been established under the charge of a graduate of Cornell University, and that, while, indeed, larger facilities are needed, the republic does inculcate to a remarkable degree habits of thrift, of self-reliance, of honesty, of self-control, the habits most essential in character. (5) That, while the surroundings lack much from the æsthetic point of view, they are not unsanitary, and there has never been any sign of an epidemic, nor any case of disease, that could be ascribed to local conditions; disinfectants are freely used, and rooms and closets are well cared for. (6) That the police court is not an evil. Familiarity with the ordinary police court is an evil influence, but the pressure of the opinion of one's peers in favor of good order as applied through the courts of the republic is a far more ennobling influence than the infliction of corporal punishment, or of imprisonment by a superintendent. Boys who would brazenly face a police magistrate break down completely under the admonition of a judge of their own. Respect for law and order, and for public officers of the republic, is one of the most noteworthy benefits produced by the system. (7) Family life can never be reached in any

institution outside the family itself. Mr. and Mrs. George have done much to supply this need. In the association of boys and girls not one instance of improper conduct has been observed. The cottage system is being adopted as rapidly as possible, and two buildings are provided for. (8) Another woman of refinement, who would teach the children to set a higher value upon neat clothing, etc., would have a further elevating effect upon their characters. (9) The evils of the republic, while at times serious, are to be ascribed in part to lack of funds; in part to the fact that Mr. George himself, in looking chiefly at the more important matters of the inner life of the children, has at times neglected things that seemed to him of minor importance. But some so-called evils are no evils at all — simply appearances made necessary by the method. (10) That Mr. George's plan is pedagogically sound and should receive a fair trial.

The Place of the Political and Social Sciences in Modern Education.— The function of education has been rapidly passing in this century from private to state management, and as a result education has necessarily undergone a change both in methods, in spirit, and in point of view. How has this affected the relationship of the social sciences to education and the training for citizenship in the modern free states? I propose this thesis in answer: That the political and social sciences must be used for purposes of education in all its stages, from the university to the kindergarten.

Both the natural and the social sciences have had a hard fight to gain a footing beside the aristocracy of the classics, but it is now being recognized that the study of the external world about us is not only valuable as a means of intellectual discipline, but that no education can be well rounded, complete, or in harmony with actual life conditions which does not, from the beginning, systematically study the world about us. This is especially necessary in a political society such as the United States. Ancient Greece, modern England, and Germany, though constitutionally governed, yet act upon the general theory that there is a certain class in the communities set apart by heredity, wealth, or social position to hold the controlling influence in the political acts of the society.

We have thrown that theory overboard entirely. We act on the theory that every man — perhaps soon every woman — is not only honest and patriotic, but capable of forming an opinion upon the complex political problems of today. This government cannot succeed unless the individual has some training for his destiny. It must be done also to create an interest in public affairs. It must be done in the lower grades and high schools, as well as the colleges, for few of the masses enter the high school even, *very* few the college; yet they are voters. These studies also will, perhaps, be found equal or superior to mathematics and the classics as mental discipline; and they are vastly superior to the classics in fitting men to understand and adjust themselves to the world they live in. It is a hopeful sign that some of the universities are planning departments of politics and of commerce, placing them at last upon an equality with law and medicine.— E. J. JAMES, *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1898.

The Bearing of the Doctrine of Selection upon the Social Problem.— Adam Smith felt in 1776 that it was necessary, in view of the feeling among the upper classes, to adduce arguments to show that the improvement in circumstances of the lower ranks of the people need not be regarded as a disadvantage or an inconvenience to society. It is unnecessary to point out the great contrast which this incident illustrates in the public sentiment of the two centuries, the eighteenth and nineteenth. The "fellow feeling" now existing among men does much to substantiate the claim that the problem of well-being is one which belongs peculiarly to the present time. The discontent of the masses with their lot, whether well or ill-founded, it is not our purpose to inquire; but it is receiving sympathy and attention by the intellectual and better-to-do classes as never before; and it may be worth while to ask what considerations should determine our attitude towards the social problem. The law of selection is not indeed the only, nor even the main, determinant of one's attitude towards God or man. The application of the principles of the "survival of the fittest" is per-

haps done a little more cautiously than formerly; but it is a question whether we have yet, for purposes of social study, exhausted the significance of the "selective slaughter." The selective process has been altered and modified, but it is nevertheless still operative. The lower we get in the social scale, the more pitilessly do we find it operating, as is shown by the high rate of mortality and the short duration of life among the submerged tenth. The "unfit" do perish from inadequate food, shelter, and care. The physical struggle has merely been replaced by one of wits. The Malthusian principle cannot be put aside by sentimental talk of God not making men without providing for them. The bearing of the selective principle is:

First, it precludes all optimistic anticipations for the future of society. Calm study of history forbids the hope of the millennium's coming right away. We can at best only hope that the substitution of a struggle for domination for that of the struggle for existence may lessen the virulence and bitterness of the struggle.

Secondly, the selective principle, on the other hand, in its persistence in society sanctions no fatalistic attitude towards social betterment. In the domain of social life there is no rigid boundary between the cosmic process and the ethical process, between the cut-throat struggle for existence and the elevated struggle for domination, between the natural body and the spiritual body, between the flesh and the spirit.

We may hope to push back the barbaric struggle for existence, but it can never be utterly eliminated. The spectacle of magazined grain beside starving thousands may stir one's indignation; but if the burst of feeling cause us to lay aside the distinction between the property rights of the prudent, industrious citizen for the benefit of the idle, improvident man, then so much the worse for the idle and improvident in the long run, as well as for society as a whole. It is best for all that the control of property be left with those who have shown themselves best able to control it, by getting it in the competitive struggle. Nations no more than individuals can afford to neglect this law. It may be best that the American nation should intervene in the Cuban war, but we should not let sentiment urge us on if reason and facts show that such intervention is contrary to this principle. So long as force settles things in this world, this principle cannot be safely ignored for mere ideals.—WINTHROP MORE DANIELS, *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1898.

The Ultimate Law of Social Evolution.—To discover the fundamental law of life and society is the highest problem of sociology. I affirm that this law is *adaptation*, but I mean a process much more complicated than is generally understood by biologists and sociologists. In the book, *Le Basi del Diritto e dello Stato*, I have unfolded my theory, which explains better than any other the facts of human society. I compare here my theory with others: (1) Lamarck perceived the two chief factors in adaptation, the influence of surroundings as cause of modifications, and the transmission by heredity of modifications. He overlooked a third factor, natural selection. (2) Darwin believed natural selection to be the only one. The true theory includes both these processes, the direct and the indirect, Lamarckism and Darwinism. Besides, Darwinian sociologists have overlooked such other factors as the degenerating process, important in social evolution since, in the struggle for life among men, the vanquished are not exterminated, but spared by the victors, who try to make use of them and to live at their expense. So an *artificial* selection has been at work. (3) I accept the Spencerian formula of evolution, but it expresses only the external fact of becoming, never the specific cause by which things become. Spencer fell into a grave error in supposing that the nature of groups must be that of their individual elements. Again, forgetting that mechanical and biological processes cannot guide us in the richer and more complex social processes, Spencer, instead of studying directly human groups, affirms that society is an entity with phenomena of growth, structure, and function analogous to those of an animal, and that, therefore, the latter are the key to the former. He confuses human organizations with biological organisms. (4) Comte starts from mankind, not, like Spencer, from the individual, but makes the mistake of considering mankind as a single man who lives and learns continually. Hence Comte sees but one side of the immense social process. But history and observation

show us men in groups; these groups varying, multiplying, struggling with each other, coalescing, or melting away. Sociologists should study the action of these groups upon each other. Besides, in the rudimentary knowledge of biology and psychology of his time Comte could not form a clear idea of adaptation. (5) Bastian maintains more decidedly than Comte that social evolution is determined only by intellectual evolution, and in his researches he was not guided by the law of adaptation. (6) Lilienfeld, Novicow, and others have carried the analogico-organic theory to fantastic lengths. Lilienfeld declared that sociology cannot be a positive science unless it considers society as "a real living organism composed of cells as are individual organisms in nature." Novicow does not hesitate to say that "as societies are organisms, one can deduce *a priori* that they will conform to all the laws of biology." Whether the individual or the family is the social cell, whether government is the brain of the social organism, etc., they cannot agree, thus showing that the analogy is not real. (7) Durkheim's idea of the division of labor I accept, but only as a secondary factor in adaptation. (8) Tarde overestimates the extent and importance of the laws of imitation. (9) Gumplowicz says that mankind came originally from various stocks, and that the social process is due to the eternal sympathy between like stocks and the eternal hatred between unlike ones. But it remains to be proved that men descend from various stocks. How does he know that like stocks are always sympathetic? He maintains not only absolute fixity of species, but even of men's faculties and feelings. Then there could never be progress. As all present human races are amalgamations, how does Gumplowicz know what were the original tendencies of primitive ethnic elements? Again, if there be this instinctive repulsion, why should nations amalgamate? He says, "because the council of the gods has so decided," "because nature wills it." How does he know? (10) My theory is incompatible with his. I maintain transformation, by adaptation, of faculties and sentiments; that the struggle between men depends on insufficiency of means to support life and on other social circumstances; that this struggle is lessening; that between victor and vanquished rises a parasitic relation, governed by certain laws; that this relation tends to cease; that with the accumulation of experience and goods men improve their condition; that in this amelioration groups of men advance by tortuous ways, now receding, now standing still; and that political power rises independently of the superposition of one people on another.—M. A. VACCARO, *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, November, 1897.

The State Adoption of Street Arabs.—The paupers and criminals of the future are to be seen in the children of the slums today, in process of training by the influence of vice and squalor around them. The state has done much of a remedial nature, almost nothing of a preventive sort. Private philanthropy has done what has been done. But private organization is pitifully inadequate; the law now protects the child from cruelty, but not from the vice of its surroundings. The state should place children who are in reality homeless in country industrial schools, fitting the girls for domestic servants and trades, and the boys for trades and the army and navy. It will not injure the liberty of the individual any more than is already done by the prisons and workhouses which are found necessary for the same children after they have matured in their lives of vice and pauperism. If the children are taken in hand and thus reared when quite small, it will, as the results of the private industrial schools have shown, result in saving the vast majority from useless and sinful lives to be useful and honest men and women. Even financially there will be a great saving after a few years in the cost of paupers and criminals; and the nation will be strengthened especially in the case of domestic servants and in supplying men for the army and navy, in all of which the dearth is at present a serious problem.—MRS. A. SAMUELS, *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1898.

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March—for November-February.

CONDUCTED BY C. H. HASTINGS.

NEW BOOKS AND BOOKS REVIEWED.

Explanation. *Titles not starred* represent new publications announced in the standard publishers' lists since the last issue of the bibliography. A *star prefixed* to a title indicates that it was taken from a review of the work in the periodical cited after the title. It may or may not be a new announcement. The *arithmetical signs* following the citation to a review indicate the tenor of the review: ×, uncertain ; +, favorable ; —, unfavorable; + —, favorable, but with reservations ; — +, unfavorable, but with commendation ; + +, very favorable ; — — very unfavorable ; + + —, very favorable, but with reservations ; — — +, very unfavorable, but with commendation. Absence of any sign indicates that review has not been read. The *publication date* when not given is understood to be the current year. *Prices quoted* are usually for volumes bound in cloth in the case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others.

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Places of Publication: B., Boston; Br., Berlin; C., Chicago; L., London; Lp., Leipzig; N. Y. New York; P., Paris; Ph., Philadelphia. *Prices:* F., franc; L., lira; M., mark; S., shilling. *Months:* Ja. F. Mr. Ap. My. Je. Jl. Ag. S. O. N. D. *Periodicals:*

A. Arena.
AA. American Anthropologist.
AAC. Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle.
AAE. Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia.
AAP. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
AC. L'Association Catholique.
ACQ. American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AE. Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen.
AGP. Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR. American Historical Review.
AIS. Annals de l'Institute de Science Sociale.
AJP. American Journal of Psychology.
AJS. American Journal of Sociology.
AJT. American Journal of Theology.
ALR. American Law Review.
ALRR. American Law Register and Review.
AMP. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Séances.
AN. American Naturalist.
Ant. L'Anthropologie.
AOR. Archiv für öffentliches Recht.
ASA. American Statistical Association, Publications.
ASAr. Allgemeine statistisches Archiv.
ASG. Archive für sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.
ASP. Archiv für systematische Philosophie.
BDL. Bulletin of the Department of Labor.
BG. Blätter für Gefängnisskunde.
BML. Banker's Magazine, London.
BMN. Banker's Magazine, New York.
BOT. Bulletin de l'Office du Travail.
BS. Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt. Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée.
BUI. Bullein de l'Union Internationale de Droit Pénale.
ChOR. Charity Organisation Review.
ChR. Charities Review.
CoR. Contemporary Review.
DL. Deutsche Litteraturzeitung.
DR. Deutsche Revue.
DRu. Deutsche Rundschau.
DS. Devenir Social.
DZG. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
EcJ. Economic Journal.
EcR. Economic Review.
EdR. Educational Review.
EHR. English Historical Review.
EM. Engineering Magazine.
F. Forum.
FR. Fortnightly Review.
GEc. Giornale degli Economisti.
GM. Gunton's Magazine.
HLR. Harvard Law Review.
HN. Humanité Nouvelle.
HZ. Historische Zeitschrift.
IAE. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
IJE. International Journal of Ethics.
JAI. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of G eat Britain and Ireland.
JEc. Journal des Economistes.
JFI. Journal of the Franklin Institute.
JGV. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft.
JHS. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.
JMS. Journal of Mental Science.
JPE. Journal of Political Economy.
JNS. Jahrbücher für National-Oekonomie und Statistik.
LC. Literarisches Centralblatt.
LG. Labor Gazette.
LoQR. London Quarterly Review.
LQR. Law Quarterly Review.
M. Monist.
MHM. Mansfield House Magazine.
Mi. Mind.
MIM. Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
MR. Municipal Reform.
NA. Nuova Antologia.
NAR. North American Review.
NC. Nineteenth Century.
NS. Natural Science.
NW. New World.
NZ. Neue Zeit.
PhR. Philosophical Review.
PSM. Popular Science Monthly.
PSQ. Political Science Quarterly.
PsR. Psychological Review.
QJE. Quarterly Journal of Economics.
QR. Quarterly Review.
RCS. Revue de Christianisme sociale.
RDI. Revue de Droit internationale.
RDM. Revue des deux Mondes.
REA. Revue mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris.
RefS. Réforme sociale.
ReS. Revue Socialiste.
RH. Revue historique.
RHD. Revue d'Histoire diplomatique.
RIF. Rivista italiana di Filosofia.
RIS. Revue internationale de Sociologie.
RiIS. Rivista italia na di Sociologia.
RISS. Rivista internazionale di Scienze Sociali
RMM. Revue Metaphysique et de Morale.
RP. Revue philanthropique.
RPe. Revue pénitentiaire.
RPh. Revue philosophique.
RPP. Revue politique et parliamentaire.
RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
RRN. Review of Reviews, New York.
RSI. Revisita Storica italiana.
RSP. Revue sociale et politique.
RT. Revue du Travail.
S. Sanitarian.
Sc. Science.
SP. Science Progress.
SR. School Review.
SS. Science Sociale.
VSV. Vierteljahrschrift für Staats- und Volkswirthschaft.
VWP. Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
YR. Yale Review.
ZE. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZGS. Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaften.
ZPK. Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik.
ZPO. Zeitschrift für das private und öffentliche Recht.
ZPP. Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane.
ZVR. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZVS. Zeitschrift für Volkswirthschaft, Sociapolitik und Verwaltung.

[The titles of articles selected from periodicals not in this list will be followed by name of periodical in full.]

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME III MAY, 1898 NUMBER 6

FIG. 1.—GENERAL VIEW OF FACTORY AND EMPLOYÉS

POSSIBILITIES OF THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER, at the close of his treatise on "Industrial Institutions," which forms the last section of his third volume of *Principles of Sociology*, the capstone of his monumental work, comes to the following conclusion concerning the desideratum in the industrial world: "It must be admitted that the practicability of such a system depends on character. Throughout this volume it has been variously shown that higher types of society are made possible only by higher types of nature; and the implication is that the best industrial institutions are possible only with the best men." Such a statement is significant, not only on account of its position as a conclusion of a work thought to be the highest exponent of modern material-

ism, but also for the light it throws upon many current industrial phenomena.

Recent years have witnessed many efforts for the amelioration of the evils incident to our present industrial system, many of them most systematically and minutely elaborated; so that by all *a priori* reasoning they should succeed. Success has been attained in many instances, and too much cannot be said in support of such efforts. But, despite such successes, numerous as they may be, it must be acknowledged that the great majority of such efforts have been failures. Many causes have been assigned for these failures, but without doubt Mr. Spencer has assigned the fundamental one. Now, while there are many evils connected with industrial conditions, it is gratifying to all, save those desirous of immediate and revolutionary changes, to note that conditions in the main are tolerable; in some cases eminently satisfactory, even though no "system" or elaborated plan has been adopted. In fact, both to the employés and to disinterested observers, industrial relations in many such institutions seem to be more satisfactory than in many establishments that have adopted highly approved plans for the betterment of such relations. In other words, a poor plan worked by an employer who has the welfare of his employés in mind is much superior to a good "system" worked by an employer guided only by "economic laws" in seeking his own profit. While much evil is inherent in the system, much is inherent in the men who operate the system; and for this latter they, and not the system, are responsible.

Many employers allege as a reason for not bettering their industrial relations the impracticability of the many panaceas recommended, or of any industrial system save the present one. Such allegations may be refuted by two arguments: first, by calling attention to such more or less ideal schemes that have succeeded, and, second, by adducing as evidence the condition in some establishments operated according to customary method, modified only by such slight changes as justice and a realization of a common humanity would induce. The present article is an illustration of the latter argument.

One of the best examples of such establishments is the National Cash Register Factory at Dayton, Ohio. This article,

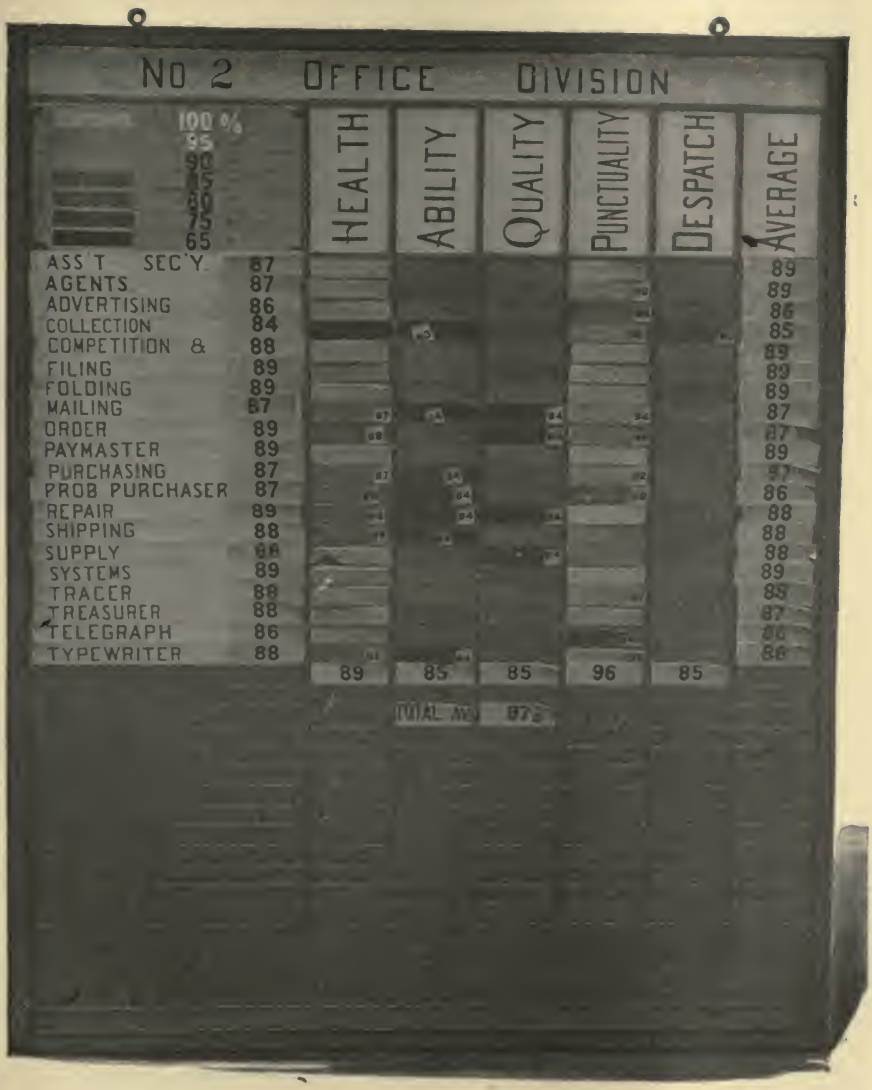

FIG. 2.—MONITOR BOARD

descriptive of that institution, is not based upon a personal acquaintance with the employer, but upon an inspection of the

work and conversations with employés. Such an investigation reveals the possibilities of the present industrial system, and emphasizes the fact that with employés and employers themselves lies the responsibility for many of the existing evils.

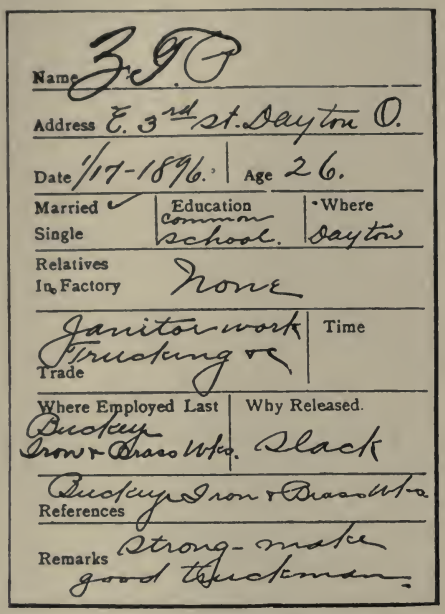
Name J. G.
Address E. 3rd st. Dayton O.
Date 1/17-1896. Age 26.
Married ✓ Single
Education Common school.
Where Dayton
Relatives In Factory None
Janitor work Trucking &c
Trade
Time
Where Employed Last Buckeye Iron & Brass Wks.
Why Released. Slack
Buckeye Iron & Brass Wks.
References
Remarks Strong-make good trucker.

Fig. 3.—EMPLOYMENT CHECK

The company represents an investment of about $1,500,000, and employs about 1,700 men and women; 1,100 of the men and 300 of the women being employed in the factory, performing 400,000 mechanical processes each day. The plant occupies about eight and one-half acres of ground, the buildings having about five acres of floor space. The company believes that attractive surroundings conduce to good work, so much attention is paid to the construction of the factory, the lighting and heating facilities, and the adornment of the ground. The grounds are commodious; that they are tastefully laid out is guaranteed by the fact that the landscape gardening was done by Mr. Frederick Olmstead, of Boston. The walls, both interior and exterior, are tinted colonial yellow, as being least hurtful to

the eye. A committee from the young women employed at the factory arranges the colors and tints which are to be used in all parts of the plant and has charge of all decorations. The buildings are of steel and glass constructions, with electric light,

RECORD CARD OF DISCHARGED WORKMAN.

Name	*J. C. H.*					
Date	*8/28-97*		No.	*925 N.*		
20						
Rate	*15*					
Dept.	*Carpenter*					
Class	*Wood Machinist*					
P. W.	*9/3-97*					
D. W.						
When Trans.						
When Disc.	*9/23-97*					
Cause	*Slack of Work*					
Remarks	*"Good"*					

[The letter "*N.*" indicates that he was a "non-producer"—*i. e.*, did not work on any part of the "register."]

power and power transmission, with ventilating fans so that there is an entire change of air every fifteen minutes. All smoke is consumed by the furnace. The floors are polished hardwood, kept in constant order. By experts the factory is pronounced to be the lightest, cleanest, and best ventilated one in existence.

Even a chance walk past the factory will reveal the fact that it is a marked improvement over the ordinary manufacturing establishment. However, the merits of the institution can only be appreciated after a thorough investigation, and a realization of the systematic treatment given every phase of the work. For there is system so perfected that it may well be distinguished as "scientific." And, in fact, one cannot appreciate the real merits of the treatment accorded to employés without first understanding the organization and administration of the enterprise.

The president of the company says: "Organization is our watchword. With perfect organization we have not the ideas of the few, but all the ideas of all the men, in every capacity. We accomplish this result without a superintendent, by a series of committees which increase in importance as they reach the highest committee. This representation by committees prevents favoritism and gives each man a voice. We endeavor to make our system automatic in order that we may be dependent upon no one man. This enables the officers to throw off the details of the business and keep their attention on the weakest points as long as it may be necessary." Quite the opposite from the normally successful factory, where the superintendent boasts that nothing goes on without his knowledge.

Perhaps the most striking thing about the business to the business man is the fact that there is no superintendent. Just as the most surprising thing to the workmen would be that there is no "boss." The management of the business is entirely by committee. The general policy of the business and the conduct of its affairs are in the hands of the executive committee, consisting of eight officers, including the president and vice-president — the Messrs. Patterson, owners of the business. This committee has general oversight of the three general divisions of the business: the office division of 167 employés; the selling division of 327 employés, agents; and the making division, the factory, of 1,250 employés. The factory is under the control of the factory committee of five, experts in various lines of factory work. One member of this committee acts as its chairman each month, in regular rotation. The committees meet once each day, and oftener when necessary, for general consultation; a majority can always act. Each member has control of a group of the fifty or more departments into which the work of the factory is divided. Each of these committeemen has special duties, connected in the main with designing of tools or control of experimental departments. In addition each machine has a special committee, at the head of which is one of the five factory committeemen. The office division, including some twenty-three departments, is under the control of a larger

committee, some sixteen in number. The selling division, not amenable to such control, is under the supervision of office managers and traveling auditors.

FIG. 4.—SCHOOL FOR AGENTS

The general truth that development consists in the process of division and reunion, of differentiation and correlation, is well illustrated in this factory organization. For this minute subdivision of labor and of authority has not resulted in a decrease in effectiveness, or, what is more probable, a divergence of interest of employer and employé; but rather the reverse. The president of the company remarked: "The employers of large numbers of men are apt to grow apart from them. Under our new system they grow together, and instead of strikes we have conferences." Under this system of organization the humblest employé is brought into direct contact with the administrative authorities, and at the same time is not subject to

the permanent control of one man, who, even under the best conditions, may be prejudiced or autocratic.

This sense of interdependence and of participation is strengthened in many ways. Every employé is given the fullest infor-

FIG. 5.—THE INSPECTION ROOM

mation of the business of the various departments. This is accomplished by general meetings, meetings of special departments, and by publication. The company has an extensive printing establishment of its own, employing between seventy-five and one hundred men. A large semimonthly is printed for distribution among its employés. There are also weekly publications, one giving the full reports of the meetings of the clubs, of the officers, and of the employés, and also a daily publication, besides various publications advertising the products and for the instruction and information of the selling agents. There are frequent meetings of the entire factory force, in the summer in the grove adjoining the factory, and in the winter in the assembly hall. Here suggestions are freely offered and received. The company incurs a great expense in its yearly meeting of all its representatives, home and foreign ; and at least once in this

week the entire factory force meets with these representatives in order to bring all in touch with each other, and also that the factory laborers may appreciate more intelligently the needs of the agents and of the public.

FIG. 6.—THE BINDERY

Scattered through the factory are placed a number of autographic registers, which are placarded "suggestions and complaints." For a manufacturing company to thus invite complaints from its men is a novel industrial feature. Complaints cannot be prevented by foremen, and that petty tyranny once so prevalent finds no survival here. Here any employé, be he janitor or foreman of a department, office boy or general agent, may make suggestion or enter a complaint. These in time receive attention from committees having charge of the department of work to which it pertains, from the Advance Club, or from the factory committee, or from the proprietors. Prizes amounting to $1,000 annually are declared for the best suggestions made during each period of six months. Some of the best and most valuable features of the enterprise, both mechanical and administrative, have been adopted from suggestions so received, or in

endeavor to correct some of the evils complained of in this manner. Foremen and subforemen are not eligible for these prizes, but twenty of the officers and foremen receive a commission upon all sales of goods. There is no danger that an idea of a subordinate may be appropriated by one higher in authority. Each one gets the benefit of his own interest in the work. And the finished article, representing nearly 400 patents, is thus the product of both the skill and the thought of the working force which uniformly has an interest in the success of the business foreign to most large factories.

The Advance Club is one of the most characteristic features of the establishment. It is composed of the officers, foremen, assistant foremen, heads of departments, and all in authority; fifty members of the rank and file are chosen alternately from the main body of the factory employés to take part in each meeting. These meetings are held in the factory theater each Friday morning at 10:30, the session lasting for an hour and a half of the company's time. The object of the club is the advancement of the general interest of the company. Here are offered criticisms and suggestions for the benefit of the company or its employés, and here come up the criticisms and suggestions made by the employés in the manner described. This club also includes the training school when it is in session. But not only do the fifty chosen from the rank and file receive the benefit of these meetings, but the proceedings are published in full in the *Advance Club Record*, issued each week and distributed to each of the employés.

In this paper are other items of interest concerning the work of the enterprise, and a record of the suggestions and complaints entered. The record of every salesman and of each sale made, no matter in what part of the globe, is published. There is no variation from the selling price, and each may know the cost of production. One of the most striking features of the enterprise is the publicity given to all of its affairs. The truck boy, if he wishes, may keep as well informed as a member of the Officers' Club. The usual aristocratic industrial organization is so modified as to be scarcely recognized. The same confidence is

shown to the public in general. Visitors, even though they may be competitors, are freely shown to all parts of the factory, given the cost and processes of production, and all the features of the organization and administration. At the same time a visit to

FIG. 7.—YOUNG WOMEN'S REST ROOM

the factory is not complete without a visit to the "graveyard." Here are found the models and tools of unsuccessful competitors, representing a capital of $12,000,000 and an expenditure of fully $2,000,000. Here are the remains of 111 competitors, failures through inferiority of product or infringement of patent; while there are yet about twenty-nine aspirants for similar resting places. For it must be admitted that this company is a "grasping monopoly," so far as a producer of goods not absolutely necessary can be considered a monopoly; but one gained and held by superiority of product and of business management.

Many of the features of organization, though of exceptional interest, cannot be mentioned. We add a few that are directly

related to the treatment of employés. An accurate record is kept not only of each employé, but also of each division and each department. These are conspicuously displayed in the factory by means of "monitor boards" (Fig. 2), and are published each week in the *N. C. R.* There are three monitor boards, one for the sales agents, one for the office division, and one for the factory. Each department is graded as to its health, ability, quality, punctuality, dispatch. Cards of lower rating are progressively darker in tint, so that a horizontal strip across the board, darker or lighter in color, indicates at a glance the standing of one's department. This proves quite a stimulus to each individual, for a single tardiness or a misdirected shipment lowers materially the average of the department. Each week a banner is voted to the department having the highest average, this banner being displayed in the portion of the factory where the department is located. This may seem to partake somewhat of Sunday-school methods, but it is taken seriously enough at the factory. Monitor-board rating and the banner are eagerly striven for, and, almost without exception, every employé from drill-press boy to foreman has his eye upon the rating and the banner. It is a common experience to hear a machine tender, who, by mistake, has spoiled a lot of work, lament, chiefly, its adverse effect upon the monitor board of his department, his regret being intensified by the knowledge that all his fellow-workmen in the same department are affected equally by it. The value of such coöperative effort, especially in manufacturing operations where there are such possibilities of loss, is readily seen.

A more substantial prize is awarded to the departments having the highest averages. The following order, signed by the president, read at a meeting of the employés in February, 1897, explained the nature of these prizes:

Mr. G. G.: It gives me great pleasure to hand you herewith an order on our treasurer for an amount sufficient to defray the expenses of the blacksmith, final inspection, indicator dipping, experimental No. 1, experimental No. 2, paymaster's, and shipping departments, to Cincinnati, where they will be the guests of the company. I request that you act as chairman of the

departments making the trip, and that you call the members together and have them select, by vote, the day on which they will make the trip, and also designate the entertainments they wish to attend while in the city. This trip to Cincinnati will be on the company's time. It was offered by the company to the departments obtaining the highest rating on the monitor boards during 1896, and we trust that those who have won it will find their visit both pleasant and profitable.

FIG. 8.—BATHROOM FOR YOUNG WOMEN

Scientific organization still further benefits the workman. It begins with employment itself. There is not the haphazard method usually found, when each morning a crowd of men collect around the door, some perhaps to be chosen at random, the remainder receiving no consideration at all. This is not only unjust to the men, but also detrimental to the enterprise, for it is only by chance that the best men are taken. Here a record is kept of each applicant. These cards are classified by occupation. When a vacancy occurs it is filled if possible by promotion; then from among those who have previously worked for the company and have made good record; lastly, choice is made from among the applications on file. The selection is made by a committee guided by the information given on the card records. The applications now on file number more than four thousand, with a daily addition averaging about seventy. When an employé is discharged or leaves, a record is kept, showing the time and cause, and giving a statement from the foreman of his

department as to his ability (Fig. 3). A complete record of all employés since the system was inaugurated, as well as all present employés, is kept by this employment bureau. Suitable blanks are also provided for employment, transfer from one department to another, increase of wages, etc.; eight of these blank forms in all being used, some of them in manifold. Thus, nothing of importance is done respecting any employé unless a full and complete record is made. The evident merit of it all is that each employé is treated upon a basis of justice instead of one of chance or of preferment.

One novel feature of organization is the training school. On the fourth floor of the main or administrative building is a theater seating several hundred (Fig. 4). Here is held the training school, a systematic six-weeks' course given to all salesmen. It is not within the scope of this article to describe the relations between the company and its employés of the selling division; sufficient to say that it is characterized by the same broad-minded, liberal, and just policy. But so important a feature as that formed by the theater in the factory life is worthy of notice. For here, also, the factory operatives are given the opportunity of appreciating the wants of the agents, and of the public which they serve. The workman does not labor blindly or mechanically at his own special task, but he works intelligently, having in mind not only the specialized duty and the completed product, but also the general function that he is performing for society. He appreciates the needs of the public and the tests which his labor must stand.

Thus briefly have been indicated the more important features of the organization so far as they relate to the interests of the employés, but the effort of the company does not stop here. "We have found," said the president, "that to accomplish the largest amount of work possible our men must be healthy. To those who do not see the connection between the question of health and the matter of conducting a paying business we would say that a healthy operative turns out more work than a dyspeptic." The general hygienic features of the factory have been mentioned. The employés are taught how to take care of their

health by frequent talks and through the columns of the company's publications. As an aid to health the women in the company's employ are given instructions in cooking. The entire office force is given systematic calisthenic exercises in the mid-

FIG. 9.—THE KINDERGARTEN CONDUCTED IN THE N. C. R. HOUSE

dle of each forenoon and afternoon. One of the most striking features in the factory is the bathing schedule kept for each department. Each employé is expected to bathe once a week on the company's time, and as often in addition as he may choose. The company furnishes, in the building, bathrooms with convenient appointments and an attendant in charge.

The first impression which one has of the factory and its surroundings is that of general cheerfulness; the next is that of general order and cleanliness. One recalls a characterization of the age, not often applied to factories, however, as one of "institutional tidiness." The buildings are remarkable for the amount of light and air received, the ceilings are high, the windows so

hinged that the entire sash can be opened, as they are in pleasant weather. An organized force of janitors is constantly at work in all parts of the factory, keeping even the filing and foundry rooms remarkably clean. Flowers are found not simply in the plot in front of the factory, but in every part of the factory. A large machine shop with a vista of palms down the center aisle is a unique sight.

The employés work for nine and a half hours per day, receiving ten hours' wages. This shortening of the hours has produced no diminution of product, and the management has announced its ideal as eight hours per day, an ideal not only attained, but even now surpassed for the female employés. Perhaps it is the little things which best reveal the interest of the employer, and few advantages are more appreciated by the 500 wheelmen among the employés than the bicycle room and attendant furnished by the company. One function of the attendant is to inflate tires so that the workmen may not be delayed in going home. It is the thoughtfulness that prompts such consideration rather than the expense incurred that renders them commendable and acceptable. But such treatment may go further towards demonstrating the identity of interest of employer and employé than a cash bonus representing a much greater financial outlay.

In no respect is the policy of the management more remarkable or more commendable than in its treatment of female employés, some 300 in number. This solicitude is shown in regard to their moral and intellectual as well as their physical welfare. In the first place women work less than eight hours per day, receiving for this the maximum of ten hours' wage. They begin work fifteen minutes later than the male force and close fifteen minutes earlier. This affords them special transit facilities, since the street railway company has motor cars in waiting at this hour; and also renders unnecessary mingling with a large body of workmen, attended even among a superior class with at least a minimum of unpleasantness and danger. The advantage of such an arrangement is obvious to all acquainted with conditions in manufacturing towns. In the

middle of the forenoon and of the afternoon fifteen minutes are taken for rest and for calisthenic exercises under competent direction. For, even if engaged in mechanical employment, the women are confined to a sitting position during working hours.

FIG. 10.—THE BOYS' PRIZE GARDENS

A full hour is given at noon. Perhaps the one feature which, more than any other, has won for this establishment the epithet of "incipient socialism" is the noon luncheon furnished to all female help at the company's expense. These luncheons consist of tea or coffee, soup, and some article of nutritious food, frequently meats. On the fourth floor of the administration building is a large dining room, seating about 200, tastefully decorated, and as cleanly and attractive as a home one. Adjoining is a model kitchen under the direction of a Pratt Institute graduate, who also gives cooking lessons to the women at the company's expense. In answer to the charge of socialism or paternalism the company says: "We find the average cost of these lunches to be three cents each, and that by reason of them each woman does one-twentieth more work a day. This amounts to five cents a piece, making the gain 66⅔

per cent. We noticed an instant improvement in the general health of the women; there was less delay from sickness, fewer absences, and an ability to work harder and more enthusiastically than when they ate cold food."

On the same floor is found the bathroom for women, who have the same privileges in this respect as those offered the men. Here also is a rest room comfortably furnished, with an attendant in charge, where female employés are privileged to retire at any time when indisposed. Each Saturday afternoon is given as a half holiday for all women. In addition to all these, each has the privilege of selecting one day in every month which she may have as a day of rest without any reduction of wages. The women are furnished each day with white aprons and sleeve protectors furnished by the company and laundered each day by the company's laundry. It is hardly remarkable that the company has a most loyal body of women helpers or that it is the highest ambition of working women in that vicinity to come into the employ of such a company. It would be difficult to suggest what further consideration could be shown.

In the administration building is a reading room and a well-selected circulating library of several hundred volumes for the use of the entire working force. In the business center of the city the company has a large hall. Here many of the organizations meet, and many lectures and entertainments are given for the benefit of the employés. At the factory itself is the theater previously mentioned. Here the meetings of the Advance Club, the Women's Century Club, and of other organizations are held. This theater is also used for entertainments given by the employés.

Most of the women employed are members of the N. C. R. Women's Century Club, which is a member of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. Twice a month the meetings are held at the noon hour, at which time they are given one-half hour additional of the company's time. There is an N. C. R. Mothers' Guild of mothers from the families of employés. This guild, assisted by the company, supports a kindergarten in one of the company's buildings. The N. C. R. House is a social

home for all connected with the works and is in charge of a deaconess, performing all the functions of a social settlement. In addition to the above organization there are the Boys' Club, the Sunday school, the Choral Society, the South Park Club, the Relief Association, and four or five musical organizations. There are occasional picnics or outings given by the company, especially the one in connection with the meeting of the foreign representatives. The Progress Club is the employés' club for general discussion, topics similar to the following being subjects: "Is Direct Legislation of Greater Benefit than our Present System?" "Is Competition the Life of Trade?" "What Training besides his Trade should a Mechanic Have?"

Not only is it the effort of the company to create harmonious relations with its employés, but it also seeks to make the entire community, depending as it does upon the enterprise, take a lively interest in its welfare. To this end various plans have been adopted. The company's landscape gardener has general oversight of the streets, lawns, and park places of the entire community. An Improvement Association, composed for the most part of officers and employés, labors for the general improvement of the appearance, comfort, and health of the community. Stereopticon lectures are given upon the planting of trees and vines, and kindred subjects. Prizes are offered by the company for the best specimens of landscape gardening by residents of South Park. Prizes are also given for the best-kept square in any street; also prizes to boys for the five best-kept backyards. This effort has in the course of a few years created quite as remarkable a change in the general appearance of the community as has been made within the factory itself. The growth is adequately expressed in the change in name of the community from Slidertown to South Park.

In addition to these the company furnishes a garden plot, prepares the ground, furnishes the seed and tools, and places it under the general direction of their landscape gardener to be cultivated by the boys of the neighborhood. These boys, last year forty in number, are selected by the Mothers' Guild, and the five most successful were rewarded with prizes in addition

to the returns to their labor. This is avowedly a practical attempt at industrial education and illustrates the interest that the company has not only in its present corps of workmen, but in its prospective employés as well.

FIG. 11.—THE OLD WAY

The attitude of the employés has been sufficiently indicated. At a recent mass meeting they expressed themselves as follows:

Resolved, That we thank the company for the many concessions in our favor made by them, prominent among which is the further reduction of fifteen minutes in our working time, giving us ten hours' pay for nine and one-half hours' work; and that we pledge our best efforts to make their action a source of profit to them.

Resolved, That in these resolutions is expressed the real spirit of the entire force of the N. C. R. employés.

But it frequently happens that organized labor not directly connected with industrial establishments that have adopted some such modification of the wage system assumes a very critical attitude. It is unnecessary to inquire into the reasons for this —reasons sometimes quite complex. In the present instance organized labor has commended these efforts and expressed itself in no uncertain terms. The Dayton Trades and Labor

Assembly said by way of preamble to resolutions of commendation:

Believing that our fellow-workmen, as a rule, are ambitious to rise above mere shophands, and that every effort made by the manufacturers of the city

FIG. 12.—THE NEW WAY

to better the condition of their employés should be properly recognized, and having learned of the many economic features existing in the National Cash Register works to make their employés independent, skillful workmen and intelligent citizens, and having noted with pride the magnificent demonstration made in this city at the annual convention of that company, and the bestowal of many valuable diplomas and rewards for services rendered, to a large number of their employés, we believe that such acts will do more to create a due respect for and render coöperation between employé and employer successful than any other method, and we feel that, as mechanics and citizens, we should take this means of expressing our hearty commendation of the course pursued by the National Cash Register Company; that we recognize the progressive spirit prevailing in their management, and would point them out to other manufacturers as worthy of imitation, as we believe they have anticipated those things that will become necessary in the near future.

The Ohio Association of Master Painters and Decorators adopted the following expression of approval:

WHEREAS, We were profoundly impressed with all that we saw, and with the exceptional neatness, order, and system, as well as the humane and

intelligent attention displayed by the National Cash Register Company to every detail which can minister to the health and comfort of its employés, thus benefiting both employer and employed, and exemplifying in the most thoroughly practical manner the golden rule — "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them;" and,

WHEREAS, This example has taught us new lessons of life and has shown us most forcibly the grand possibilities that await humanity in that future and larger day when each man shall live for all, and all for each; and believing as we do that when all manufacturing establishments in this broad land will follow this shining example, "strikes" will be no more, and our country ushered upon a career of prosperity at home, and of drawing wealth from the wide world, by the excellence of our inventions and manufactures; therefore,

Resolved, That more than a passing recognition should be paid by us to such enlightened enterprise, advanced methods, and beneficent spirit of humanity; and that this association will honor itself more than it can honor the company by extending to the National Cash Register its grateful thanks, etc.

In conclusion it is worthy of note that in no essential, unless it be that of superintendence, is the present factory system changed; only modified as a just appreciation of the responsibility of an employer would dictate. It is also worthy of note that the history of the company has not always been such. Five years ago, during the period of one twelvemonth, the factory was set on fire three times, supposably by disaffected employés. There were many strikes and lockouts. Then the 1,300 employés came to work at 6:30 and worked ten hours per day. At that time, though previous to the present commercial depression, the company was confronted with the loss of $1,000 per day for sixty consecutive days. Then "the president and secretary of the company took off their coats and went right down into the factory department to investigate and find out for themselves what was the trouble." The office of superintendent was abolished, and the organization described above inaugurated. Then step by step the features described were added. It was even found necessary to start a regular school at which it might be demonstrated beyond doubt that the company was honest and sincere; that it wished to treat its working people like men and women, and had no ulterior object in the proposed factory reform. The

president of the company took the opportunity of showing them by means of photographs and drawings some of the abuses that existed in the factory and how it was proposed to remove them. The employés were also taken into the confidence of the company so far as the general policy of the business was concerned.

FIG. 13.—FIRST PRIZE FOR LANDSCAPE GARDENING

As a result, conditions were changed. "Our old idea of increasing profits," said the president, "was to cut down the pay-roll. This was a short-sighted plan, for the small amount saved in this way diminished by just so much our ability to supply those wants of our prospective customers which would net us a far larger return. We can make more by taking from our large number of customers than from a small number of employés. Our present plan of paying dividends, as it were, is to increase the pay-roll. In return for this our employés have concentrated their entire effort upon the work of convincing and supplying one million prospective customers. We thus get a sufficient return to clearly demonstrate that our methods do not spring

from philanthropy alone. We have been rewarded by the faithful, friendly services of our people, who have become a home-loving, home-owning community, and have found that whatever benefits them benefits us, while loss to them, in any way, means a corresponding loss to us."

FIG. 14.—FOURTH PRIZE FOR LANDSCAPE GARDENING

A prominent German socialist, after visiting the factory, remarked: "That is all I mean by socialism." And what is more to be emphasized, in the present day, is the fact that "it pays" from the standpoint of the employer.

This employer has demonstrated the possibility of many conditions admitted to be desirable, but usually said to be Quixotic under existing conditions. Herein lies the significance of this description. It is possible with just treatment to have a most loyal, industrious, and earnest body of employés, even though as numerous as in most large manufactories. It is possible for the employés to see that their welfare is bound up with that of their employer and for them to act accordingly, when the

example has been set by the party usually proclaiming the doctrine. It is possible for the workmen to appreciate that they are performing a social service and not merely enriching their employer or making their own bread and butter; possible for them to realize their share in the finished product and take a just pride in it. It is possible to find a large body of workmen among whom strikes and general discontent are unknown, and where industrial relations are unqualifiedly approved by organized labor, frequently supposed to be satisfied with no relations of loyalty and good-will between employer and employed. It is possible to reduce hours of labor in the face of competition and to profit by the reduction. It is possible to build up an enlightened, prosperous, happy, and healthy community around a factory, and have that community take an intelligent interest in the welfare of the industry and the advancement of the community life. There is a growing demand for publicity in many business affairs now thought to be entirely of a private nature. Society is making this demand for its own welfare, though at present such publicity is thought to be destructive of the continued prosperity of the enterprise. This enterprise has demonstrated that publicity is no injury, but rather an advantage. Especially does this publicity create an intelligent response upon the part of the operating force to the demands of the business.

All this has been done in the course of an ordinary business career. While it is true that such endeavors are not "philanthropy" in the ordinary sense of the term, yet on the other hand they are not mere expedients for increasing profits, though the efforts have been financially remunerative. It must be recognized that the basis of this concord between employer and employé is *justice;* or, as this employer has stated it, modifying an old utilitarian adage, "it pays to be just."

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THE RELATION OF SEX TO PRIMITIVE SOCIAL CONTROL.

THE first expressions of culture, feeble, unformulated, and unreflective in their nature, are incidental accompaniments of physiological desires and of their satisfaction through appropriate forms of activity. The two physiological desires of the first magnitude are nutrition and reproduction, and associated life in human as in animal society is reached more immediately through the activities connected with the fact of sex than through the activities connected with the stimulus furnished by food. And further, the characteristic steps in culture are to be referred in their genesis to organic peculiarities of the male and female, and of the two the female is the more immediately social nature.[1]

The old theory of promiscuity, associated conspicuously with the name of Lubbock, has been elaborately discredited by Westermarck,[2] but it must be recognized that in arguing for a definite *system* of monogamy in early society, after the analogy of monogamous unions in animal society, Westermarck is quite as wide of the mark in the opposite direction. There was a tendency to monogamy among animals, dictated, along with other instinctive practices, by natural selection. But the very powerful animal instinct of copulation-for-reproduction-only disappeared completely in the human species with the introduction of memory, imagination, and clothing, and there intervened between animal monogamy and civilized monogamy a period when the reflective attention of society was fixed on the fact of sex, resulting in a type of sexual union more inconstant than that found among certain animals, and yet not systematically promiscuous, in the sense that it implied the commonly

[1] *Cf.* AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff., "On a Difference in the Metabolism of the Sexes."

[2] E. WESTERMARCK, *The History of Human Marriage.*

recognized right of every male of the group to every female of the group—a relation which, from its tendency to the assertion of choice, and the rapidly shifting fixation of choice, may be by courtesy called discontinuous monogamy.

While at a disadvantage in point of force when compared with the male, the female has enjoyed a negative superiority in the fact that her sexual appetite was not so sharp as that of the male. Primitive man, when he desired a mate, sought her. The female was more passive and stationary. She exercised the right of choice, and had the power to transfer her choice more arbitrarily than has usually been recognized; but the need of protection and assistance in providing for offspring inclined her to a permanent union, and doubtless natural selection favored the groups in which parents coöperated in caring for the offspring. But assuming a relation permanent enough to be called marriage, the man was still, as compared with the woman, unsettled and unsocial. He secured food by violence or cunning, and hunting and fighting were fit expressions of his somatic habit. The woman was the social nucleus, the point to which he returned from his wanderings. In this primitive stage of society, however, the bond between woman and child was altogether more immediate and constraining than the bond between woman and man. The maternal instinct is reinforced by necessary and constant association with the child. We can hardly find a parallel for the intimacy of association between mother and child during the period of lactation; and, in the absence of domesticated animals or suitable foods, and also, apparently, from simple neglect formally to wean the child, this connection is greatly prolonged. The child is frequently suckled from four to five years, and occasionally from ten to twelve.[1] In consequence we find society literally growing up about the woman. The mother and her children, and her childrens' children, and so on indefinitely in the female line, form a group. But the men were not so completely incorporated in this group as the women, not only because parentage was uncertain and naming of children consequently on the female side, but because

[1] H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, 3. Aufl., Vol. II, p. 379.

the man was neither by necessity nor disposition so much a home-keeper as the women and their children.

The tangential disposition of the male is expressed in the system of exogamy so characteristic of tribal life. The movement towards exogamy doubtless originates in the restlessness of the male, the tendency to make new coördinations, the stimulus to seek more unfamiliar women, and the emotional interest in making unfamiliar sexual alliances. But quite aside from its origin, exogamy is an energetic expression of the male nature. Natural selection favors the process by sparing the groups which by breeding out have heightened their physical vigor.[1] There results from this a social condition which, from the standpoint of modern ideas, is very curious. The man makes, and, by force of convention, finally must make, his matrimonial alliances only with women of other groups, but the woman still remains in her own group, and the children are members of her group, while the husband remains a member of his own clan, and is received, or may be received, as a guest in the clan of his wife. Upon his death his property is not shared by his children, nor by his wife, since these are not members of his clan, but it falls to the nearest of kin within his clan—usually to his sister's children.

The maternal system of descent is found in all parts of the world where social advance stands at a certain level, and the evidence warrants the assumption that every group which advances to a culture state passes through this stage. Morgan gives an account of this system among the Iroquois:

> Each household was made up on the principle of kin. The married women, usually sisters, own or collateral, were of the same gens or clan, the symbol or totem of which was often painted upon the house, while their husbands and the wives of their sons belonged to several other gentes. The children were of the gens of their mother. While husband and wife belonged to different gentes, the predominating number in each household would be of the same gens, namely, that of their mothers. As a rule the sons brought home their wives, and in some cases the husbands of the daughters were

[1] Endogamous tribes have survived, in the main, in isolated regions where competition was not sufficiently sharp to set a premium on exogamy. It may be assumed that the history of exogamous groups has been more cataclysmical.

admitted to the maternal household. Thus each household was composed of a mixture of persons of different gentes, but this would not prevent the numerical ascendency of the particular gens to whom the house belonged. In a village of one hundred and twenty houses, as the Seneca village of Tiotohatton described by Mr. Greenbalge in 1677, there would be several houses belonging to each gens. It presented a general picture of the Indian life in all parts of America at the epoch of European discovery.[1]

Morgan also quotes the Rev. Ashur Wright, for many years a missionary among the Senecas, and familiar with their language and customs:

As to their family system, when occupying the old log houses, it is probable that some one clan predominated, the women taking in husbands, however, from the other clans, and sometimes for novelty, some of their sons bringing in their young wives until they felt brave enough to leave their mothers. Usually the female portion ruled the house, and were doubtless clannish enough about it. The stores were in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge, and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey; the house would become too hot for him, and, unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother, he must retreat to his own clan, or, as was often done, go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other. The women were the great power among the clans, as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, to "knock off the horns," so it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors. The original nomination of the chiefs, also, always rested with them.[2]

Traces of the maternal system are everywhere found on the American continent, and in some regions it is still in force. McGee says of the Seri stock of the southwest coast, now reduced to a single tribe, that the claims of a suitor are pressed by his female relatives, and, if the suit is favorably regarded by the mother and uncles of the girl, the suitor is provisionally installed in the house, without purchase price and presents. He is then expected to show his worthiness of a permanent relation by demonstrating his ability as a provider, and by showing himself an implacable foe to aliens. He must sup-

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 64.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *ibid.*

port all the female relatives of his bride's family by the products of his skill and industry in hunting and fishing for a year. He is the general protector of the girl's family, and especially of the girl, whose bower and pelican-skin couch he shares, "not as husband, but as continent companion," for a year. If all goes well, he is then permanently received as "consort-guest," and his children are added to the clan of his mother-in-law.[1] With few exceptions, descent was formerly reckoned in Australia in the female line, and the usage survives in some regions. Howitt, in a letter to Professor Tylor, reports of the tribes near Maryborough, Queensland:

> When a man marries a woman from a distant locality, he goes to her tribelet and identifies himself with her people. This is a rule with very few exceptions. Of course, I speak of them as they were in their wild state. He becomes a part of, and one of, the family. In the event of a war expedition, the daughter's husband acts as a blood-relation, and will fight and kill his own blood-relations, if blows are struck by his wife's relations. I have seen a father and son fighting under these circumstances, and the son would most certainly have killed the father, if others had not interfered.[2]

In Australia there is also a very sharp social expression of the fact of sex in the division of the group into male and female classes in addition to the division into clans.[3] In the Malay archipelago the same system is found.

> Among the Padang Malays the child always belongs to its mother's *suku*, and all blood-relationship is reckoned through the wife as the real transmitter of the family, the husband being only a stranger. For this reason his heirs are not his own children, but the children of his sister, his brothers, and other uterine relations; children are the natural heirs of their mother only. . . . . We may assume that, wherever exogamy is now found coexisting with inheritance through the father (as among Rejangs and Bataks, the people of Nias and Timor, or the Alfurs of Ceram and Buru), this was formerly through the mother; and that the other system has grown up out of dislike to the inconveniences arising from the insecure and dependent condition of the husband in the wife's family.[4]

[1] W. J. McGee, "The Beginning of Marriage," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. IX, p. 376.

[2] E. B. Tylor, "The Matriarchal Family System," *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1896, p. 89.

[3] Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 33 ff.

[4] F. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde* (Engl. ed.), Vol. I, p. 438.

In Africa descent through females is the rule, with exceptions. The practice of the Wamoima, where the son of the sister is preferred in legacies, because "a man's own son is only the son of his wife," is typical.[1] Battel reported that the state of Loango was ruled by four princes, the sons of the former king's sister, since the own sons of the king never succeeded.[2]

Traces of this system are found in China and Japan, and it is still in full force in parts of India. Among the Kasias of northeast India the husband resides in the house of his wife, or visits her occasionally. "Laws of rank and property follow the strictest maternal type; when a couple separate, the children remain with the mother; the son does not succeed his father, but the raja's neglected offspring may become a common peasant or laborer; the sister's son succeeds to rank, and is heir to the property."[3]

Male kinship prevails among the Arabs, but Professor Robertson Smith has discovered abundant evidence that the contrary practice prevailed in ancient Arabia. "The women of the Jâhilîya, or some of them, had the right to dismiss their husbands, and the form of dismissal was this: If they lived in a tent, they turned it round, so that, if the door had faced east, it now faced west, and when the man saw this, he knew that he was dismissed, and did not enter."[4] And after the establishment of the male system the women still held property—a survival from maternal times. A form of divorce pronounced by a husband was, "Begone! for I will no longer drive thy flocks to the pasture."[5] "Our evidence seems to show that, when something like regular marriage began, and a free tribeswoman had one husband or one definite group of husbands at a time, the husbands at first came to her and she did not go to them."[6]

Numerous survivals of the older system are also found among the Hebrews. The servant of Abraham anticipated that the bride whom he was sent to bring for Isaac might be unwilling to leave

[1] J. LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 57.

[2] LUBBOCK, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 151. [3] TYLOR, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

[4] W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 65.

[5] SMITH, *loc. cit.*, p. 94. [6] SMITH, *loc. cit.*, p. 173.

her home, and the presents which he carried went to Rebekah's mother and brother;[1] Laban says to Jacob, "These daughters are my daughters, and these children are my children;"[2] the obligation to blood-vengeance rests apparently on the maternal kindred;[3] Sampson's Philistine wife remained among her people;[4] and the injunction in Gen. 2:24, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife," refers to the primitive Hebraic form of marriage.[5] Where the matriarchate prevails we naturally find no prejudice against marriage with a half-sister on the father's side, while union with a uterine sister is incestuous. Sara was a half-sister of Abraham on the father's side, and Tamar could have married her half-brother Amnon,[6] though they were both children of David; and a similar condition prevailed in Athens under the laws of Solon.[7] Herodotus says of the Lycians:

> Ask a Lycian who he is, and he will answer by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line. Moreover, if a free woman marry a man who is a slave, their children are free citizens: but if a free man marry a foreign woman, or cohabit with a concubine, even though he be the first person in the state, the children forfeit all rights of citizenship.[8]

Herodotus also relates that when Darius gave to the wife of Intaphernes permission to claim the life of a single man of her kindred, she chose her brother, saying that both husband and children could be replaced.[9] The declaration of the Antigone of Sophocles,[10] that she would have performed for neither husband nor children the toil which she undertook for Polynices, against the will of the citizens, indicates that the tie of a common womb was stronger than the social tie of marriage. The extraordinary honor, privilege, and proprietary rights enjoyed by ancient Egyptian and Babylonian wives[11] are traceable to an earlier maternal organization.

[1] Gen. 24:5 and 53.

[2] Gen. 31:43.

[3] Judges 8:19.

[4] Judges 15.

[5] *Cf.* SMITH, *loc. cit.*, 176.

[6] 2 Sam. 13:13.

[7] G. A. WILKEN, *Das Matriarchat*, p. 41.

[8] Herodotus (RAWLINSON), I, 173.

[9] Herodotus III, 119.

[10] Lines 905 ff.

[11] E. J. SIMCOX, *Primitive Civilisations*, Vol. I, pp. 200–11; 233 *et passim*.

All ethnologists admit that descent through females has been very widespread, but some deny that this system has been universally prevalent at any stage of culture. Those who have diminished its importance, however, have done so chiefly in reinforcement of their denials of the theory of promiscuity. It has been very generally assumed that maternal descent is due solely to uncertainty of paternity, and that an admission that the maternal system has been universal is practically an admission of promiscuity. Opponents of this theory have consequently felt called upon to minimize the importance of maternal descent.[1] But descent through females is not, in fact, fully explained by uncertainty of parentage on the male side. It is due to the larger social fact, including this biological one, that the bond between mother and child is the closest in nature, and that the group grew up about the more stationary female; and consequently the questions of maternal descent and promiscuity are by no means so inseparable as has commonly been assumed. We may accept Sir Henry Maine's terse remark that "paternity is a matter of inference, as opposed to maternity, which is a matter of observation,"[2] without concluding that society would have been first of all patriarchal in organization, even if paternity had been also a matter of observation. For the association of the woman with the child is immediate and perforce, but the immediate interest of the man is in the woman, through the power of her sexual attractiveness, and his interest in the child is secondary and mediated through her. This relation being a constant one, having its roots in the nature of sex rather than in the uncertainty of parentage, we may safely conclude that the so-called "mother-right" has everywhere preceded "father-right," and was the fund from which the latter was evolved.

But while it is natural that the children and the group should grow up about the mother, it is not conceivable that woman should definitely or long control the activities of society, especially on their motor side. In view of his superior power of

[1] Notably, WESTERMARCK, *loc. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.

[2] *Dissertation on Early Law and Custom*, p. 202.

making movements and applying force, the male must inevitably assume control of the life-direction of the group, no matter what the genesis of the group. It is not a difficult conclusion that, if woman's leaping, lifting, running, climbing, and slugging capacity are inferior to man's, by however slight a margin, her fighting capacity is less in the same degree, for battle is only an application of force, and there has never been a moment in the history of society when the law of might, tempered by sexual affinity, did not prevail. We must, then, in fact, recognize a sharp distinction between the law of descent and the fact of authority. The male was everywhere present in primitive society, and everywhere made his force felt. We can see this illustrated most plainly in the animal group, where the male is the leader, by virtue of his strength. There is also a stage of human society which may be called the prematriarchal stage, from the fact that ideas of kinship are so feeble that no extensive social filiation is effected through this principle, in consequence of which the group has not reached the tribal stage of organization on the basis of kinship, but remains in the primitive biological relation of male, female, and offspring. The Botocudos, Fuegians, Eskimos, West Australians, Bushmen, and Veddahs represent this primitive stage more or less completely; they have apparently not reached the stage where the fact of kinship expresses itself in maternal organization. They live in scattered bands, held together loosely by convenience, safety, and inertia, and the male is the leader, but the leadership of the male in this case, as among animals, is very different from the organized and institutional expression of the male force in systems of political control growing out of achievement. This involves a social history through which these low tribes have not passed. Organization can not proceed very far in the absence of social mass, and the collection of social mass took place unconsciously about the female as a universal preliminary of the conscious synthetization of the mass through males. From the side of organization, the negative accretion of population about female centers and filiation through blood is very

precious, since filiation based on relation to females prepares the way for organization based on motor activities. But in the pre-maternal stage, in the maternal stage, and in the patriarchal stage the male force was present and was the carrier of the social will. In the fully maternal system, indeed, the male authority is only thinly veiled, or not at all. Filiation through female descent precedes filiation through achievement, because it is a function of somatic conditions, in the main, while filiation through achievement is a function of historical conditions. This advantage of maternal organization in point of time embarrasses and obscures the individual and collective expression of the male force, but under the veil of female nomenclature and in the midst of the female organization we can always detect the presence of the male authority. Bachofen's conception of the maternal system as a political system was erroneous, as Dargun and others have pointed out,[1] though woman has been reinforced by the fact of descent, and has so figured somewhat in political systems.

A most instructive example of the parallel existence of descent through females and of male authority is found in the Wyandot tribe of Indians, in which also the participation of woman in the regulative activities of society is, perhaps, more systematically developed than in any other single case among maternal peoples. Major Powell gives the following outline of the civil and military government of this tribe:

> The civil government inheres in a system of councils and chiefs. In each gens there is a council, composed of four women, called *Yu-wat-yu-wá-na.* These four women councilors select a chief of the gens from its male members — that is, from their brothers and sons. This gentile chief is the head of the gentile council. The council of the tribe is composed of the aggregated gentile councils. The tribal council, therefore, is composed one-fifth of men and four-fifths of women. The sachem of the tribe, or tribal chief, is chosen by the chiefs of the gentes. There is sometimes a grand council of the gens, composed of the councilors of the gens proper and all the heads of households (women) and leading men — brothers and sons. There is also a grand council of the tribe, composed of the council of the tribe proper and the heads of households of the tribe, and all the leading men of the tribe . . . .

[1] See L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht*, 1892.

The four women councilors of the gens are chosen by the heads of households, themselves being women. There is no formal election, but frequent discussion is had over the matter from time to time, in which a sentiment grows up within the gens and throughout the tribe that, in the event of the death of any councilor, a certain person will take her place. In this manner there is usually one, two, or more potential councilors in each gens, who are expected to attend all the meetings of the council, though they take no part in the deliberations and have no vote. When a woman is installed as a councilor, a feast is prepared by the gens to which she belongs, and to this feast all the members of the tribe are invited. The woman is painted and dressed in her best attire, and the sachem of the tribe places upon her head the gentile chaplet of feathers, and announces in a formal manner to the assembled guests that the woman has been chosen a councilor . . . . The gentile chief is chosen by the council women after consultation with the other women and men of the gens. Often the gentile chief is a potential chief through a period of probation. During this time he attends the meetings of the council, but takes no part in the deliberations and has no vote. At his installation, the council women invest him with an elaborately ornamented tunic, place upon his head a chaplet of feathers, and paint the gentile totem upon his face . . . . The sachem of the tribe is selected by the men belonging to the council of the tribe.

The management of military affairs inheres in the military council and chief. The military council is composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe; the military chief is chosen by the council from the Porcupine gens. Each gentile chief is responsible for the military training of the youth under his authority. There are usually one or more potential military chiefs, who are the close companions and assistants of the chief in time of war and, in case of the death of the chief, take his place in the order of seniority.[1]

In this tribe the numerical recognition of women is striking, and indicates that they are the original core of society. They are still responsible for society, in a way, but all the offices involving motor actitivity are deputed to men. Thus women as heads of households choose four women councilors of the clan (gens), and these choose the fifth member, who is a man and the head of the council and chief of the clan. The tribal chief is, however, chosen by males, and in the military organization, which represents the group capacity for violence, the women have not even a nominal recognition. The real authority rests

[1] J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1879–80, pp. 61 ff.

with those who are most fit to exercise it. Female influence persists as a matter of habit, until, under the pressure of social, particularly of military, activities, the breaking up of the habit and a new accommodation follow the accumulation of a larger fund of social energy.

The men of any group are at any time in possession of the force to change the habits of the group and push aside any existing system. But the savage is not revolutionary; his life and his social sanctions are habitual. He is averse to change as such, and retains form and rite after their meaning is lost. We consequently find an expression of social respect for woman under the maternal system suggestive of chivalry, and even a formal elevation of women to authority in groups where the actual control is in the hands of men.

In the Mariana islands the position of woman was distinctly superior; even when the man had contributed an equal share of property on marriage, the wife dictated everything and the man could undertake nothing without her approval; but, if the woman committed an offense, the man was held responsible and suffered the punishment. The women could speak in the assembly, they held property, and if a woman asked anything of a man, he gave it up without a murmur. If a wife was unfaithful, the husband could send her home, keep her property, and kill the adulterer; but if the man was guilty or even suspected of the same offense, the women of the neighborhood destroyed his house and all his visible property, and the owner was fortunate if he escaped with a whole skin; and if a wife was not pleased with her husband, she withdrew, and a similar attack followed. On this account many men were not married, preferring to live with paid women. Likewise, in the Gilbert islands a man shows the same respect to a woman as to a chief, by stepping aside when he meets her. If a man strikes a woman, the other women drive him from the tribe. On Lukunor the men used, in conversation with women, not the usual, but a deferential form of language.[1]

The discoverers of the Friendly islands found there a king in

[1] WAITZ-GERLAND, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Vol. V, pp. 107 ff.

authority over the people, and his wife in control of the king, receiving homage from him, but not ruling.[1] In these and similar cases woman's early relation to the household is formally retained in the larger group and in the presence of an obviously masculine form of organization.

But, in contrast with the survival in political systems of the primitive respect shown mothers, we find the assertion of individual male force within the very bosom of the maternal organization, in the person of the husband, brother, or uncle of the woman. Among the Caribs "the father or head of the household exerts unlimited authority over his wives and children, but this authority is not founded on legal rights, but upon his physical superiority."[2] In spite of the maternal system in North America, the women were often roughly handled by their husbands. Schoolcraft says of the Kenistenos: "When a young man marries, he immediately goes to live with the father and mother of his wife, who treat him, nevertheless, as an entire stranger till after the birth of his first child." But "it appears that chastity is considered by them as a virtue . . . . . and it sometimes happens that the infidelity of a wife is punished by the husband with the loss of her hair, nose, or perhaps life. Such severity proceeds, perhaps, less from rigidity of virtue than from its having been practiced without his permission; for a temporary interchange of wives is not uncommon, and the offer of their persons is considered as a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers."[3] Schoolcraft also says of the women of the Chippeways, among whom the maternal system had given way: "They are very submissive to their husbands, who have, however, their fits of jealousy; and for very trifling causes treat them with such cruelty as sometimes to occasion their death. They are frequently objects of traffic, and the father possesses the right of disposing of his daughter."[4] Indian fathers also frequently sold their children,

[1] LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 50.

[2] C. N. STARCKE, *The Primitive Family*, p. 37.

[3] H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 167.

[4] SCHOOLCRAFT, *ibid.*, pp. 174–6.

without any show of right. "Kane mentions that the Shastas . . . frequently sell their children as slaves to the Chinooks."[1] Bancroft says of the Columbians: "Affection for children is by no means rare, but in few tribes can they resist the temptation to sell or gamble them away."[2] Descent through mothers is n force among the negroes of equatorial Africa, the man's property passing to his sister's children, but the father is an unlimited despot, and no one dares to oppose him. So long as his relation with his wives continues, he is master of them and of their children. He can even sell the latter into slavery.[3] In New Britain maternal descent prevails, but wives are obtained by purchase or capture and are practically slaves; they are cruelly treated, carry on agriculture, and bear burdens which make them prematurely stooped, and are likely, if their husbands are offended, to be killed and eaten.[4]

In many regions of Australia women are treated with extreme brutality, when their work is not satisfactory, or the husband has any other cause of offense. In Victoria the men often break heir staves over the heads of the women, and skulls of women have been found in which knitted fractures indicated former ill-treatment. In Cape York the women are beaten, and in the interior an angry native burned his wife alive. In the Adelaide dialect the phrase "owner of a woman" means husband. When a man dies, his uterine brother inherits his wife and children.[5]

Where under an exogamous system of marriage a man is forced to go outside his group to obtain a wife, he may do this either by going over to her group, by taking possession of her violently, or by offering her and the members of her group sufficient inducements to relinquish her; and the contrasted male and female disposition is expressed in all the forms of marriage incident to the exogamous system. Every exogamous group is naturally reluctant to relinquish its women, both because

[1] BANCROFT, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, p. 351.

[2] BANCROFT, *loc cit.*, Vol. I, p. 219.

[3] A. HOVELAQUE, *Les Nègres*, p. 316.

[4] VON DARGUN, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[5] WAITZ-GERLAND, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 774 ff.

it has in them laborers and potential mothers whose children will be added to the group, and because, in the event of their remaining in the group after marriage, their husbands become additional defenders and providers within the group. Where the husband is to settle in the family of the wife, a test is consequently often made of his ability as a provider. Among the Zuni Indians there is no purchase price, no general exchange of gifts; but as soon as the agreement is reached, the young man must undertake certain duties:

He must work in the field of his prospective mother-in-law, that his strength and industry may be tested; he must collect fuel and deposit it near the maternal domicile, that his disposition as a provider may be made known; he must chase and slay the deer, and make from an entire buckskin a pair of moccasins for the bride, and from other skins and textiles a complete feminine suit, to the end that his skill in hunting, skin-dressing, and weaving may be displayed; and, finally, he must fabricate or obtain for the maiden's use a necklace of seashell or of silver, in order that his capacity for long journeys or successful barter may be established; but if circumstances prevent him from performing these duties actually, he may perform them symbolically, and such performance is usually acceptable to the elder people. After these preliminaries are completed, he is formally adopted by his wife's parents, yet remains merely a perpetual guest, subject to dislodgment at his wife's behest, though he cannot legally withdraw from the covenant; if dissatisfied, he can only so ill-treat his wife or children as to compel his expulsion.[1]

This practice is seen in a symbolical form where presents are required of the suitor before marriage and their equivalent returned later. By depositing goods accumulated through his activities he demonstrates his ability as a provider, without undergoing a formal test. This practice is reported of the Indians of Oregon:

The suitor never, in person, asks the parents for their daughter; but he sends one or more friends, whom he pays for their services. The latter sometimes effect their purposes by feasts. The offer generally includes a statement of the property which will be given for the wife to the parents, consisting of horses, blankets, or buffalo robes. The wife's relations always raise as many horses (or other property) for her dower as the bridegroom has sent

[1] McGee, *loc. cit.*, p. 374.

the parents, but scrupulously take care not to turn over the same horses or the same articles. . . . . This is the custom alike of the Walla-Wallas, Nez-Percés, Cayuse, Waskows, Flatheads, and Spokans.[1]

In Patagonia the usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation are the property of the bride.[2]

Marriage by capture is an immediate expression of male force. This form of obtaining a wife has been very widespread, and, like marriage by settlement in the house of the wife, is an expedient for obtaining a wife outside the group where marriage by purchase is not developed, or where the suitor cannot offer property for the bride. It is an unsocial procedure and does not persist in a growing society, for it involves retaliation and blood feud. But it is a desperate means of avoiding the constraint and embarrassment of a residence in the family and among the relatives of the wife, where the power of the husband is hindered, and the male disposition is not satisfied in this matter short of personal ownership.

The man also sometimes lives under the maternal system in regular marriage, but escapes its disadvantages by stealing a supplementary wife or purchasing a slave woman, over whom and whose children he has full authority. In the Babar archipelago, where the maternal system persists even in the presence of marriage by purchase, and the man lives in the house of the woman, and the children are reckoned with the mother, it is considered highly honorable to steal an additional wife from another group, and in this case the children belong to the father.[3] Among the Kinbundas of Africa children belong to the maternal uncle, who

[1] SCHOOLCRAFT, *loc. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 654.

[2] LIEUTENANT MUSTERS, "On the Races of Patagonia," *Jour. Anth. Institute*, Vol. I, p. 201.

[3] R. STEINMETZ, *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwickelung der Strafe*, Vol. II, p. 272.

has the right to sell them, while the father regards as his children in fact the offspring of a slave woman, and these he treats as his personal property. To the same effect, among the Wanyamwesi, south of the Victoria Nyanza, the children of a slave wife inherit, to the exclusion of children born of a legal wife. And husbands among the Fellatahs are in the habit of adopting children, though they may have sons or daughters of their own, and the adopted children inherit the property.[1] In Indonesia a man sometimes marries a woman and settles in her family, and the children belong to her. But he may later carry her forcibly to his own group, and the children then belong to him.[2]

Bosman relates that in Guinea religious symbolism was also introduced by the husband to reinforce and lend dignity to this action. The maternal system held with respect to the chief wife :

> It was customary, however, for a man to buy and take to wife a slave, a friendless person with whom he could deal at pleasure, who had no kindred that could interfere for her, and to consecrate her to his Bossum or god. The Bossum wife, slave as she had been, ranked next to the chief wife, and was like her exceptionally treated. She alone was very jealously guarded, she alone was sacrificed at her husband's death. She was, in fact, wife in a peculiar sense. And having, by consecration, been made of the kindred and worship of her husband, her children would be born of his kindred and worship.[3]

Altogether the most satisfactory means of removing a girl from her group is to purchase her. The use of property in the acquisition of women is not a particular expression of the male nature, since property is accumulated by females as well, but where this form of marriage exists it means practically that the male relatives of the girl are using her for profit, and that her suitor is seeking more complete control of her than he can gain in her group, and viewed in this light the purchase and sale of women is an expression of the dominant nature of the male. In consequence of purchase woman became in barbarous society a chattel, and her socially constrained position in history and the present

[1] A. GIRAUD-TEULON, *Les Origines du Mariage et de la Famille*, p. 440.

[2] VON DARGUN, *loc. cit.*, p. 119.

[3] J. F. MCLENNAN, *The Patriarchal Theory*, p. 235.

hindrances to the outflow of her activities are to be traced largely to the system of purchasing wives. The simplest form of purchase is to give a woman in exchange. "The Australian male almost invariably obtains his wife or wives either as the survivor of a married elder brother, or in exchange for his sisters, or, later in life, for his daughters."[1] A wife is also often sold on credit, but kept at home until the price is paid. On the island of Serang a youth belongs to the family of the girl, living according to her customs and religion until the bride price is paid. He then takes both wife and children to his tribe. But in case he is very poor, he never pays the price, and remains perpetually in the tribe of his wife.[2] Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia the maternal has only barely given way to the paternal system, and the form of marriage reflects both systems. The suitor sends a messenger with blankets, and the number sent is doubled within three months, making in all about one hundred and fifty. These are to be returned later. He is then allowed to live with the girl in her father's house. Three months later the husband gives perhaps a hundred blankets more for permission to take his wife home.[3] Among the Makassar and Beginese stems of Indionesia the purchase of a wife involves only a partial relinquishment of the claim of the maternal house on the girl, all belonging to the mother's kindred in case full payment is not made; and a similar compromise between the two systems is made on the Molucca islands, where children born before the bride price is paid belong to the mother's side, after that to the father's.[4]

So long as a wife remained in her group, she could rely upon her kindred for protection against ill-usage from her husband, but she forfeited this advantage when she passed to his group. An Arabian girl replies to her father, when a chief seeks her in marriage: "No! I am not fair of face, and I have infirmities

[1] E. M. CURR, *The Australian Race*, Vol. I, p. 107.

[2] STEINMETZ, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 273.

[3] F. BOAS, "On the Indians of British Columbia," *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1889, p. 838.

[4] VON DARGUN, *loc. cit.*, 121–5.

of temper, and I am not his bint'amm (tribeswoman), so that he should respect my consanguinity with him, nor does he dwell in thy country, so that he should have regard for thee; I fear then that he may not care for me and may divorce me, and so I shall be in an evil case."[1] The Hassanyeh Arabs of the White Nile region in Egypt afford a curious example of the conflict of male and female interests in connection with marriage, in which the female passes by contract only partially under the authority of the male:

> When the parents of the man and woman meet to settle the price of the woman, the price depends on how many days in the week the marriage tie is to be strictly observed. The woman's mother first of all proposes that, taking everything into consideration, with a due regard for the feelings of the family, she could not think of binding her daughter to a due observance of that chastity which matrimony is expected to command for more than two days in the week. After a great deal of apparently angry discussion, and the promise on the part of the relatives of the man to pay more, it is arranged that the marriage shall hold good, as is customary among the first families of the tribe, for four days in the week, viz.: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; and, in compliance with old-established custom, the marriage rites during the three remaining days shall not be insisted on, during which days the bride shall be perfectly free to act as she may think proper, either by adhering to her husband and home, or by enjoying her freedom and independence from all observation of matrimonial obligations.[2]

We may understand also that the tolerance of loose conduct in girls before marriage, a tolerance which amounts in many tribes to approval, is due to the tribal recognition of the value of children, and children born out of marriage are added to the family of the mother. When, on the other hand, the conduct of girls is strictly watched, this is from a consideration that virgins command a higher bride price. Child marriages and long betrothals are means of guaranteeing the proper conduct of a girl to her husband, as they constitute a personal claim and afford him an opportunity to throw more restrictions about her. So

[1] SMITH, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

[2] SPENCER, *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 8, quotes PETHERICK, *Egypt, the Soudan, and Central Africa*, pp. 140–44.

that, in any case, the conduct of the girl is viewed with reference to her value to the tribe.

A social grouping which is not the product of forces more active in their nature than the reproductive force may be expected to yield before male motor activities, when these are for any reason sufficiently formulated. The primitive warrior and hunter comes into honor and property through a series of movements involving judgments of time and space, and the successful direction of force, aided by mechanical appliances and mediated through the hand and the eye. Whether directed against the human or the animal world, the principle is the same; success and honor, and influence in tribal life, depend on the application of violence at the proper time, in the right direction, and in sufficient measure; and this is preëminently the business of the male. The advantage of acting in concert in war and hunting, and under the leadership of those who have shown evidence of the best judgment in these matters, is felt in any body of men who are held together by any tie, and the first tie is the tie of blood, by which we should understand, not that primitive man has any sentimental feeling about kinship, but that he is psychologically inseparable from those among whom he was born and with whom he has to do. Though the father's sense of kinship and interest in his children is originally feeble, it increases with the growth of consciousness in connection with various activities, and, at the point in race development when chieftainship is hereditary in the clan and personal property is recognized, the father feels the awkwardness of a social system which reckons his children as members of another clan and forces him to bequeath his rank and possessions to his sisters' children, or other members of his own group, rather than to his children. The Navajoes[1] and Nairs,[2] and ancient Egyptians[3] avoided this unpleasant condition by giving their property to their children during their own lifetime, and the Shawnees, Miamis, Sauks, and Foxes avoided it by naming the children into the clan of the father,

[1] H. H. BANCROFT, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 506.

[2] SIMCOX, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 211.

[3] SIMCOX, *ibid.*

giving a child a tribal name being equivalent to adoption.[1] The cleverest bit of primitive politics of which we have record is the device employed in ancient Peru and surviving in historical times in Egypt and elsewhere in the East, by which the ruler married his own sister, contrary to the exogamous practice of the common folk. The children might then be regularly reckoned as of the kin of the mother, indeed, but they were at the same time of and in the group of the father, and the king secured the succession of his own son by marrying the woman whose son would traditionally succeed.

As we should expect, the desirability of modifying the system of descent and inheritance through females is felt first in connection with situations of honor and profit. At the time of the discovery of the Hawaiian islands the government was a brutal despotism, presenting many of the features of feudalism; the people prostrated themselves before the king and before objects which he had touched, and a man suffered death whose shadow fell upon the king, or who went uncovered within the shadow of the king's house, or even looked upon the king by day.[2] But descent was in the female line, with a tendency to transfer to the male line in case of the king, and among chiefs, priests, and nobility.[3] This assertion of the male authority was sometimes resented, however, and was a source of frequent trouble. Wilkes states that there was formerly no regularly established order of succession to the throne; the children of the chief wife had the best claim, but the king often named his own successor, and this gave rise to violent conflicts.[4]

Blood-brotherhood, blood-vengeance, secret societies, tribal marks (totemism, circumcision, tatooing, scarification), and religious dedication, are devices by which, consciously or unconsciously, the men escape from the tyranny of the maternal system. We cannot assume that these practices originate solely or largely in dissatisfaction, for the men would feel the advantage of a combination of interests whenever brought into association

[1] MORGAN, *Ancient Society*, p. 169.

[2] WAITZ-GERLAND, Vol. VI, p. 20.

[3] ELLIS, *Tour Through Hawaii*, p. 391.

[4] WAITZ-GERLAND, Vol. VI, pp. 201–3.

with one another, but these artificial bonds and their display to the eye are among the first attempts to synthetize the male forces of the group, and it is quite apparent that such unions are unfavorable to the continuance of the influence of women and of the system which they represent. In West Africa and among some of the negro tribes the initiatory ceremony is apparently deliberately hostile to the maternal organization. The youth is taken from the family of his mother and symbolically killed and buried, and resurrected by the priests into a male organization, and dedicated to his father's god.[1]

Spatial conditions have played an important rôle in the development of societies. Through movements the individual or the group is able to pick and choose advantageous relations, and by changing its location adjust itself to changes in the food conditions. That the success of the group is definitely related to its motor capacity is revealed by the following law of population, worked out by statisticians for the three predominant races of modern Europe: In countries inhabited jointly by these three races, the race possessing the smallest portion of wealth and the smallest representation among the more influential and educated classes constitutes also the least migratory element of the population, and tends in the least degree to concentrate in the cities and the more fertile regions of the country; and in countries inhabited jointly by the three races, the race possessing the largest portion of wealth and the largest representation among the more influential and educated classes is also the most migratory element of the population, and tends in the greatest degree to concentrate in the cities and the more fertile portions of the country.[2] The primitive movements of population necessitated by climatic change, geological disturbances, the failure of water or exhaustion of the sources of food, were occasions for the expression of the superior motor disposition of the male and for the dislodgment of the female from her position of advantage.

[1] J. LIPPERT, *Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 342.

[2] C. C. CLOSSON, "The Hierarchy of European Races," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. III, pp. 315 ff.

We know that the migrations of the natural races are necessary and frequent, and the movements of the culture races have been even more complex. The leadership of these mass movements and spatial reaccommodations necessarily rests with the men, who, in their wanderings, have become acquainted with larger stretches of space, and whose specialty is motor coördination. The progressive races have managed the space problem best. At every favorable point they have pushed out their territorial boundaries or transferred their social activities to a region more favorable to their expansion. Under male leadership, in consequence, territory has become the prize in every conflict of races, the modern state is based not on blood but on territory, and territory is at present the reigning political ideal.

In the process of coming into control of a larger environment through the motor activities of the male, the group comes into collision with other groups within which the same movement is going on, and it then becomes a question which group can apply force more destructively and remove or bring under control this human portion of its environment. Military organization and battle afford the grand opportunity for the individual and mass expression of the superior force-capacity of the male. They also determine experimentally which groups and which individuals are superior in this respect, and despotism, caste, and slavery are concrete expressions of the trial.

The nominal headship of woman within the maternal group existed only in default of forms of activity fit to formulate headship among the men, and when chronic militancy developed an organization among the males, the political influence of the female was completely shattered. At a certain point in history women became an unfree class, precisely as slaves became an unfree class — because neither class showed a superior fitness on the motor side; and each class is regaining its freedom because the race is substituting other forms of decision for violence.

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THE LAW RELATING TO THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENTS. IV.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN.[1]

It was not until the early seventies that the public care of dependent children began to differentiate from that of dependent adults. Until then dependent minors were cared for with the adults in the county or town almshouse, or supported with their parents upon outdoor relief. But at that time New York and Michigan excluded children from the almshouse and adopted systems of child-saving.[2] This movement has extended to a number of states, while in others it has not yet begun. It is the purpose of this paper to give the law relating to the care of dependent children now in force in the several states.

It must be borne in mind, however, that private institutions and child-saving organizations form an important part of the system of almost every state, so that, in searching out the public provision in any state, we are dealing with only a part of its system. It must also be borne in mind that but few states distinguish clearly between "vagrant" and "incorrigible" children on the one hand, and "dependent" and "neglected" children on the other. The result is that many destitute and homeless children are committed to the industrial schools and reformatories along with young offenders. The extent to which this is done does not fall within the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that in many of the southern and western states, where no special provision is made for child-saving, the vagrancy laws are so general and so inclusive that destitute and homeless children may come within their scope.

[1] The section references in this paper are to the statutes given in a preceding paper, JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, March, 1898, pp. 632–3.

[2] Michigan's state public school was established in 1871. New York passed her "children's act," excluding children from the almshouses, in 1875.

See *Report of N. C. C. C.*, pp. 123–4.

As was said, in many of our commonwealths the care of dependent minors has not differentiated from that of dependent adults. There is now, and has been, however, one possibility for a difference in their treatment. This is found in the law relating to the adoption and apprenticing of minors.

With the consent of the parent or legal guardian a child may, through the court, be adopted into a family and have the same legal standing as a natural child. So, too, may a minor, with the consent of the parent or guardian, be apprenticed or bound out through the court for a certain specified time, or until he reaches a certain age. In such a case the minor must work for his master, in consideration for which he receives maintenance, schooling, instruction in a trade, and other benefits, as prescribed by law. The contract is binding upon both parties and is dissolved only by the court. In nearly all the commonwealths the poor authorities are made the guardians of dependent and neglected children, and are explicitly authorized to secure their adoption or binding out.

As a rule, the power of the poor authorities to bind out poor orphans, dependent children, children of paupers, or children found begging, without the consent of their parents or guardian, is discretionary. In a few states it is made their duty to bind them out. But the point of interest is that twenty-nine of the forty-eight commonwealths have made no further provision. These states form a wide belt, including most of the southeastern, southern, and western states, where the child-saving problem has not become so pressing. It includes, however, a few New England and north central states.[1] If the authority to bind

[1] These states (including some where the power of binding dependent minors is not specifically granted) are Vermont, Maine, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Illinois, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, and Oregon.

When one examines the statistics, he is surprised to find that it is not these states which have the largest number of children in the almshouses in proportion to the total population. However, children form a larger proportion of their almshouse population than in the other states.

See *Report of N. C. C. C.*, 1894, p. 125.

out dependent children is not exercised (and it is not), they are cared for in the almshouse, supported with their parents in the home, or treated as young vagrants.

The assertion that there is no further provision in these states than that spoken of above is not quite true. West Virginia and South Dakota authorize the courts to commit dependent and vagrant children to societies to be placed out.[1] Thus provision is made for coöperation with private organizations, so that children may be cared for in a semi-public way. Kentucky has a "board of children's guardians" in cities of the first class, whose duty it is to coöperate with the courts in removing children from vicious homes and securing good homes for them.[2] This board will be referred to again. Eight of these states make it the *duty* of the poor authorities to bind out dependent minors, and not to permit them, unless injudicious to do otherwise, to remain in the almshouse.[3] In Louisiana the county

[1] By an act of 1887, West Virginia authorizes orphans' homes to place their children in families when they think it best. The courts may commit destitute children to such orphans' homes. In South Dakata an act of March 1, 1895, provides for the incorporation of societies to care for and place out children surrendered to them by the parents or committed to them by the courts.

[2] The Kentucky law is a good example of the inclusive vagrancy acts. In that state (325) children under sixteen found begging, or who are homeless, or who are cruelly treated or neglected, or who are orphans destitute of the means of support, may be committed by the court to the reformatory.

[3] These states are Alabama (1474–1478), Mississippi (3159, 3161), Arkansas (250, 252), North Dakota (1498, 2834), South Dakota (2165), New Mexico (1037), Nevada (1985), and Washington (1599). The two Dakotas and Nebraska (3950) provide that such children shall be educated when permitted to remain in the almshouse. Section 3161 of the Mississippi statutes reads: "It shall be unlawful for any superintendent of a poorhouse to permit a healthy child of ten years of age or over to remain at the poorhouse; but all such children there shall be reported to the board of supervisors and bound apprentices." The members of the board of supervisors are to "report to the board the names of the poor orphan children within their respective districts, and of other children whose parents are unable to support them." In Alabama it is the duty of the sheriff, justices of the peace, and all civil officers to report children to the probate court, so that they may be bound out. A like duty devolves upon the justices of the peace in New Mexico. A similar provision is found in Georgia (2605), where policemen and other civil officers are to report all such cases to the ordinary. In Florida (2115), when a person is placed upon the "pauper list" of the county, it is the duty of the county commissioners to report any children he may have under sixteen years of age to the county judge, that he may bind them out.

judge may remove any child from a home where its welfare is "seriously endangered" and provide for it as he may see fit.[1] In Illinois the court is authorized to remove children from the almshouse and find family homes for them, when such can be done without incurring any expense.[2] Texas and Nevada have state orphans' homes for indigent orphans and half-orphans.[3] Iowa has a state institution for soldiers' and sailors' orphans at Davenport, to which other destitute children may be admitted when there is sufficient room.[4] Then, too, in some states the authority of the court or of the county commissioners in caring for dependents is so general that special provision for minors might in some cases be made.

New Jersey, North Carolina, and California have made special provision for dependent children, but they have not excluded minors from the almshouse. In New Jersey counties having populations of more than 20,000 may establish children's homes. The court of common pleas of counties having populations of less than 20,000 may commit children to non-sectarian children's homes at county expense, such expense not to exceed $1.50 per week. Children may be supported in these institutions until

[1] Act of 1894.

[2] Efforts to secure some positive legislation in child-saving in Illinois have been almost fruitless. The law referred to above (43, ch. 107) reads: "That the county judges of the several counties of this state be, and they hereby are, authorized to make such orders as shall be necessary to release from the custody of the keepers of the poor-farms in their respective counties all children confined therein under the age of fourteen (14) years, who have no parents or legal guardians living, whenever the said judge can, without expense to the county, through the agency of any person or charitable society in this state, secure a good home for said child; and the said judge is hereby authorized, and it is made his duty, to enter into a contract on behalf of such child or children with the person who agrees to take such child, which contract shall provide that said child shall be clothed, maintained, and schooled in the common schools of the state until he, if a male child, is twenty-one years old, and if a female, until she is eighteen years of age." The law (2–6, ch. 9) also authorizes the court to remove children from their parents when they, because of drunkenness, incapacity, or immorality, are unfit to care for them. Upon this point the court has held (55 Ill., 280) that the father is the natural guardian of the child, and that his rights can be abridged by the state only upon necessity arising from his gross unfitness to have custody of the child.

[3] 1–11, art. 120; 1463–1480.

[4] 2701–2708.

sixteen years of age. Institutions caring for dependents at county expense must report annually to the board of freeholders.[1] In North Carolina the county commissioners are authorized to establish children's homes and levy a tax therefor. Dependents under fourteen years of age may be admitted to these homes and are retained until sixteen, all being employed, so as to make the institutions as nearly self-supporting as possible.[2] The state of California subsidizes institutions caring for twenty or more orphans, half-orphans, and abandoned children. The state also subsidizes foundling institutions receiving and caring for twenty or more children during the year.[3]

Of the thirty-two states thus far referred to, perhaps only the three last mentioned — New Jersey, North Carolina, and California — can be said to have provided for a system of public child-saving. The remaining sixteen states have made more progress and have evolved more or less well-organized systems.

The movement of excluding children from the almshouse,

[1] Acts of March 14, 1879, and March 14, 1881.

[2] Act of March 6, 1891.

[3] California adopted the subsidy system in 1871. After the law was amended a number of times, a new law was adopted March 25, 1880. This is now in force, and reads in part: "There is hereby appropriated out of any money in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, to each and every institution in this state for the support and maintenance of minor orphans, half-orphans, or abandoned children, aid as follows: For each whole-orphan supported and maintained in any such institution, the sum of one hundred dollars per annum; for each half-orphan supported and maintained in any such institution, the sum of seventy-five dollars per annum; for each abandoned child supported and maintained in any such institution, the sum of seventy-five dollars per annum; provided, such abandoned child shall have been an inmate thereof one year prior to receiving any support as provided in this act." No institution caring for fewer than twenty children is subsidized. In reckoning the number of children, only those under fourteen years of age, and for whose care no payment of $10 or more per month has been received, are included. The institutions are to keep full records of the children, of sums received for their care, etc. The books are to be inspected by the state board of examiners. Subsidies are paid in semi-annual installments.

By an act of March 7, 1883, subsidies were extended to foundling institutions. The state grants those institutions receiving and caring for twenty or more children under the age of eighteen months $12.50 per month for each child cared for.

For something as to the expensiveness and actual workings of this subsidy system in California, see Mr. Randall's article on "The Michigan System of Child-saving," JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol., I, p. 710 (May, 1896).

and providing other facilities for their care, was begun in the early seventies. At present eleven states prohibit the retention of certain classes of children (all fit for family care) in the almshouses, while others have made such provision that their retention, although not prohibited, is unnecessary. In Massachusetts none but young children (under eight years of age), with their mothers, and children of unsound mind, are to be sent to the almshouse.[1] In New Hampshire no child of sound mind between the ages of three and fifteen is permitted to remain in the almshouse longer than sixty days.[2] Likewise in Pennsylvania pauper children, unless unteachable idiots, epileptics, or paralytics, are not to be kept in the almshouse longer than sixty days.[3] Similarly in Maryland none save the abnormal, between the ages of three and sixteen, are to be retained there longer than ninety days.[4]

County homes are to be provided in Connecticut, and after they are so provided, no child between the ages of two and sixteen is to be kept in any almshouse.[5] None but the crippled and deformed are permitted to remain in the almshouses of New York.[6] After January 1, 1898, none between the ages of three and seventeen are to be permitted to remain longer than ten days in the "poor asylums" of Indiana.[7] No child between the ages of five and sixteen, unless an unteachable idiot, epileptic, or paralytic, or one who is unfit for family life, shall be sent to the almshouse in the state of Wisconsin.[8] In Michigan, Minnesota, and Colorado no child who may be sent to the state public school may be retained in the almshouse when there is sufficient room at the school.[9] The statutes of Ohio declare that, if children are permitted to remain in the "infirmary," they must be kept in a department separate from that of the adults.[10]

Turning to the positive provisions in the several states yet to

[1] 4, ch. 84.

[2] Act of March 26, 1897.

[3] 46, p. 1020.

[4] 1, 2, art. 4.

[5] 3657.

[6] 2, ch. 438, Law of 1884.

[7] Act of February 23, 1897.

[8] 1527.

[9] 1975; 3513; Act of April 10, 1895.

[10] 7800.

be considered, we find that they have all adopted more or less effective methods of placing children with families to be cared for and educated. The child is placed with a family upon a written contract. This contract specifies how much schooling, etc., it shall receive, and provides for its treatment as a member of the family. The parties to the contract are the officer or agent of the institution placing the child, and the head of the family receiving it. This contract may, in all cases, be abrogated by the former party whenever the child's welfare may be thereby furthered. When the care of a child placed with a family is not paid for, it is said to be "placed out;" when paid for, "boarded out."

In accordance with her "children's act" of 1875, New York removed all her normal children from the almshouse and placed them in private asylums at public expense, the law providing that, in the selection of institutions, preference should be given sectarian institutions of the child's religious faith. This subsidy system led to great abuses. As a result of these a law was enacted in 1884 providing that no child should be supported at public expense until the case had been examined by the court and it had been found that there was no relative under legal obligation to support the child in question.[1] Further control over the institutions was secured in 1894, when a law was enacted providing that they could be incorporated only with the consent of, and upon the conditions imposed by, the state board of charities.[2] Most dependent children are thus sent to these institutions at county or town expense (New York has both county

[1] Ch. 438, Laws of 1884.

[2] Ch. 171, Laws of 1894. The section of the law referred to reads: "No institution [caring for children] shall be incorporated for any of the purposes mentioned in this section except with the written consent and approbation of a justice of the supreme court, upon the certificate in writing of the state board of charities approving the organization and incorporation of such an institution. The said board of charities may apply to the supreme court for the cancellation of any certificate of incorporation previously filed without its approval, and may institute and maintain an action in such court, through the attorney general, to procure a judgment dissolving any such corporation not so incorporated and forfeiting its corporate rights and privileges and franchises."

and town paupers), but some few are "placed out" by the overseers of the poor.[1] In Erie county two agents are employed to find family homes for indigent children.[2]

Maryland and New Mexico have a combination of the subsidy and "placing-out" systems. In the former state, as was seen, the trustees of the poor or the county commissioners are prohibited from retaining children in the almshouse longer than ninety days, but are to place them with families or in educational institutions and children's homes. This last clause makes the subsidy system possible. When placed with families, children are to be visited at least once in every six months, and if their welfare demands it, may be removed at any time.[3] In New Mexico the courts may commit children to the asylum of the Sisters of Charity at Santa Fé. Children so committed are paid for by the state at the rate of $10 per month, it being provided that the total amount spent in this way in any one year shall not exceed $5,000. It is the duty of the institution to find family homes for these wards. The probate judge is also authorized to find homes in good families for the dependent children of his county.[4]

By an act of March 31, 1893, the overseers of the poor and the county commissioners of New Hampshire were authorized to send dependent children to private institutions upon such terms as they might agree, preference being given in any case to the institution of the child's religious faith. The next legislature passed a measure, going into effect July 1, 1895, prohibiting the retention of any children (except those of unsound mind) between the ages of three and fifteen in the almshouse longer than thirty days, and made it the duty of the overseers of the poor and the county commissioners to find homes for them in families. The placing out was to be done in accordance with the direction of the state board of charities, created to secure the enforcement of this law, and all contracts entered into in placing children were to be filed with it.[5] In 1897 this law was

[1] *Report of N. C. C. C.*, 1894, p. 126.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] 1–2, art. 4.

[4] 1116, 1121.

[5] Act of March 29, 1895.

amended giving the state board still greater power.[1] As the law now stands, children are not to be retained in the almshouse longer than sixty days. It is the duty of the overseers of the poor and of the county commissioners to place out any such with families. The agent of the state board is to visit all the almshouses of the state, and if any child is found retained longer than sixty days, it becomes his duty to remove it and find a home for it. All contracts are filed with the state board. The agent visits children placed out and may remove any child from its home whenever its welfare may be thereby furthered.

Connecticut and Ohio place out their dependent minors, using county and "district homes" as temporary refuges. In Connecticut each county, through its county commissioners, is to provide one or more homes as temporary refuges for children between the ages of two and sixteen, other than those "demented, idiotic, or suffering from incurable or contagious diseases." The towns are to send their dependents to these county homes, paying from $1.50 to $2 per week for each child so sent. These homes "shall not be used as a permanent provision or residence for any child, but for its temporary protection for so long a time only as shall be necessary for the placing of the child in a well-selected family home." These refuges are under the direction of a board composed of the county commissioners, a member of the state board of charities, and a member of the state board of health. Each board is to appoint two agents (a man and a woman) to assist it in placing out and visiting the children. Each child is to be visited at least once every three months and may, when its welfare requires it, be removed and placed again in the county home or with another family.[2]

Ohio has adopted what is commonly known as the "district system."[3] A county, or two or more counties, may establish and maintain children's homes, to which all indigent children between three and sixteen years of age, unless imbecile, idiotic, or insane,

[1] Act of March 26, 1897. [2] 3656–3663.

[3] For a description of this system see "Children's Homes in Ohio," by S. J. HATHAWAY, *Report of N. C. C. C.*, 1890, p. 208.

are to be committed. The courts may also commit minors who are abused by their parents or guardians to these institutions.[1] The homes are directed by bipartisan, unsalaried boards of four, appointed by the county commissioners. The boards are authorized to appoint agents to place out such children within or without the state, in the former case reporting their action to the clerk of the township in which the child is placed. The township clerk reports all cases to the county visitors (of whom there are three, appointed annually by the probate court), who are to visit the child at least once a year and report to the institution. The township trustee is to visit all such children upon the lists of the township clerk quarterly and report to him, he in turn reporting to the institution. Children not well cared for are to be removed.[2]

Until January of the present year the dependent children of Indiana were cared for in the "poorhouses" or boarded with private institutions. The matrons of these institutions were to use due diligence in finding family homes for the children, and were to visit them when placed out. It is needless to say the children were not placed out. As a result of the abuses of this subsidy system the enforcement of the law was placed in the hands of the state board of charities. Children of sound mind, between the ages of three and seventeen, are not to be retained in the county almshouse longer than ten days. Each county (or two or more counties jointly) is to provide a children's home or make provision with some institution, to which all dependent children suitable for family care are to be sent by the township trustees or the county commissioners. The court may also

[1] Sec. 945, Bates' Annotated Statutes, 1897, reads: "Children who are under the custody of parent, guardian, or next friend, and who by reason of neglect, abuse, or from the moral depravity, habitual drunkenness, incapacity or unwillingness of such custodian to exercise proper care or discipline over them, are being brought up to lead idle, vagrant, or criminal lives, may, if the trustees of the township in which they have a legal settlement, after a careful and partial investigation of the condition and facts, as they exist, deem it manifestly requisite for the future welfare of such children, and for the benefit and protection of society, be committed to the guardianship of the trustees of a county or district children's home."

[2] 930–945, Bates' Annot. Stat.

commit children abused or neglected by their parents or brought up in evil associations to these homes. It is the duty of the township trustees to report all such children to the court for commitment. When committed, they become the wards of the trustees of the homes. These homes are to be used as temporary refuges, and it is made the duty of the boards to use due diligence in finding family homes for children placed in them. When placed with families, the children are to be visited at least once a year and a report made to the county commissioners. The state board of charities is to appoint one or more agents to coöperate with the boards of the county homes in finding family homes for children and in visiting such as are placed beyond the limits of the county. The agents may also receive children directly from the court and the county commissioners, and find homes for them. Each county home is to report monthly to the state board of charities and the county commissioners the number received during the previous month.[1]

Six states—Michigan, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and Colorado—have what is commonly known as the "Michigan system." In 1875 Michigan provided for a state public school, in which all the dependent minors of sound mind and body were to find a temporary home and school, and from which they were to be placed out, their guardianship being vested in the board of control of the state institution.

As Michigan's law now stands, all indigent children between the ages of two and twelve, of sound mind and free from bodily disease, are not to be retained in the almshouse, but, if there is sufficient room, sent to the state public school. The superintendents of the poor are to report all indigent minors to the probate judge. The fact of a child's dependence is established by the court, the parents of the child being notified of the procedure and having the right to appear in defense of their rights to the child. When the fact of its dependence is established, the child is examined by the county physician and, if found to be normal and free from contagious disease, is then committed

[1] Act of February 23, 1897.

by the court to the state public school. All rights of the parents over the child are thereby severed, all their duties toward it absolved. The child, upon commitment, becomes a ward of the board of control of the institution.

This board of control is composed of three persons appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, for six years. It is a continuous body, as one member is appointed each two years. It has full charge of the institution and of the education and placing out of the children.

In the school the children are taught the common branches, and receive physical and moral training. Here they remain until prepared for family life and suitable homes can be found for them. If any are not adapted to family life, or if homes cannot be found for them, they are returned at the age of sixteen to the superintendents of the poor, to be cared for as other dependents.

The institution is intended to be only a school and a temporary home. The board of control is to use due diligence in placing its wards with suitable families. It is to employ a state agent to find such homes and to visit children when placed in them. This agent is assisted in the work by the county agents of the state board of corrections and charities.

The salary of the state agent, the expenses and salaries of the board of control, and all expenses incident to the school are borne by the state.[1]

Michigan's law establishing a state institution has been copied, with some variations, by the other states mentioned above. The Rhode Island state home and school for children receives those between four and fourteen years of age who are declared to be "vagrant, neglected, and dependent upon the public for support." The superintendents of the poor and the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are to report all abandoned and neglected children and all in the almshouse to the probate court, whereupon they are committed to the state home and

[1] 1962–1983, as amended in 1885, 1887, and 1889. For a fuller statement of the law and an account of the system, see Mr. Randall's article referred to above.

school, as in Michigan. The board of control becomes the guardian of such children and is to employ a salaried secretary to place out those it is thought will be benefited thereby, in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, or Connecticut. Those not placed out are retained in the institution until eighteen years of age.[1]

The provisions for the Minnesota state public school for dependent and neglected children are very similar to those of Michigan. They differ from them in that children between two and fourteen are admissible, preference, however, being given to those under twelve. It is the duty of the county commissioners to bring all abandoned, neglected, idle, and vagrant children, those who are in danger of life, health, or morality, before the probate judge for commitment. A state agent is employed, who places them with families and visits them as directed by the board of control for the school.[2]

The Wisconsin law differs from that of Minnesota chiefly in that the ages of children committed are from three to fourteen, preference here again being given to those under twelve. As in Minnesota, no children of this age and of sound mind and free from disease are to be permitted to remain in the almshouse.[3]

The Kansas Soldiers' Orphans' Home is an institution for dependent and neglected children like the state schools of Wisconsin and Minnesota, soldiers' orphans having a preference in

[1] Ch. 87. The purpose of the institution is stated in sec. 8 thus: "It is declared to be the object of this chapter to provide for neglected and dependent children, not recognized as vicious or criminal, such influences as will lead toward an honest, intelligent, and self-supporting manhood and womanhood, the state so far as possible holding to them the parental relation. But if at any time, in the discretion of the board, this object can be better attained by placing a child in a good family, they shall have the power to do so on condition that its education shall be provided for by such family in the public schools of the town or city where they may reside. The board are hereby made the legal guardians of all the children who may become inmates of the home and school and charged with the duty of following such children as may be placed in families with watchful care, and of taking them back to their own immediate supervision if at any time they fail to receive kind and proper treatment and a fair elementary education."

[2] 3509–3520, as amended April 5, 1895.

[3] 573*a*.

the order of admission. When placed out, the children are to be visited by the county superintendents of instruction at least twice each year and reports made to the institution. The superintendents receive their expenses and $3 per day for the time spent in the performance of this duty.[1]

In 1895 Colorado established a state home "for children of sound mind and body under sixteen years of age who are dependent upon the public for support." The provisions for a state agent, for placing out, etc., are essentially the same as those in the states described above. Each child placed out must be visited quarterly by the county superintendent, a county commissioner, one of the county visitors or the state agent, and its condition reported to the state home.[2]

In accordance with an act of March 2, 1893, Montana established an orphans' home for the care of orphans, foundlings, and destitute children, which in many respects is not different from the state public schools described above. It is primarily for children under the age of twelve, but the board of trustees may admit others under the age of sixteen. Facilities for education, "literary, technical, and industrial, as can be made beneficial to

[1] 6214–6219.

The law providing for the creation of this instititution states its purpose as follows: "Said orphans' home shall be an institution to afford a temporary home without charge for the classes of children hereinafter mentioned, and to provide them with such advantages of education and training as may be necessary to fit them to enter homes secured for them. . . . . All children with sound minds and bodies, who are over the age of two years and under the age of fourteen years, and who belong to either of the following classes, shall be eligible for admission to said home: First, any child who is dependent upon the public for support; second, any abandoned, neglected, or ill-treated child whose condition is an object of public concern, and over whom the state may have power to exercise its authority and extends its protection; provided, that in the event of a lack of room in said institution the children of soldiers and sailors who served in the Union army or navy during the late rebellion shall have preference in the order of admission."

[2] 422.

In the supplement we find a note reading as follows: "This institution was established as a result of a quickened public conscience upon the subjects of waifs of the state, a comprehensive understanding of the relation of the state to the child, and the demonstrated effect of such institutions in decreasing crime."—Park *vs.* Commissioners of Soldiers and Sailors' Home, 22 Colorado.

them," are to be provided. The trustees may, at their discretion, find family homes for them.[1]

In the two states of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania we find the system of boarding out children along with placing out as found in the several states just noticed. In Pennsylvania children of sound mind are not to be retained in the almshouse longer than sixty days. It is the duty of the overseers of the poor to place them in some educational institution or home, or with some respectable family. When placed out, they are to be visited at least once in six months and reports made to the overseers or other persons having charge of the poor.[2] Counties are also authorized to establish industrial homes.[3] As a matter of fact, most of the overseers have placed the indigent children in the care of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, by which they are boarded with families at public expense. As a rule, the children are regularly adopted after a few months and thus secure permanent homes.[4]

Massachusetts has "state dependent children" and "town dependent children." The state charges are foundlings and those without a town settlement. The town charges are those having a town settlement. The state charges are under the guardianship of the state board of lunacy and charity. Deserted and destitute infants, until three years of age, are cared for at state expense (not to exceed $4 per week) at St. Mary's Infant Asylum, or, at the discretion of the state board, are boarded with private families. The non-resident dependents, from three to fourteen years of age, are committed to the state primary school, from which they may be placed or boarded out, or are boarded out directly. The expense incurred in boarding such children is not to exceed $2 per week. These state charges, when placed or boarded out, are to be visited by the

[1] "The trustees may, when, in their opinion, the best interests of any inmate would be subserved thereby, secure homes for any of them in private families upon such terms as they may agree upon, reserving the right to replace such children in the home if they shall deem it for their best interests."

[2] 47, p. 1020. [3] 48, p. 1020.

[4] See *Report of N. C. C. C.*, 1894, p. 130.

state board.[1] The town charges are under the direction of the overseers of the poor. They may send them to some asylum to be cared for at public expense, or they may find family homes for them, with or without expense. When placed or boarded with a family, children are to be visited by the overseers or an agent at least once every three months.[2] If no local provision has been made, they may be committed to the care of the state board.[3]

Something should also be said of the provision in the District of Columbia. In 1892 a board of children's guardians was created, and the guardianship of the dependent children vested in it. The board, through its agents, is to board children with families or with institutions, or secure their adoption or bind them out, visiting each child committed to its care at least once each year.[4]

So much for the provision made by the several commonwealths for the care of dependent children. There remain two points of which we wish to speak, viz.: the "boards of children's guardians" of Indiana, Kentucky, and the District of Columbia, and the state regulation of private institutions caring for children.

Frequently there is insufficient incentive to obtain, or inadequate provision for, the enforcement of a law sufficiently wide in its scope. The board of children's guardians is an institution designed to obviate this difficulty.

A measure providing for boards of children's guardians was enacted in Indiana in 1889, and amended and put in its present form by the two succeeding legislatures. It applies to all counties (four at present) having a population of 50,000. It provides that the court in these counties shall appoint a board of six, three men and three women, whose duty it shall be to take charge of all children abandoned, neglected, or cruelly treated; all children found begging, or who are idle or incorrigible; the children of drunken and vicious parents, and all children living

[1] Ch. 181 and ch. 84 of Supplement.

[2] 3, ch. 84.

[3] Act of April 19, 1888.

[4] Act of July 26, 1892.

in evil associations, and to bring them before the court for trial. The court may commit them to this board, which then furnishes them a temporary home, secures their adoption, binds them out, or places them with families.[1]

A similar board has been provided for in cities of the first class in the state of Kentucky. Its powers and duties are the same as those of the Indiana boards.[2] In both states the members serve without pay.

A board of children's guardians was created in the District of Columbia in 1892. It is composed of nine members, each sex being represented by at least three. The board is a continuous body, three of the members being chosen each year. They are chosen by the justices of the police courts and the judge of the criminal court at a meeting called for that purpose. The work of the board is done through agents, it having an appropriation of not more than $2,400 per year for not more than two agents. The courts commit those under sixteen who are destitute, abandoned, or vagrant, or who have vicious and drunken parents, or are living in vicious and immoral associations, to this board, which then provides for them as stated above.[3]

Little has been done in the way of regulating private institutions caring for children, although state supervision and regulation of such is deemed highly important by many with experience in child-saving work.[4] In Pennsylvania "baby farms" are under state regulation. Such institutions must be licensed by the mayor or a magistrate, and may be visited and inspected by the state board of public charities.[5] In Maine no children's home may be incorporated without the certificate of the probate judge.[6] As was seen above, the incorporation of children's homes in New York must be approved by the state board of charities. Michigan defines very clearly the powers

[1] Act of March 9, 1889, as amended by Acts of March 9, 1891, and March 3, 1893.

[2] 2008–2013.

[3] Act of July 26, 1892.

[4] As to the necessity of the state regulation of private institutions for the care of children and the points regulation should cover, see HOMER FOLK's paper, on the "State Supervision of Child-saving Agencies," *Report of N. C. C. C.*, 1895, p. 209.

[5] 3–5, p. 1014.

[6] Act of 1894.

and duties of humane societies and societies caring for children, and they must report to the legislature, attorney general, or secretary of state, whenever requested.[1] All children placed out in Michigan must be visited by the county agents. This latter provision is also found in Ohio, where the names of all children placed out must be recorded with the township clerk and visited by the local visitors when the society makes no provision for their visitation.[2] By an act of 1895, orphans' homes and incorporated societies in Wisconsin must report to the state board of control as required by it.[3] And, lastly, in Wyoming the county commissioners may remove children from institutions in which they are not well cared for, and, if necessary, declare such institutions to be public nuisances.[4]

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[1] 4583.

[2] 7801.

[3] Ch. 206, Acts of 1895.

[4] Act of 1895.

A PLEA AND PLAN FOR A COÖPERATIVE CHURCH PARISH SYSTEM IN CITIES.

In the city is centering a larger and larger measure of the necessities and opportunities of social service, because the city continues to be what it has always been, qualitatively, in influence upon the ideals of the state, and because an enlarging proportion of the state's subjects are domiciling themselves in attached houses.

In the city, therefore—the magnetic, overcrowded, increasing city—social service finds its fields white for harvest, and anyone who knows his time must confess that goodness is showing great genius in the multiplicity of channels which it is digging for the flow of streams of service. Settlements, tax propagandas, labor bureaus, colonization movements, institutes, a host of helpfulnesses crowd the horizon as one tries to recount the new forms of altruism's applications.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that the church is not holding herself aloof from this generous humanitarianism. Genetically, of course, she is the mother of it. The genesis of the social conscience, as Professor Nash has so magnificently proven, has been at her altars. It cannot, therefore, but rejoice one who loves the Master of Nazareth, and who loves his kind, to see the new efflorescence of service to the hungry and naked, the sick, the criminal, and the forlorn.

But it must be confessed that primacy in altruistic movements is no longer conceded to the church as it used to be, and perhaps the fault lies, in a measure, at her own door. It is charged against her that the service she most enjoys is her ministry to those who support her, and that all her extraparochial work is due to a desire to make a "statistical showing" rather than to enthusiasm for humanity. This the writer does not concede, for he knows that much of the altruistic work of the

church is not statistically spectacular, but sacramental in spirit, "As unto the Lord and not unto men."

It is useless, however, to shut one's eyes to the fact that so long as the church remains the richest in material resources of the voluntary forces of social uplift, and so long as, in virtue of what she does, the state exempts her from taxation, every member of the state has the right to ask whether the service she renders is equal to the favor shown. Among friends of the church it is only, therefore, the advocate, fortunately rare in America, of her divine right to favor from the state who will not point out the modes in which she may so improve her social services as to leave her tax-exemption favor unquestioned now and unchangeable in years to come.

It is such an attempt that is made in the present article. Originated by the Holy One from one of the least cities of Judah, commissioned in Palestine's largest city, her literature christened with the names of the ancient world's greatest cities and city, her social ideal a city let down from heaven, the church has opportunity to take the primacy, beyond all question, in altruistic movements, by the institution of a coöperative parish system in cities.

The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City recently completed its second house-to-house inquiry into social and religious conditions in New York. The canvass embraced 4,800 families. One object, in the tabulation of the material gathered, was to ascertain the economy and efficiency of religiously cultural work as at present carried on in cities. It must be allowed that the showing made by the church is unsatisfactory.

The assessed valuation of church property in the ward in which the canvass was carried on, in 1896, was $4,240,000; the assessed valuation of school property in the same area, $1,993,000. Twice as much church property as school property, including parochial schools, was exempt from taxation.

Among the children from eight to sixteen years of age, however, in that portion of the city, there are only 638 children

—306 boys, 332 girls—out of public or private schools; whereas, of the same ages there are 708 children—376 boys, 332 girls—out of Sunday schools. From three to seven years of age the percentage of children out of public schools is 68.5, and out of Sunday schools 70.2. With the children of kindergarten age and the children of grammar school age, therefore, the state, through its compulsory education process, is doing better business than the church. It must be conceded that to the church, rather than to the public schools, the superior percentage of children of kindergarten age in kindergartens may be due; for, in the portion of the city canvassed, the kindergartens under the care of the board of education accommodate only half of the children attending kindergartens.

In this same region 3,709 male heads of households are wage-earners, and only 2,623 of them are church members. The factors of these totals do not absolutely correspond, but almost so, and it can be said, therefore, that only 70.7 per cent. of the wage-earning heads of households in the region are church members.

There are twenty-seven nationalities in the region canvassed, and when the numbers of wage-earners and church members in the various nationalities are studied, some very striking facts appear.

The number of Irish church members is larger than the number of Irish wage-earners, and the same is the case with the Canadians in the district. American heads of households who are church members are slightly in excess of the number of American fathers, wage-earners; and the Scotch, Austrians, Swedes, Danes, and Italians are all above the percentage of the entire district; while the English, German, Dutch, Swiss, Norwegian, Russian, Bohemian, and negro percentages are all below the average. Only 45.5 per cent. of German fathers, wage-earners, are church members; and that this is a fact of large moment to the church's place among social agencies in New York is evident when it is remembered that the Germans are New York's leading foreign nationality.

There are statistics in the material gathered which abundantly prove that — either through its care for the religious culture of childhood, or through its special claims to league with supernatural forces, or through its magnificently devised and executed parish system — the Roman Catholic church is affecting the city more successfully than any other denomination. There are more Irish fathers church members than wage-earners, and 83.2 per cent. of Canadian fathers, wage-earners, are church members; whereas only 56.5 per cent. of English wage-earning fathers and 45.5 per cent. of German wage-earning fathers are church members. The first two nationalities are predominantly Romanist; the last two predominantly Protestant.

The church homes of the church-attending families in the district have been specially counted; and whereas the 2,575 Roman Catholic families are all housed — with the exception of twenty-two — in three churches, the 872 Protestant families claim ninety-one different church homes in the city. Twenty-two Baptist churches out of forty-seven on Manhattan island are attended by the Baptists, and these churches are scattered from One Hundred and Fifty-Sixth street to Waverly place — a reach of nine miles, and from Second avenue on the east to Amsterdam avenue on the west — a reach of over two miles. In all other Protestant denominations from one-sixth to one-half of the churches are claimed as the church homes of the people.

Notwithstanding the fact, however, that 20.6 per cent. of the pastors in New York city are giving attention to the church families in the district canvassed, 768 families out of 4,800 families have no church home, and 1,353 families have no church members.

It is evident that the families without members and places of worship are not Roman Catholic, for 97.5 per cent. of the Irish church families are Roman Catholic, and 96.4 per cent. of the Irish families of the entire district have a church home; while 76.9 per cent. of the American church families are Romanist, and 82.8 per cent. of all the American families have a church home; and but 57.33 per cent. of the German church families are

Roman Catholics, and only 67.1 per cent. of German families have a church home. That is to say, the nationalities that have the highest Romanist membership have the highest church relationship.

To put it differently, but equally truthfully, Protestantism is not holding the people as compared with Roman Catholicism. Three Roman Catholic churches claim the attendance of 2,553 out of 2,575 Roman Catholic families; 106 Protestant churches are attended by 867 families with church members, and 572 families without members, but there are 786 Protestant families that have neither members nor church homes.

Religious affiliations in individual houses show results similar to the *ensemble* of the district. In one house containing fifteen families three pastors have parishioners in nine families, leaving six families without pastors or church homes. An adjacent dwelling contains thirteen families, and four pastors visit seven families, but there are six other families, of three other denominations, in that house, who do not go to any church. Scores of houses among the 398 dwellings in which the 4,800 families live show similar conditions.

The conclusion is inevitable that Protestantism's families are not in Protestantism's churches because Protestantism's church representatives, attending to the people on their communion and pew rolls, scattered all over the 13,000 acres of Manhattan island, have not time or plan to discover and recover the families found on no communion or pew roll.

It should be a humiliation to Protestantism in New York that three Roman Catholic churches get at more families in the district than do ninety-five Protestant churches, among which are three resident churches. It is idle to ascribe the difference of efficiency in the district to denominational tendency, or national characteristics. It is rather due to the difference between regimentation and somnambulism. "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain," says Protestantism; and she goes on underestimating human wide-awakeness and gumption through her admirable reverence for divine grace. She

walketh in a dumb show of saving the city for herself or her Lord.

There are three ways of changing this situation, and increasing the social service to the city of Protestantism's millions of dollars of property exemption. Two of these plans have a history, but it is a history of failure in New York, and they failed because they were not fitted to facts.

One is to give to the neighborhood churches that combine to make a house-to-house canvass in any community a list of the families which would attend their respective churches, if attending any. This plan is not adapted to New York, because of physical obstacles. It is statistically possible, for instance, in the locality just canvassed, that the families assigned to the weakest denomination might, for the most part, live on the fourth floor of the tenements, and be scattered through more tenements than the families assigned to any other church. This would insure the failure of the plan. Moreover, a family living on the corner may move down the block before the church representative comes along, and so be missed. In any case it is certain that three years hence there will be practically a new set of tenants in the district's dwellings. The federation's canvass shows that the average residence in the New York tenements is three years. The Roman church will know her people among this new population, her machinery insures it; but Protestantism's acquaintance with the population has then to be made anew. The shifting special responsibility which this entails insures the ephemeral existence of any coöperative canvass that lapses into denominational care.

A more excellent way was proposed by the Evangelical Alliance in 1888, but it too failed, and failed, as I conceive, because too ideal and too unpractical.

The plan was that each pastor should select one able layman among each hundred members of his church to act as a supervisor of visitation, and ten members from each hundred members to act as visitors. In a church of five hundred members there would thus be five supervisors, fifty visitors; in five

churches of the same strength, twenty-five supervisors, two hundred and fifty visitors. Each of these visitors was to have charge of ten families, and visit them monthly, that is to say, two hundred and fifty people were to be making friendly calls on half as many families as those canvassed in the federation's recent study of about twenty-five blocks in New York city. Each supervisor was to have oversight of the work of visitors from each coöperating church, intermingling the denominations.

The super-ideality of this plan foredoomed it to failure. The congregation is rare in which one-tenth of the members are able or willing to give themselves to such work, a monthly visit on ten families. It is a plan made for a better army than Gideon's. The spirit of social service is stronger in the land today than it was ten years ago, but it is doubtful whether the present decade will witness average churches with the percentage of available altruists needed to carry out such a crusading calling plan. It is too ideal also in intermingling denominational visitors. The first step to be taken would seem to be to induce the churches to regard a geographical area as a special responsibility, and many a church would undertake this if, as a church, it were held responsible for the area, when it might not be willing to share the responsibility with workers from other churches. Spiritual life is systole and diastole indeed, both organization and individual discharging both organic functions at times, but if the church is a divine organization, we must concede her arterialism and assume that individuals are venous.

So far as New York's needs are concerned, however, the plan was subpractical also. In a tenement house of thirteen families, for instance, it would be absurd to leave the three families immediately under the roof to visitor B after visitor A had already reached the fourth floor. Visitor B, unless an extraordinary altruist and stair-scaler, would very soon overture visitor A to annex the attic. Would visitor A be willing so to extend exhausting work? Should the extension not be made in order to give unity to the work in that dwelling in matters sanitary and social? In a dwelling with twenty families, if one of visitor

A's families moved from the first floor to the fifth — and there have been sociological "anti-basement" clubs in New York city — would it not be better to have visitor A continue the friendly visiting, when acquaintance was just forming into friendship, than to have visitor B make a beginning? One-tenth of New York's Protestant church members, in 1890, that is, 17,000 people, could not visit, at ten families apiece, that is, 170,000 families, all of New York's families of that year, which were 312,866 in number. In these and other regards the Chickering Hall plan was subpractical for New York, and its practical elements must be inductively adapted wherever its ideality permits it to be adopted. Its superiority over the first plan is unquestioned, however, in that it approaches a geographical parish system, and combines the Protestant congregations in visitation.

The third plan is yet to make its history, and if it succeeds it will be another instance of the evolutionary order of social progress. If it fails, or is submitted to modifications before it is fitted to survive, none who have been concerned in formulating it will deny that God is in his world or in his church. All that they will say is that he is in his church as he is in his world.

The plan is, first of all, to induce the churches and charities of a region to make a house-to-house study of educational, evangelical, economic, and other conditions. The minuteness and extent of this inquiry will vary in different cities. The territory covered will vary. In New York it has embraced, so far, two regions, one as large as Utica, the other as large as Schenectady. In Schenectady a subregion as large as Fonda might suffice.

The result of such a study, which should be conducted by someone who has a measure of sociological training, will, it is felt, show, everywhere in America, a sadder state of social affairs than the Christian community knew to prevail. Out of this knowledge, if the situation is severely discouraging, the desire for coöperation in care will arise. When the Persians

were heading for Marathon, the Hellenic tribes got together and fought together against the invader. Christianity's warm heart will say to her cool head, when she sees that her alms and uplift must be with both left hand and right hand: "Head, you must direct this business for me, or I shall fail in meeting this need. The Master himself did not feed the multitude by Galilee as a mob. He divided the five thousand into companies, and gave each of the twelve his sections to care for. And they did all eat and were filled, no one was overlooked. And they gathered up twelve baskets of fragments, a basket for each disciple, more food than they started with. Head, this need is so great that some hungry one is sure to be underfed, and some greedy one is sure to be overfed, unless there is method." And when Christianity talks in this strain, it will not indicate a cooling heart, but a glowing one, one that responds to the Redeemer's desire, and

> "mind and soul, according well,
> Will make one music as before."

The method of permanent coöperation, like the character of the canvass, will vary with locality. But a geographical area, assigned to a church, as a permanent *special* parish, is the unit idea. An area rather than a lot of families, because that area will be permanently occupied with homes. They may not be the same homes; there may be more or fewer. In New York, alas! one must think there will usually be more. The assignment to a church rather than to a supervisor with varying visitors:

1. Because this permits the best permanent portraiture of each fraction of the area over which coöperation extends, each fraction being viewed by one supervising eye.

2. Because a church can thus employ its energies in any way its minister and members have the genius and grace to devise and execute. Emulation is thus conserved, coöperation is not endangered.

3. Because it involves the minimum of work, which is a Christian and not a Satanic reason.

4. Because it permits important social work to be done in addition to purely religious work, as in the church district plan of the Charity Organiza-

tion Society of Buffalo, by which the destitute in specific districts are cared for by the churches to which these districts are assigned.

5. Because it is the voluntary revival of a plan which was successful when compulsory, viz., in the established churches of England and Scotland.

6. Because in many places individual parishes are now carrying on special work in this way, in addition to their ministry to those who support them, *e.g.*, Grace Episcopal Church, New York, and whenever coöperation is instituted, this individual work can be continued in boundary and coördinated with outside agencies without disturbance.

Given, then, a block or two blocks to be the special geographical area assigned a coöperating church, what is the coöperative duty and what the special duty of that church? The special duty will vary according to the traditions and social attitudes of the denominations and churches concerned; the coöperative duty will vary in the cities of the land and in different sections of the same city, but the following concerns of a coöperative parish system in New York city may serve for guidance elsewhere:

1. Acquaintance on the part of the church with the sanitary condition of the dwellings in assigned blocks. In one block recently canvassed in New York city, containing 3,580 people, there are only fifty-nine dwellings. As work is at present carried on in New York, no altruistic agency entering any of these dwellings has an accurate idea concerning them. A pastor who visits people on the first floor, where the air is vitiated by street odors, may think the house unsanitary, and libel the dwelling by this hastily formed conclusion. A pastor who visits on the fifth floor may think the house healthy, and over-compliment the sanitary condition. When, however, a church's visitor goes through a whole dwelling, from the first floor to the fifth, an accurate estimate of its condition can be made, and, in the coöperative parish plan in New York, is to be made. All dwellings that are below the legal standard are to be listed, and the coöperating churches, through someone appointed in the matter, will communicate directly with the board of health when the law is violated.

2. The coöperating churches will become agents to extend attendance upon the public schools. For this reason they will enter homes where the families already have a church home. They will inquire whether the children are attending school as the law suggests. If not, they will urge compliance with it in the interest of the children, and if compliance is impossible for economic reasons, communication will be had with the charities of the city which exists for the purpose of assisting such cases.

3. Coöperating churches will advance the interests of the Sunday school throughout the district. If children are not in Sunday school, their attendance at some Sunday school of the locality will be urged. The visitation being coöperative, an invitation can be extended in the name of all the Sunday schools in the locality. The state has its attendance officers to compel the attendance of all children of legal public school age; the church, through a coöperative parish system, will have its attendance officers to invite the children in every assigned area to avail themselves of ethical and spiritual education. It is only through some such plan as this that the church can hope to do as good a business in education as the state.

4. The coöperating churches will urge families to avail themselves of neighborhood libraries, industrial classes — such as cooking classes, sewing schools, etc.— and the penny provident banks. The churches should be familiar with the plans for evening schools in the neighborhood, and acquaint the people with them. Every agency of social uplift in the immediate locality should be known to the churches that enter into a coöperative parish plan, and should be brought to the acquaintance of the families. The agencies that afford relief should *not* be advertised from house to house, for this would undoubtedly create extra pauperism. Far from increasing the pauperism of their special parishes, coöperating churches should endeavor to diminish it by interchanging a list of their beneficiaries and communicating with the Charity Organization Society if they discover duplication of alms. The "statistical showing" weakness of churches is still sometimes apparent in the records of their

eleemosynary work, despite the check on hurtful charity by the creation of charity organization societies.

5. The churches will, of course, endeavor to connect each family with a church home. If a visiting church finds a family with no denominational preference, it, of course, will be its privilege and duty to connect that family with itself. If it finds, however, families unattached, with a denominational tendency, it will equally be its duty to direct that family toward a church of its denomination in the neighborhood.

In the fifteenth and seventeenth assembly districts of New York work of the above nature has already been commenced, and, in order to help the coöperating churches in that locality—a subfederation called Auxiliary "A"—the federation of the churches of the city has published a calendar, giving full information concerning the tenement-house laws; the public schools, with their evening branches; the libraries; the museums; the penny provident banks; the day nurseries; the churches, with their guilds and clubs, throughout the entire district. Copies of this calendar have been placed in every one of the 20,000 families included in the area. The federation provided some special leaves in this calendar for foreigners, written and printed, of course, in their own language. The main idea was to give information and invitation, in the name of Christ, concerning every uplifting agency supported by taxation and every uplifting agency carried on by the voluntary contributions of church and charitable people. The nineteenth and twenty-first assembly districts will be similarly organized within a month—a total population of 200,000.

The churches that have entered into this coöperative parish system have special committees, whose purpose is to serve the neighborhood so as to increase the prevalence of the idea that the church is there, not to be served by the people, but to serve them. For instance, the committee on parks recently circulated a petition, signed by every one of the pastors in the area, asking the city authorities to locate a small park in the region. When the park is actually opened, it cannot but advertise throughout

the whole neighborhood the fact that the church is interested in the people's physical well-being. There is a committee on public schools which will undoubtedly urge the extension to the locality of the kindergarten system of the city. Similarly, according to the needs of the various localities of New York, and of other cities in which such a coöperative parish system is instituted, the churches should have their committees on various social interests, and a regular meeting of the church representatives should discuss methods of work as adapted, not to the Christian world in general, but to that particular locality.

Thus, in addition to the desultory, however beneficial, work now carried on by the Protestant churches in cities, the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City proposes to add a definite, special, evangelical and sociological work.

It is useless for Protestantism to attempt to institute a parish system along the lines of Roman Catholicism. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the Roman Catholic parish system threatens with excommunication anyone living within definite parish limits who attends a church without them. Quantities of Roman Catholics hire pews across the parish boundary lines. The parish plan for which the writer pleads does not contemplate the limitation of the attendance of the people of any Protestant denomination to a Protestant church of that especial neighborhood. Individuation is one of the best outcomes of Protestantism, and it cannot be conserved by forcing a man with a Doric soul to worship in a Gothic church, or a man with a mystical temperament to attend the ministrations of a preacher preaching always from the book of Numbers. If, however, the duty of the church to minister to those who support her is conceded and conserved, cannot, at the same time, a ministry to the city and to humanity — a common duty of Doric and Gothic churches — be conjointly carried on? If the consequence of ministry to individuals, without ministry to neighborhood, is such a statistical showing as the recent canvass of the federation shows in New York, can a better plan than a coöperative parish system be

devised to restore to the church her primacy in altruistic work? Church property erected on land which might be the site of homes and mills and stores, exempted from taxation, is not doing its duty to the locality in which it stands if its ministry is scattered all over the city, without specially serving its geographical neighborhood. Downtown churches in abundance in New York have moved uptown simply because they have been carried on to minister to the people supporting them. There is just as much ground for a graduated church tax — graduated in proportion to the social service it renders — as for a graduated income or inheritance tax.

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SOCIAL CONTROL. XIII.

THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL.

I.

If a number of institutions that mutually determine each other may be said to form a system, then we may properly speak of "the system of social control." Certainly there is a division of labor tending to assign to each form of control that work for which it is best fitted. Law concerns itself with that undesirable conduct which is at once important and capable of clear definition. Central positive qualities—courage or veracity in man, chastity in woman—are taken in charge by the sense of honor or self-respect. The religious sanction is ordinarily reserved for those acts and abstinences requiring the utmost backing. Religion mounts guard over the ancient, unvarying fundamentals of group life, but deals little with the temporary adjustments required from time to time. The taking of life or property, adultery, unfilial conduct, and false swearing encounter its full force; but not adulteration, stock gambling, or corporation frauds. In code as in ritual and belief religion betrays its archaic character.

In morals as well as in microscopes we have a major and a minor adjusting apparatus. In adaptability public opinion stands at one end of a series of which religion is the other extreme. Connected with this is a gradation in the nature of the sanction. Public opinion bans many things not unlawful, law may require much more than self-respect, and self-respect may be wounded by that which is not regarded as sinful. But the universality of the sanction grows as the scope of prohibition narrows. In the first case the offender encounters the public here and now, in the second the crystallized disapproval of society, in the third the opinion of generations of men who have conspired to frame a standard or ideal, and in the last case the frown of the Ruler of the Universe.

The champions of each detail of regulation strive, therefore, to get these successive sanctions behind their commandments. The opponents of drinking, dancing, divorce, usury, horseracing, dueling, speculation, or prize fighting, strive to make the practices first blameworthy, then unlawful, then shameful, and finally sinful. But this massing of sanctions is very naturally resisted. The attempt to get God against a new vice, such as liquor selling, always encounters fierce opposition from those who find themselves suddenly shut out from the odor of sanctity. New moral tests, like new party tests, endanger ground already won, and so imperil the sanctions for the major virtues. It is not well, therefore, to associate loss of honor with white lies or the Divine Displeasure with card playing. Sympathy, religious sentiment, self-respect, sense of duty, fear, regard for public opinion, enlightened self-interest—each has its place and its task, and no one motive should be overworked.

The community draws no firm line between what offends it and what harms it. The ideals held up for imitation include table manners as well as honesty. Public disapproval must be faced by the non-conforming freethinker or dress-reformer as well as the swindler and the traitor. Religion claims its holy days and its fasts as well as just dealings. At times even the law becomes the instrument of a tyrannous majority. Codes, standards, and moral distinctions have crystallized out of collective feeling, and they will not draw a sharp line between public and private conduct unless collective feeling concerns itself exclusively with the collective interest. But this never occurs. The common resentment is never warden merely of the common welfare, but busies itself with sacrilege, profanity, sodomy, or cruelty to animals. It is thus that society comes to put its sanction behind the rules of private living, and even behind useless injunctions.

The margin of social control is a fluctuating margin. Just as law is always dying at some points and growing at others, so the requirements of public opinion or religion are ever changing. Society, while relinquishing its control over a man's Sundays,

his church connections, his clothes, and his expletives, is just beginning to regulate his treatment of his children, his drinking habits, and his expenditure on elections. The running of a scientific frontier between the individual and society is the joint task of two contrasted types of thought. The eighteenth-century philosophy, ardent for the individual, sought to draw about each man the largest possible inviolable circle. On all laws, restraints, moral requirements, and duties needlessly invading this circle, it has kept up a steady fire of criticism and remonstrance. Nineteenth-century thought, on the other hand, convinced that if there be no God, King, State, Moral Order, or Scheme of Things to serve as fountain head of obligations, there is at least a Social Interest, has been diligent to show all hidden and unsuspected ways in which the interest of many is harmed by this or that exercise of power. Consequently it has become sponsor for a multitude of new commandments and duties. These two tendencies have not resulted in deadlock, as some imagine, but in a thorough overhauling and testing of every detail of restraint which will result, let us hope, in giving us the most welfare for the least abridgment of liberty.

Changes in knowledge, in degree of civilization, and in the character of social requirements cause a method of control to wax or wane from age to age. We might compare the social order to a viaduct across some wooded ravine in the Sierras which rests part of its weight on timbers that decay with the lapse of time, and part on living tree trunks which constantly gain in strength. Or we might liken it to a bridge resting on piers built, some of stone which crumbles in time, and some of stone which hardens with long exposure to the air. No doubt etiquette and ceremony have done their best work. The seer of visions and dreamer of dreams has had his day. The hero will never again be the pivot of order. The reign of custom with its vague terrors is about over. The assizes of Osiris, Rhadamanthus, God, or Allah, with their books of record, inquisitions, and judgments, will hardly dominate the imagination in the days to come. The reputed dispensations of Providence will less and

less affect conduct. A fictive blood kinship cannot bind men into the national groups of today. So public action in the form of mob, ban, or boycott is justly regarded as a relic of barbarism.

On the other hand, instruction as to the consequences of actions, with a view to enlisting an enlightened self-interest in support of all the conduct it is competent to sanction, will meet with universal approval in an age of public education; and the passiveness of the average mind will make it safe to work into such moral instruction certain convenient illusions and fallacies which it is nobody's interest to denounce. Suggestion, that little understood instrument, will no doubt be found increasingly helpful in establishing moral imperatives in the young. But it will render its greatest service in shaping in youth those feelings of admiration or loathing that determine the ruling ideals of character, and in influencing those imputations of worth which enable society to impose upon the individual its own valuations of life's activities and experiences. And society will further the work by cutting with cameo-like clearness the types of character it chooses to commend, and by settling ever more firmly, in tradition and convention, the values it seeks to impose. But from social art we have the most to look for. I would place it next to religion in power to transform the brute into the angel. Art is one of the few moral instruments which, instead of being blunted by the vast changes in opinion, have gained edge and sweep by these very changes. So far as eye can pierce the future, there is nothing to limit or discredit it. The sympathies it fosters do not, it is true, establish norms and duties; but they lift that plane of general sentiment out of which imperatives and obligations arise. If there is anyone in this age who does the work of the Isaiahs and Amoses of old, it is an Ibsen, a Tolstoi, a Victor Hugo, or a Thomas Hardy.

II.

It is a mistake to suppose there will be less need in the future for society to dominate the souls of its members. On the

contrary, we may expect the more far-reaching and pervasive means of control, such as suggestion, ideals, and social valuations, to be used in the twentieth century much more freely and consciously than they now are. The ground for such belief is the visible disruption of the *community* and the rise of *society* as claimant of all allegiances and object of all duties. So far as *community* extends people naturally keep themselves orderly, and there is no call to put them under the yoke of an elaborate discipline. The sense of a common life that grows up in the family, the kindred, the neighborhood, the circle of companions, or the band of comrades, leads relatives, neighbors and mates to love and understand one another, to yield one to another, and to observe those forbearances and offices that make associate life a success. To people abiding in such natural relations the apparatus of control appears as an impediment and an impertinence. The reaction of man against man and a kind of reciprocal constraint will, of course, show itself among kinsmen and neighbors; but of control, formal and organized, there will be little sign.

Now these natural bonds are ceasing to bind men as men must be bound in the aggregates of today. Kinship has lost its sacred significance and binding force. Social erosion has reduced the family to parents and young. Marriage has become a contract, terminable almost at pleasure. Nearness of dwelling means little in the country and nothing in the town. To the intimacy of the country-side succeeds the "multitudinous desolation" of the city. The workingman has become a bird of passage. Touch-and-go acquaintanceship takes the place of those lasting attachments that form between neighbors who have lived, labored and holidayed together.

It is true that while the local group dissolves new forms of union arise. Friendship is freer, and hence firmer, and there are bonds of fellowship growing up between co-religionists, fellow-craftsmen, or people of the same social class. But these forms of social feeling repose not on blood or nearness or intercourse, but on personal preference. They are after the manner of

friendship which implies freedom and choice. The new forms of spontaneous association, as they imply a preference of some over others, do not embrace all those of a given place, or who have dealings one with another. Consequently they do not foster that community spirit which is the natural support of restraints and duties. We dare not establish obligation upon one of these special feelings; for the circle of obligation must be as wide as the circle of contacts, else order fails and the community perishes of partisanship or class feeling or religious hatreds.

It is not to be denied that sympathy has gained in range and that there is now a civic, national, or racial community binding men into groups much larger than the Semitic "tribe," the Greek "city," the Teutonic "kindred," the mediæval "town," or the New World "settlement." But these new communities are not tissues formed of the interlacing tendrils of individual lives. They are born of effort and maintained by the use of appropriate means. Civic pride and public spirit are often hothouse plants, and we see patriotism, the specific bond of the national community, openly fostered by art, ceremony, ideal, and symbol. We must face the fact, therefore, that the *community*, undermined by the stream of change, has caved in carrying with it part of the foundations of order. While not overlooking that growth of intelligence which, by enabling us to comprehend large bodies of people at a distance, invites fellowship to overleap the limits of personal contact, I am bound to say that we are relying on artificial rather than natural supports to bear the increasing weight of our social order, and that a return to a natural basis of social partnership seems about as unlikely as a return to natural food or natural locomotion.

The reader may shudder at the thought of modern society precariously rearing its huge bulk above the devouring waves of selfishness like a Venice built on piles. But it is perhaps no worse than man's depending on cultivated instead of wild fruits, or removing the seats of his civilization to climates where only artificial heat can keep alive through the winter. So long as

there is bread and coal enough, what matters our dependence on art! And so long as society can stamp its standards and values on its members, what matters our dependence on forms of control!

Not that the future is secure. The crash may yet come through the strife of classes, each unable to master the others by means of those influences that subdue the individual. But if it comes, it will be due to the mal-distribution of wealth effected by new, blind, economic forces we have not learned to regulate, and will no more discredit the policy of social control than the failure of the mountain reservoir discredits irrigation.

III.

From the recorded social experience of five thousand years it ought to be possible to draw true criteria for judging a method of control. Even our brief reconnoissance enables us to declare that the marks of a good disciplinary agent include the following:

Economy.— On this principle a method that molds character is superior to one that deals merely with conduct, the symptom or index of character. A roundabout way, such as the imparting of social valuations, is preferable to the direct method of playing upon hopes and fears. A far-sighted policy, such as the training of the young, excels the summary regulation of the adult. In the concrete these maxims mean that the priest is often cheaper than the policeman, the school costs less than the prison, and the Sunday school saves at Botany Bay. And accordingly we can recommend the salutation of the flag in the army to the court martial, prefer a little reform school for the boy to much jail for the man, and declare it better to reform the offender, once we have him, than to catch and convict him again.

Inwardness.—Sanction operates only so long as it is sure. Let witnesses be wanting or authority weak, and the ill will issues in deed. Consequently the control of the will by suggestion is to be preferred to control of the will by hopes and fears; and a flank movement aiming to influence feelings and judg-

ments is better tactics than a direct assault on the volitions. The lodgment of a social ideal in the soul's inner citadel gives a steadier ascendency than assemblage, festival, public worship, or ceremony at stated occasions. An impression upon the judgment is worth more than an effervescent sentiment, such as is evoked by music. But moral precepts that seduce the judgment by masquerading as worldly wisdom may not always be relied on either. They bind a man in so far as his choices are ruled by rational considerations; but plays and tales will never tire of showing the pet maxims of reasonable conduct swept aside by imperious instincts, passions, and emotions.

The best guarantee of a stable control from within is something that will reach at once sentiment, reason, and will. Consequently a religion is widely effective for righteousness in so far as it is strong in these three directions. It should strike the chord of feeling, but not so exclusively as Quakerism, or Shinto, or the Religion of Humanity, or Neo-Catholicism. It should teach a day of reckoning, but not dwell on it so much as Islam or primitive Methodism. It should address the judgment, but not become so baldly rational as the English church in the time of Tillotson. The secret of the limited habitat of certain sects is found in a narrowness of appeal that restricts them to certain temperaments or certain social layers.

Simplicity of belief basis.—Elements of conviction are, of course, associated with most forms of control. But when a type of restraint rests squarely on an unverifiable dogma, such as the Last Judgment, the Unseen Friend, or the Divine Fatherhood, it must be regarded askance, however transcendent its services. Either the dogma crumbles, and with it the restraint, leaving the last state of a man worse than the first; or else the dogma obstinately kept as a moral fulcrum becomes a stumbling-block to enlightenment, a bar to progress, a shelter to superstition, and an offense to that intellectual honesty and sincerity which is one of the most precious instincts of the modern man. But of course dogmas differ vastly both in their value to morals and their harm to science.

Decentralized management.—It is bad for the enginery of discipline to lie in the hands of a small part of society, an élite, class, caste, or profession. In some cases this may be necessary in order to curb and civilize a backward many. But we have only to recall the despotism of Druids, Brahmins, Magi, Spanish priests, Scotch ministers, and New England parsons to see that the few will always push their interferences to excess. Moreover, the wielding of the instruments of power gives an opportunity for personal or class aggrandizement that is rarely neglected. Provided the dominant few are well organized or knit together, their class egoism is bound to assert itself. Witness the riches, exemptions, and license of the mediæval Catholic hierarchy. So a vast administrative system holding in order a heterogeneous people is sure to become a screen for aggrandizement. But it is when the official and ecclesiatical hierarchies work together, as under Henry VIII, Philip II, Louis XIV, or Nicholas II, that the exploitation feature becomes most noticeable.

There is always danger that the desiderata of joint life will be lost sight of in the zeal to make men over by the clever manipulation of powerful influences. Thus the Quixotic ideal of "one language, one church, one government," too ardently pursued, leads Russia into high-handed persecution of Raskolniks and Stundists. The exuberance of fanatics and pietists must be checked and naked righteousness held up as the one thing needful. Those who command the machinery of church and state come to entertain large designs for dominating the mind with dogma and priestcraft, gag and censor; but these ambitious designs to make men as bricks are turned out of the mold can be frustrated by the *diffusion of control.*

Professor Burgess has shown[1] how *individual liberty* had to be recognized and organized into the state as well as *government.* Now it is equally necessary that in the moral sphere liberty should get so intrenched as to offer stout resistance to all excessive control. The moral individualism that follows like a

[1] In his *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, Vol. I.

shadow the continuing aggregation of mankind into larger wholes testifies to the need of a brake on moral centralization. In the little tribe or city-state of antiquity the social spirit ruled unquestioned, and the open cult of the individual would have been like touching off a powder magazine. But with far-flung dominion, elaborate religions, organized priesthoods, and vast school systems designed to impose ready-made formulæ, the man is liable to be held too firmly in the network. The ascendency of society becomes easy and hence dangerous. Lawmaker, official, priest, parson, schoolmaster, master of ceremonies, or moral philosopher exact much more than they need to ask for. On behalf of God or prince, neighbor or group, one is called upon to give up the most that makes life worth the living. Accordingly, freedom becomes a passion, *laissez faire* a dogma, skepticism a religion, and all the rills of opposition run together into a great current of opposition, which accompanies the development of control as a check and a reminder.

Worse than the strait-jacket of the Pharisee is the warping of human nature with moral appliances. To get stern self-discipline it is necessary to split up the soul into the acting self and the watching self. But this means the loss of that wholesome unconsciousness and outlook which is the birthright of healthy beings. The conscientious man is a kind of degenerate. The heart-searching, spirit-wrestling self-examination that is fostered by all moralizing schemes may help multitudes to a better life, but it is not the crown and roof of the human spirit. To him who has arrived at frank, communal feeling the groanings and wrestlings, the Puritan conscience, the sin notion, the fussiness of the moral novice, will perhaps become, like the whip and hair-shirt, mere memories of a bad dream. And in his "eventual element of calm" he may echo the sentiment of Walt Whitman:

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd,
They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,
Not one kneels to another or to one of his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.[1]

IV.

To expose the antinomy that lies at the foundation of society and to show faiths, moralities, and wisdom, in all their nakedness as so many ways of luring a man from the pursuit of his private welfare is to subvert all control save that of force. "In vain in the sight of the bird the net of the fowler is spread." One who learns why society is urging him into the strait and narrow way will resist its pressure. One who sees clearly the method of control will thenceforth be emancipated. Of course he may cleave to goodness and justice—they are not exotic to human nature—but no one knowingly consents to be controlled. To betray the secrets of social ascendency is to forearm the individual in his struggle with society. If at the hour that now strikes the Anglo-Saxon is over-regulated, his conscience too sensitive, his ideals too imperious, his conduct too devoted, his proper development checked, then let us show him the net in which he is taken. But if he still thwarts his fellows more than our control thwarts him, let us beware of rashly strengthening an individualism already too rampant.

Since the days of Reimarus and Priestley bold scientific analysis has destroyed vicious forms of control guarded by darkness and superstition, till it has become an acknowledged axiom that all dissections may take place in public. It is now an article of faith that truth can never harm and cannot be proclaimed too widely. When human action is seen to be influenced by baseless faiths or wrong ideas, it has been assumed that we cannot too quickly foster doubt and question. But this optimism has prevailed simply because the iconoclasm of natural science could do little harm so long as the veil was not lifted from those sacred recesses where are prepared the convictions and sentiments by

[1] *Leaves of Grass*, "Song of Myself."

which society holds together. Science, like Bishop Blougram, might "cut and cut again," but found "ever a next in size now grown as big."

But rising sociology will put to the test this childlike faith in the naked truth. When we learn the sources of the Nile flood of idealism that makes the desert to blossom with virtues, when we behold those mysterious processes that take place in the soul of a people, when the products of the social mind are split up into their elements, we shall realize, no doubt, what it is that holds men together. And when the hour of illumination comes, will the social scientist light-heartedly assail every conviction or ideal he cannot rationalize? Will not the loyal investigator hesitate to send the tell-tale carmine stain into every filament that helps hold the individual in the mesh of unsuspected influences?

The secret of order is, therefore, not to be bawled from every housetop. The fact of control is no gospel to be preached abroad with allegory and parable, with bold type and scare headlines. The social investigator will show religion a consideration it has rarely met with in the natural scientist. He will venerate the moral system too much to uncover its nakedness. He will speak to men, not to youth. He will address himself to those who administer the moral capital of society; to teachers, clergymen, editors, lawmakers, and judges, who wield the instruments of control; to poets, artists, thinkers, and educators, who are the guides of the human caravan. Some may scent danger in a science keeping itself half esoteric. But surely the men of widest horizon and farthest vision who, making the joint welfare their own, wage perpetual war against predatory appetite, greedy ambition, unblushing impudence, and brutal injustice, may safely be intrusted with the secrets of control! When control ceases to be necessary, we can tell the "recruity," the street Arab, and the Elmira "inmate" how it was done. Until then, discretion!

V.

I cannot too strongly urge the study of moral influences by the right persons and in the right spirit as a basis for a scientific

control of the individual. The foundations of order must be laid completely bare ere we can wisely go about to broaden or underpin them. Many great thinkers have begun the task, but in their eagerness to have this pier strengthened or that pillar kept, they have failed to make a thorough exploration. In his *Republic*, Plato has given perhaps the best review of the conditions of order. But Machiavelli uttered certain of its secrets. Rousseau fingered the springs of social feeling. Burke laid down the requisites of stability. Napoleon told how men are governed. Carlyle demonstrated the value of persons. Mazzini preached the efficacy of ideals. Horace Mann championed the worth of enlightenment. Victor Hugo showed what society owes to art. Guyeau pointed out the power of suggestion. Ibsen reminds of the curative value of freedom. But too often each has declared his own the cornerstone and reviled those who found solidity in some other prop or buttress. And society, distracted by the cries of partisans, has excitedly torn down or hastily built up the various supports of its order with little rational idea of what it was doing.

The social system of control has been a dark jungle harboring warring bands of guerrillas; but when investigators with the scientific method have fully occupied this region the disorder and dacoity ought to cease. Surely there must be some general principles from the vantage ground of which to pass upon the conflicting pretensions of drill sergeant and anarchist, of autoritarian and suasionist, of priest and schoolmaster, of censor and artist, of Jesuit and freethinker, of tory and radical, of prude and Adamite, of moral philosopher and evolutionist. And these we shall get when an exploration of the subject shall show how many modes and instruments of social control there are, and enable us to appraise each at its true value. As soon as the conditions which reconcile order with progress are made clear to the leaders of opinion, the control of society over its members ought to become more conscious and effective than it now is, and the dismal see-sawing between change and reaction that has been the curse of this century ought to disappear.

APPLICATIONS.

I.

Sociology.—At its début sociology commended itself chiefly by its skill in accounting for institutions, *i. e.*, those fixed arrangements that prevail among the changing members of society. Mr. Spencer, for example, took for his task the exploration of six great groups of institutions. But the question, "What induces the individual to enter into and abide by these arrangements?" was not raised. The early writers, betrayed by the organism analogy, did not inquire how grasping, self-assertive individuals are brought to hold together in these social organs and achieve these smooth coöperations. Their unavowed postulate was that all men, save a few aggressive, hell-fire wretches, are naturally fit for coöperation. But this is like accounting for the solar system without universal gravitation.

The truth just coming into focus, that *all groups and organs constantly exercise manifold cohesive pressures and attractions upon their units*, is a discovery of the first order, and cannot fail to influence the future of social science. From the explanation of the institution sociologists are likely to press on to explain the genesis of the social man who makes the institution possible. Certainly the delicate, almost transparent, network of suggestion, belief, ideal, and valuation, in which the individual is caught as a fly in a kind of beneficent gossamer web, is just the tangle to challenge the utmost insight and ingenuity of the student of society.

II.

The philosophy of history.—There are "historical materialists," such as Loria, Labriola, and Brooks Adams, who insist, in the words of Karl Marx, that "the method of production determines the social, political, and spiritual life-processes in general." The rise and vicissitudes of states, codes, legal principles, religions, systems of philosophy, moral theories, and even schools of art, they would trace to economic causes. For example,

the key to the development of Roman Law is the rise of private property in land on the ruins of communal ownership. The dogma of a future life prevailed because so convenient in reconciling the exploited classes to their misery in this life. The Reformers' doctrine of "justification by faith" met the desire of thrifty burghers to evade money payments to priests by becoming their own intercessors with the Deity. "Equality," the "rights of man," the "dignity of labor," are merely the wind-driven foam of democracy which is at bottom the overwhelming of feudal landowners by the possessors of movable capital.

Undoubtedly the higher departments of culture reflect the economic system, and especially the relations of superiority and subordination between classes. But surely greater than the economic opposition of master and slave, lord and serf, priest and layman, proprietor and proletarian, capitalist and laborer, is that everlasting clash of interest of a man with other men which constitutes the opposition of the individual and society. More than any class conflict has this shaped the development of normative ideas. And if this is so, we have new light on the interpretation of history. To put it in a nutshell, the spiritual life of society seems determined chiefly by three forces. These are (*a*) the accumulations of knowledge, (*b*) the demands of social control, and (*c*) the demands of control by an exploiting class. With these it is astonishing how far one can go in accounting for the metamorphoses of faith, the phases of morals, the mutations of law, and the changes in the ideals of life held up in literature and art.

The philosophers love to regard a system of philosophy as the clear reflection of extant knowledge and to see in the history of thought simply the movement of the human intellect. How naïve! As if this erratic line of march did not suggest a running fight with an unseen foe! As if the positions successively taken up by theology or ethics did not betray the squirming, kicking son of Adam trying to wriggle from under the social knee! One who has seen how the social system constantly trembles from the straining egoism of its units and

classes would as soon ignore the moon in attempting a theory of tides as ignore social control in accounting for the evolution of dogma, or metaphysics, or moral doctrines. In truth a *Weltanschauung* can never win to wide favor unless it "squares" the guardians of order. Therefore a synthesis that attains to great and lasting favor, like Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, the theology of Thomas Aquinas, the Leibnitzian system, the "common-sense philosophy," or German Idealism, should not be taken seriously, since it is merely an attempt to reconcile extant knowledge with the requirements of social control. When a theory of the world is promulgated, one asks, "Is it true?" ninety-nine ask, "Does it provide a firm basis for religion and morals?" "Philosophy," says Novalis finely, "cannot bake bread; but she can give us God, Freedom, Immortality." "True," answers the sociologist, "but *these* can bake bread."

III.

Moral education.—On all sides our educators are voicing a demand for a moral instruction of the young that shall bear fruit in more abundant righteousness. The work of the church and the home is not up to the level of today's requirements, and the need is openly acknowledged of making the school a moral engine. The partisans of ecclesiastical control have been prompt to turn to account the admission that in our schemes of intellectual instruction there is something left out. But we cannot fall back upon their church schools, which provide, it is true, a measure of control, but at what cost of mental darkness! A way must be found to make the public schools effective for righteousness.

But if my *exposé* of social control is correct, such a way exists, and we need not be forced upon the horns of the dilemma either to leave the schools "godless," and therefore unmoral, or to make them moral by making them sectarian. In my studies entitled "Belief" and "Religion" I owned the moral value of belief. But elsewhere I described several non-religious types of control. The educator, in quest of a moral teaching that can

offend nobody, will find that several of the forces that bind the units of society are equally available in forming social character in children. The skillful and persistent *suggestion* of moral example and expectation by a person of prestige, such as the teacher; the holding up of *ideals* which are presented concretely and vividly, and are brought to bear upon the life of the pupil; the awakening of nascent sympathy by good *art;* the steady *enlightenment* of children as to the inevitable consequences of action — surely with such resources it ought to be possible to meet the demand for moral education without calling back the priest!

IV.

Social reconstruction.— If righteousness may not be taken for granted but is a social product, we may not assume a great and sudden increase of it, save as society can lay its hands on more effective instruments of control. Certain collectivists propose that the entire national production, now in charge of perhaps half a million private managers, should be intrusted to a gigantic administrative mechanism operating for the common benefit. We have but to note how complexity exposes private businesses to the slackness or dishonesty of agents and employés, and to observe how public business gives scope to the peculating ring or the blackmailing boss, to be convinced that the centralized system will but pave the way for the most stupendous corruption the world has seen, unless the then prevailing standard of moral character be much higher than it is today.

But this may not be presumed. Only appropriate means can achieve it. And since uplifting agencies must be provided, we may properly ask the Bellamyite, What fresh and powerful moral stimuli, what unused instruments of control, what new allies may society count upon to effect this great moral transformation? If collectivism, holding no new moral forces in the leash, merely commends us to agents already worked for all they are worth, the immediate socialist state may safely be dismissed as a chimera.

Among those who have a pretty clear insight into the mechanism of control are the apostles of anarchism. To them not only does law stand out clearly as coercion, but religion, moral standards, and systems of instruction all appear as so many ways of ensnaring the individual. But as the anarchist's roseate view of human nature forbids him to regard them as necessary to social order, he concludes they are means of class exploitation. Respectability is a fetich of bourgeois society. Moral standards are established by the rich and influential for the managing of the rest. The priest, with his faiths, catches and holds the sheep while the exploiters shear him. "Religion, authority, and state are all carved out of the same piece of wood: to the devil with them all!"

It is undoubtedly true that the social pressure is not equal upon all, that very frequently we can detect the cloven foot of class rule under the robe of judge, or priest, or schoolmaster. But this does not justify the anarchist's obstinate confidence in human nature. To him the discovery of a trammel on the sovereign individual is sufficient reason for removing it; and he is a negationist because his sharpened sense smells control in all parts of our culture. The social scientist must admire his penetration, but deprecate his conclusions. Because his X-ray shows control in all the social tissues, because his spectroscope reveals the element of collective ascendency in nearly every culture-product, the scientist does not deem it necessary to dissolve these tissues and destroy these products.

V.

Ethics.—Ethics may be either *individual* or *social*, the one laying down the rules to be observed by the individual in attaining the greatest worth of his personal life, the other laying down the rules to be observed by men in their relations one with another in attaining the greatest worth of their collective life. The former is ethics proper, the latter it is best to regard as a branch of sociology. Now current ethics professes to find these two sets of rules identical, and thus by one stroke betrays the

individual it advises, and encroaches upon the province of social science. The only hope for ethics as a science is to retire within its natural boundaries, and pronounce upon life and its problems from the standpoint of the liver of it.

What seduces the ethics people from their proper business and sets them to preaching is the delusion that with their demonstrations and admonitions they hold society together. Could anything be more naïve! If we depended on ethical instruction for justice and mercy, we should banquet on prisoners of war from the next county. The ethician is like the fly on the chariot wheel saying complacently, "See what a dust I raise!" Religion makes mock of ethics, and justly contrasts its mighty forces with the feebleness of moral demonstrations. But, *pace* Mr. Kidd, neither is religion the only thing that holds society together. Its partisans go about hawking their patent cement warranted to stand time, weather, and earthquake, but we shall not invest our bottom dollar with them.

In these papers I have described thirteen leading types of control. Of these only two belong strictly to religion, although a great historical edifice like Christianity, that has assembled all manner of riches under its dome, is able to secure the collaboration of six or seven of the chief moral agents of society. It is with justice, then, that we can deny to any one ally the sole guardianship of social order. By many ways unseen or scarcely guessed are men brought to live together peaceably. No single moral influence enjoys a monopoly. The ancient impression of man on man, of the multitude on the man, of the man on the multitude, of the old on the young, of the gifted upon the ungifted—so long as these are there, it will be possible to grow afresh the myths, ideals, values, symbols, and illusions that are the girders and tie-beams of the social edifice.

No doubt, as history shows us, there are times when every timber in the old house of order which has sheltered so many generations of men endures as if for a thousand years; and again there are seasons when one after another props settle, sills rot, beams crack, and the business of repair engages all minds. It

would seem that in this century society is passing through such a season; and amid the decay of old authorities, reverences, and illusions in the critical atmosphere of our time many look for the roof and walls of the social order to come crashing upon our heads. But if my analysis be true, the case is not so bad as that. We must face the task of repair, but there grows good timber to replace the worm-eaten joists.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF SOCIAL GROUPS. II.[1]

In many cases the structure of the group is from the beginning adjusted to such alternation between functions immediately discharged by the group and those that are performed by an organ. Thus in stock companies, the technical management of which is committed to directors, while the stockholders in general meeting may either remove the directors or prescribe conditions which the latter may be either indisposed or incompetent to adopt for themselves. Small associations which are accustomed either to manage their affairs through a president or a committee are usually so arranged that these organs either voluntarily or involuntarily surrender their powers so soon as they cease to be equal to the burden or the responsibility of their functions. Every revolution which deposes a political government from power and gives back legislation and administration to the immediate initiative of the elements belongs in this sociological form. It follows as a matter of course that not every group can adapt itself to such reversion of type. In very large groups, or in those that live under very complicated conditions, the assumption of administrative functions by the group directly is a simple impossibility. The structure of organs is not to be recalled, and their flexibility and vital interdependence with the elements can at most show themselves in the ability of the elements to change the *persons* who at a given moment compose the organ, and replace them with more suitable persons. Nevertheless it is continually happening, even in cases of rather high sociological development, that the group power flows back from the organs to its original source, though this may be but a process of transition to the formation of new organs. The Episcopal church in the United States was at the disadvantage of being without a bishop until the end of the last century, because the mother

[1] Translated by Albion W. Small.

church of England, which alone could consecrate a bishop, refused to do so for political reasons. In dire extremity and in danger of complete disruption the congregations resolved to help themselves. In the year 1784 they appointed delegations, laymen and clergymen, who assembled and constituted themselves the supreme unifying body and central organ of church government. A special historian of this epoch pictures it in these words: "Never had so strange a sight been seen before in Christendom as this necessity of various members knitting themselves together into one. In all other cases the unity of the common episcopate had held such limbs together; every member had visibly belonged to the community of which the present bishop was the head." The imminent coherence of the communicants, which up to that time had centered in the organ—the bishop—which at the same time had become a reality outside of this organ, now came into view in its original character. The power was restored to that immediate reciprocity of the elements which had projected it from itself.

This case is especially interesting because the function of holding the church members together was conferred on the bishop by consecration, that is, it came from a superior source, apparently independent of that function. Now, however, it is restored by a purely sociological process and in this process the source of its energy is unequivocally revealed. That the local churches had the sagacity, after so protracted and so efficient determination of their sociological powers to an organ, to supply the place of this again by the immediate exercise of those powers was a symptom of extraordinary health in their religio-social life. Very many communities of the most various sorts have failed because the relation between their elementary social powers and the organs which they had produced was not constructive enough to refer the functions necessary for social self-preservation back to the elementary powers, in case the organs differentiated for those functions disappeared or became inefficient.

The elaboration of differentiated organs is, so to speak, a sub-

stantial aid to social self-preservation. Thereby a new member grows upon the structure of society. We must treat quite apart from this the question how the impulse of self-preservation affects the life of the group in functional respects. The question whether this group life progresses in undifferentiated unity or with specialized organs is for this purpose secondary. The question is rather with reference to the general form or *tempo* in which the life processes of the group proceed. We meet here two chief possibilities. The group may be preserved, (1) by conserving with the utmost tenacity its firmness and rigidity of form, so that the group may meet approaching dangers with substantial resistance, and may preserve the relation of its elements through all change of external conditions; (2) by the highest possible variability of its form, so that adaptation of form may be quickly accomplished in response to change of external conditions, so that the form of the group may adjust itself to any demand of circumstances. This duality of possibilities obviously arises from a quite general demeanor of the group. Analogies may be found in every possible realm, even the physical. A body is protected against destruction from stress and shock either by rigidity and unyielding cohesion of its elements, so that the attacking force makes no impression; or by pliability and elasticity, by virtue of which it gives way before every onset, to be sure, but after each attack ceases it recovers its previous form. We have now to discuss these two ways of social preservation.

Persistence by means of the conservative policy seems to be the method indicated wherever the aggregate consists of very diverse elements with latent or potent antipathies, so that every attack, no matter of what sort, is dangerous, and even measures for maintenance and for positive usefulness must be avoided if they entail agitation. Accordingly a state that is very complex, and must perpetually balance a somewhat unstable equilibrium, as is the case with Austria, will, on the whole, be strongly conservative because any disturbance might produce an irreparable disarrangement of the equilibrium. This consequence attaches

itself in general to the form of heterogeneity of the component elements in a large group, unless this diversity leads to the harmonious interlacing of interests that comes from essential unity. The danger to the maintenance of the social *status quo* lies here in the fact that every disturbance must produce very different sorts of consequences in the different strata of the group, because they are the repositories of highly contrasted energies. The smaller the amount of essential compatibility between the elements of the group, the more probable is it that new agitations, new stimulations of consciousness, new occasions for resolves and for developments will force the contrasted elements still further apart. There are countless ways in which people may be estranged from each other, but often only a single way of approach. Consequently it makes no difference how useful the changes might be in themselves, their effects upon the elements will bring the entire heterogeneity of the latter to expression, and to heightened expression, just as the mere lengthening of divergent lines makes the divergence more evident.[1] The avoidance of every innovation, of every departure from the previous way, a severe and rigid conservatism, is here indicated, therefore, in order to hold the group in its existing form.

But without a divergence of group elements to the extent of enmity, the same conservative character will be favorable to the maintenance of the group whenever the divergence, of whatever

[1] It sometimes looks as though the very shocks of a foreign war serve to reconcile elements of the state that were drawing apart, to establish the equilibrium that was threatened, and so to preserve the forms of the state. This, however, is only an apparent exception which really proves the rule. War really appeals to those energies which are common to the discordant elements of the community. These are vital and fundamental in their nature. War brings them so forcibly into consciousness that its disturbances actually nullify the differences. Thus the condition which, so far as our present thought is concerned, makes war dangerous disappears in the presence of war. In case the attack is not sharp enough to overcome the enmities present in the group, war produces the above asserted effects. How often has war given the last blow to a state system suffering from internal disruption! How often political groups, torn by internal dissensions, have faced the alternative of war against others, which might either cause domestic quarrels to be forgotten, or might on the contrary aggravate them beyond reconciliation!

sort, is considerable. Where the social differences are very marked, and where they do not merge into each other through intermediate gradations, any sudden movement and disturbance of the structure of the whole must be much more dangerous than when many intermediate strata are present. This follows from the fact that evolution always affects at first a portion of the group exclusively or with especial energy. Accordingly, in the case last considered, the consequences or extension of the evolution will appear but gradually, while in the first case the movement will be much more violent and will take sudden hold of portions of the group that are most distant and most opposed. The intermediate classes act then as buffers. In the event of sudden developments, or unavoidable disturbance of the structure of the whole, they graduate, mollify, and distribute the shock.

It is most necessary to preserve at all hazards the social peace, stability, and conservative character of the group life in those instances in which the group structure is discontinuous and characterized by sharp internal differences. For that reason we notice, as a matter of fact, that in groups containing tremendous and irreconcilable class contrasts, peace and persistence of the forms of social life are more apt to prevail than in cases of approach and mediation and commingling between the extremes of the social scale. In the latter case preservation of the whole in the *status quo ante* is much more likely to be along with unstable conditions, sudden developments, and progressive tendencies.

This connection between stability of the social character and width of distances between social elements betrays itself in the opposite direction. In case the preservation of the group, by means of stability, is mechanically forced, abrupt social differences often take shape with that end in view. This appears in the development of peasant serfdom in Russia. In the Russian there has always been a strong nomadic impulse. The level character of the country tended to confirm this impulse. To insure regular cultivation of the soil it was consequently necessary to take from the peasant his liberty to come and go at will.

That took place under Feodor in 1593. When the peasant was once bound to the soil he gradually lost the elements of freedom that he had formerly possessed. The forced immobility of the peasant became here, as in all the rest of Europe, the leverage by which the landlord degraded him lower and lower. That at first merely provisional device at last turned the peasant into a mere chattel of the estate. Thus the impulse of self-preservation in the group produces, not alone in case of existing contrasts, a tendency to stability of life forms; but, in case this impulse directly calls these contrasts into existence, growing social differences attach themselves to the impulse, and thus afford evidence of the essential relationship here asserted.

A further instance in which the self-preservation of the group makes for all possible stability and rigidity of its forms is evident in the case of outlived structures which have no longer an inherent right of existence, and whose elements really belong in other relations and social formations. Starting with the end of the Middle Ages, for example, the German community-associations suffered reduction of their effectiveness and of their rights through the growth of centralized administrations. Instead of retaining the vital power of cohesion which they had possessed by virtue of the importance of their former social rôle, there remained to them only the mask and externalities of those former possessions. In this plight the final means of self-preservation was very rigid exclusiveness, an unqualified prevention of the entrance of new associates. Every quantitative extension of a group requires certain qualitative modifications and adaptations. An obsolete structure cannot go through these changes without collapse. The social form is in very close dependence upon the numerical definiteness of its elements. That structure of a society which is appropriate for a given number of members is no longer appropriate when a certain increase has occurred. The process of transformation into the new form demanded force, the assimilation and disposition of the new elements consume force. Structures which have lost their essential meaning have no strength left for this task. They

must rather use all the energy remaining to protect the still surviving form against internal and external dangers. That rigid exclusion of new associates, which later characterizes the outlived *Zunft* organizations, signified immediately, therefore, that the group was confirming its stability by the exclusion which confined it to its once acquired members and their descendants. It signified still further, however, an avoidance of those reconstructions which are necessary with every quantitative extension of the group, modifications for which a structure that has outlasted its usefulness has no longer the requisite strength. The instinct of self-preservation will consequently lead such a group to measures of rigid conservatism. In general, structures that are unfit for competition will incline to these means, for in the degree in which their form is variable, in which it passes through different stages and accomplishes new adaptations, occasion is given to competitors for dangerous attacks. The most assailable stage for societies as for individuals is that between two periods of adjustment. Whoever is in motion cannot at every moment be so guarded on all sides as he may be who is in a position of stability and repose. A group which has a feeling of insecurity with reference to its competitors will on that account for the sake of its self-preservation avoid all variation, and will live in accordance with the principle *quieta non movere*.

This rigid self-limitation is especially to the purpose whenever competition is not yet present, but the aim is to prevent its appearance, because of conscious inability to cope with it. Rigorous measures of exclusion alone will in this case maintain the status, because if new relationships arise, if new points of connection with parties outside the group are offered, the group will be drawn into a wider sphere, in which it might encounter competition that could not be overcome. This sociological norm may be operative very widely in the following connection. An irredeemable paper currency has the peculiarity, in contrast with redeemable paper money, that it circulates only within the territory of the government that issues it, and cannot be exported. This is proclaimed as its greatest advantage. It

remains in the country. It is ready at hand for all enterprises. It does not take part in that equalization of precious metal with other states which immediately produces importation of foreign goods and the outflow of money, if there is a superfluity of money and consequent rise of prices. Consequently, if the circulating power of currency is limited to the country of issue, the circulating medium becomes an inner bond of unity for that country, and a means by which it maintains its social form, since it shuts the country off from the great competition of the world's markets. A country that is industrially strong and equal to any competitive enterprise would not need this means. It would rather be sure that it would increase the strength of its essential form in the variability of exchange, and in the developments of reciprocal dependence.

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(To be continued.)

A NEW PLAN FOR THE CONTROL OF QUASI-PUBLIC WORKS.

THE problem of controlling in the interest of the whole community the quasi-public works upon which the very life of a large municipal group depends is unquestionably one of the most pressing practical problems now before the American public. The individual is wholly dependent upon a system — whether managed by the municipality or by a private corporation — over which he has no direct control, for the supply of water, lights, transportation, and communication; and yet life is hardly worth living unless his demand for these goods is fairly well met. Nor is the welfare of the community secured unless these goods are put at the disposal of practically the whole population. But the experience of American municipalities in securing the means for the supply of these imperative individual and social wants has not been gratifying. The recent examples of the granting and extending of street-railway franchises in Chicago and of the virtual gift of the Philadelphia gas-works to a private corporation serve to bring the difficulties to public attention; but these are simply two glaringly bad illustrations of a system which is everywhere thoroughly bad.

The solution usually proposed by thoughtful persons has been public ownership; but many objections have been raised to this proposition. The objection that it is a socialistic measure does not, of course, require serious attention. But the objection that our corrupt political system renders such a method impracticable is one that cannot be so easily dismissed. It has been well said in reply to this objection that the railways, gas-works, etc., are in politics anyhow; and that experience with water-works under municipal ownership has not been as unsatisfactory as experience with gas-works, electric-light works, and street railways under the control of private corporations which are ever ready to corrupt councils, and which corrupt councils are ever ready to "hold up." It is true that, in spite of our spoils system, the water supply, sewerage systems, and streets of our large cities have been about as well cared for as would have been the case under private control, and probably at much less cost to the people. But there is a difference between these and other public works. The streets and sewers

had never fallen under private control, so that no private agencies were organized to bid for them until the people had become so accustomed to regard them wholly as a public property that no change could possibly be brought about.

The case of the water-works is somewhat different; yet it also differs from the other public works. Although many of our municipalities have private water-works, the prevailing sentiment, especially in the larger cities, is in favor of public works. And where the water is supplied by a private corporation, there are more efficient control by the public authorities, fewer charges of corruption, and less complaint, except in times of drought, of inadequate supply, than is the case with other public or quasi-public works. The fact that public ownership of water-works is relatively so common, and that under private ownership relatively efficient public control is possible, is probably due to the fact that the supply of water has been regarded as analogous to the police and sanitary functions of the municipality. The courts have uniformly taken this view, though they construe the provisions of charters in all other respects with great strictness, regarding them as permitting the exercise of no powers which are not specifically granted. In proportion as the water supply has been a necessity, the municipal authorities have maintained a supervision which, though frequently inadequate, is superior to that which they exercise over any other public works. The relative freedom from corruption may, perhaps, be explained by the nature of the enterprise. Natural conditions usually limit the water supply; and this fact not only causes a public demand that it shall be controlled by some agency that will not be interested in restricting it, but precludes the possibility of competing companies. Perhaps not ten cities in the United States have ever had duplicate water systems. The presence of rival companies is one of the most fruitful causes of legislative corruption, and leads, in most cases, to a consolidation, by which the public can be forced to pay profits on duplicate plants. In the management of public water systems there has been much corruption in the awarding of contracts, and many inefficient men have been employed; but, on the whole, there have been no scandals to parallel those which so frequently arise in connection with other public works. Finally, the consequences of an insufficient or tainted supply of water are so patent, and the means of judging whether the required standard is being reached or not are so simple, that public opinion is easily and quickly brought to bear upon the

management. Because the public consciousness is so alert upon this question, fewer complaints are necessary; and except in times of drought, or in cases where the supply is polluted by causes for which no one is to blame and which cannot be immediately removed, there is little dissatisfaction.

Now the case is different with every other form of public service. From the beginning of a settlement, everybody wants water; but the demand for gas, electric lights, telephones, and rapid transit is only gradually developed. These things are luxuries when they are first introduced. A demand for them has to be created. Therefore there is room for individual initiative. Frequently a private undertaker has little difficulty in getting a franchise, but much difficulty, at first, in making his enterprise pay. To the general public, then, it is of little moment whether the consumer has to pay much or little for his product or service; for the general public does not consume. The function is not essential to the welfare of the whole community; therefore, the community is not interested in gaining control over it. If the undertaking proves to be profitable, the community may regard it as a fit subject for taxation; but beyond this there is little public interest. This condition of affairs has existed in most cases when these works have been initiated. Although, later, many towns may become so anxious for them that they are willing to stimulate undertakers to come to them, the method of private, irresponsible control has become so universal that any other plan is then seldom considered.

But the changing conditions of city life are such that, one after another, these things become necessities. It is in the interest of civic welfare to have good and cheap means of illumination, heating, communication, and transportation. There is a growing recognition of this fact; yet it has been thus far true that efforts of reformers have been chiefly directed to the securing of compensation for franchises which make it possible for the private corporations to gain immense profits, and not to the lowering of the cost to the consumer. The latter has not been left entirely out of consideration; but the question has usually been made one of finance, rather than one of raising the standard of comfort of the masses and of establishing communicating systems which both relieve congestion and bind the sections of the city together in a more organic life. So long as the managers of these quasi-public works enjoy monopoly benefits, the community will be benefited by taxing the franchises. But the use of these products and

services is so distinctly to the advantage of the community life that it would be much better to render them at cost, if possible. Taxation might better be laid somewhere else, provided the advantage of lower cost of production could be secured to the consumer.

The only condition, however, under which the latter can be secured is the management of quasi-public works absolutely as trusts. Whether such management can be secured by public ownership seems doubtful. It was not in Philadelphia. The gas plant was mismanaged for years, and then given away for the private benefit of certain councilmen and a powerful corporation.[1] Eradicate the spoils system, elect better councilmen, and throw legal restrictions in the way of a repetition of such a transaction — all of which may or may not be accomplished in this generation — and there might still remain objections to public ownership. In a democratic country there is danger that a settled business policy, such as is necessary in the management of these great enterprises, may not be possible, especially within small areas where dissatisfaction can be easily stirred up. Even the educational system, within which there are greater possibilities for the development of expert service than in almost any other public employment, is still largely dominated by political methods, and influenced by popular prejudices.[2] A few such difficulties in an industry where much depends upon economical management and the employment of the proper help would be ruinous, and would lead to the abandonment of the system, as was done in the case of our early state railways.

Furthermore, it may be questioned whether it is desirable to bring these quasi-public works under conscious public control. That they should be socially controlled can scarcely be questioned; but that it is either desirable or possible to make that control continuously conscious may be seriously questioned. Society is too complex for complete socialized ownership of the agencies which are now employed, and these agencies are likely to be multiplied in the future. The citizen is not willing to pay the price of conscious control of the few enterprises now conducted by the municipality. It is to be hoped that a deeper and more intelligent interest in civic affairs may be developed; but it is doubtful whether

[1] See AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, March, 1898; *Annals of American Academy* ("Municipal Notes"), January, 1898.

[2] For example, the Kansas State Agricultural College. See AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, November, 1897.

the time will ever come when the really useful citizen, whose life is full of duties, will be able to act intelligently in the control of all the various agencies of social service which our complex municipal life will require. There is no advantage in having a government do things simply for the sake of doing them. It is no more to the interest of society to be obliged to consciously control all of its organs than it would be to the interest of a man to be obliged to consciously control the flow of blood to his brain. So, if the social service can be adequately secured without ownership, ownership will be a mere burden, not an advantage. If the *values* of these activities can be secured to society without the socialization of the *form* of the industry, all that is desirable will be gained, and the burdens will be avoided.

The above statements have been made in order to set forth the place and importance of a plan recently brought forward by Mr. Alfred F. Potts, a prominent attorney of Indianapolis. His plan of control of quasi-public works is, in brief, the management by disinterested trustees of institutions endowed for the purpose of rendering the public service at cost. He does not make the proposition as an experiment, but advocates a plan which has been demonstrated to be successful, though applied under difficult circumstances.

The plan may, perhaps, be best understood by reviewing it in its experimental application in Indianapolis. In 1887, when natural gas was about to be introduced into Indianapolis, the Indianapolis Gas Company, which had constructed pipe lines from the fields, some twenty miles north of the city, to the city limits, declared that it would not bring the gas into the city unless the rates which had been fixed by a city ordinance could be doubled. These rates were already liberal; so this move of the company was in the nature of "sand-bagging." A storm of indignation was aroused, and various projects were suggested for the control of the industry. The agitation resulted in nothing more than the increase of the public indignation, until Mr. Potts devised the plan that was formulated on November 2, 1887, in the articles of association of the "Consumers' Gas Trust," which will be discussed more fully later. Mr. Potts had to keep up a constant battle to prevent the council from hastily passing the old company's ordinance. An active canvass was made in every ward of the city for popular subscriptions, at $25 per share, to the stock of the trust. Five hundred thousand dollars was subscribed within three weeks; and the stock was so scattered among the voters that the council did not dare to

pass any regulation interfering with the work. The difficulties encountered in the prosecution of the enterprise were so great that the stock had to be increased to $605,000, and indebtedness incurred amounting to $750,000. The company has been in successful operation up to date, and now has 325 miles of pipe line, drawing from 230 gas wells. Both the trust and its rival have found the rates fixed by the ordinance ample. These rates guarantee fuel to the people of the city at one-third the cost of coal; and the aggregate saving to the consumers, over what the cost would have been had the rates been doubled, has been not less than $1,000,000 per year. The company has paid dividends and interest on the capital invested at the rate of 8 per cent., has paid off all of the indebtedness, and has returned to the stockholders all that they invested except $236,000. When this latter amount is paid, gas will be furnished to the consumers at actual cost. This favorable business showing is possible in spite of the fact that the industry is one that is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Every year, in order to supply the increasing demand, new wells have to be opened, farther and farther from the city, until now some are forty miles away.

Mr. Potts did not feel like pushing his plan farther until it should have been tested in this case. He is now convinced—and in this opinion he is upheld by the leading business and professional men of Indianapolis—that the plan has worked so successfully that it is now time to apply it to the management of other quasi-public works. At a recent meeting of the Commercial Club he suggested that steps be taken to bring the street-railway system, which is quite likely to be for sale or to be forced to sell within a few months, under the same method of control. He has still more recently urged the city authorities, who are being pressed for a franchise by independent telephone companies, to grant a franchise to a telephone company organized on the plan of the gas trust. This latter will be a comparatively simple enterprise, unless the city authorities favor the other applicants. It is proposed to offer to purchase the plant of the Bell Company, giving a small bonus for its franchise, if it will sell; otherwise, to construct a new plant and force the old company out of the field. Greater difficulties are in the way of the street-railway movement, but they are not thought to be insuperable.

The plan of organization under which the gas trust has been operated, and under which it is proposed to bring all other quasi-public works, is as follows:

1. A stock company is formed, and, by the terms of incorporation, the stockholders assign their shares to a self-perpetuating board of trustees, who are given irrevocable power to vote the same for directors. Thus, if a majority of the shares should fall into the hands of one person, he would have no control of the company. The articles of incorporation provide that "Any member of the board of trustees may be removed by the Marion circuit court upon the showing that said trustee is an employé or holder of any of the securities or capital stock of any other company organized for the purpose of manufacturing or delivering artificial or natural gas to consumers residing in, or in the vicinity of, the city of Indianapolis, or for any corrupt practice or any misconduct which said court may deem detrimental to the interests of said company." It is, therefore, practically impossible for the enterprise to fall into the hands of a rival, even though the latter might buy up all the shares of stock.

The trustees serve without compensation. The board appointed in the beginning by the articles of incorporation is almost certain to be composed of reliable men. Their terms are not limited in the case of the gas trust, but it may seem more desirable to have a certain number of the trustees go out of office at stated intervals in order to bring new ideas in, and to prevent the whole board from growing too old. The board fills vacancies in its own body. It is, therefore, not under the control of stockholders, nor of the political authorities, though it may be controlled by a legal process if there is evidence of corruption or mismanagement. The organization is thus seen to be similar to that of our best universities. The means of public control must be found in public opinion, which needs to be aroused only when friction occurs. But since the trustees can derive no pecuniary advantage from the management of the concern, they must serve from the social motive, and may be expected to regard their trusts. It is true that an educational institution may be more sensitive to public opinion than one of these natural monopolies, because students may easily be turned to some other school; but, on the other hand, the standards by which the service of one of these public enterprises may be judged are more likely to be intelligently held by the general public, so that public opinion is more likely to be rational. If able business men are willing to give their time to the oversight of a great university purely from the social motive, and manage it more entirely as a public trust than any purely private or wholly public institution is managed, it is not

unreasonable to suppose that men can be found who are willing to serve as trustees of the public in controlling other important institutions. Why not? Some of these public works are as essential to the social welfare as schools and churches, and though they are *economic* institutions, there is no valid reason why the *social* motive may not be adequate to provide the service. Experience in one instance in Indianapolis has not been disappointing. It may be questioned, however, whether satisfactory trustees can usually be found or sufficient capital secured for the organization, on this plan, of entirely new enterprises—those which have to create a demand, those whose social values are not yet appreciated by very many people. Nor may it be commonly possible to secure suitable trustees in very small towns. But for the supply of felt needs in the larger municipalities it does not seem that an efficient organization should ever be impossible. To secure it, however, it is necessary that the initiators of the movement shall be disinterested and intelligent men.

2. The immediate management of the concern is in the hands of directors chosen annually by the board of trustees. The compensation of the directors is "fixed at the expiration of each year's service by the board of trustees, upon a showing made of the services rendered." The directors are restricted in their power to contract indebtedness, and no indebtedness of any kind may be contracted except upon consent of two-thirds of the board of directors. The division of labor among various committees of the directors is quite complete, but the approval of the board of directors is required before the action of the more important committees is binding.

A further precaution will be taken in future applications of the gas trust plan; viz., that instead of making the publication of the accounts optional with the trustees and directors, it is to be provided that a report must be filed semi-annually with the city comptroller, and that the city comptroller may inspect the books of the company at any time.

3. The necessary capital is secured by popular subscription, the shares being fixed at $25. It is necessary that such movements shall be backed by local capital, and it is desirable that as many people as possible shall be directly interested in its success. Incidentally, a splendid means is provided for short-time investment of savings by persons of all classes. It is provided that the dividends upon the stock shall not exceed 8 per cent. yearly, and that the amount invested shall be returned to the investors as soon as possible. The shares of stock will still be owned by the stockholders, and the necessary legal fiction of ownership

maintained ; but the stock will have no pecuniary value, and will give its owners no control over the concern. Although those who furnish the first capital are recouped, the institution is finally endowed. It is probably impossible to look for immediate endowment of such institutions from the surplus wealth of rich men; but that may come in time.

The rate of interest is rather high, and may, in some places at least, be reduced. But it must be remembered that some degree of risk is involved, that the control of the stock is lost, and that the capital must ordinarily be drawn from the local community; so that the lowest competitive rate of interest cannot be secured. An advantage to the community is found in the fact that the interest is ordinarily retained in the neighborhood.

But if the capital must ordinarily be gathered up in the local community, the plan of organization will be applicable only in those cities where there is some surplus wealth. If public works are to be constructed greatly in advance of the ability of the community to pay for them, capital must be drawn from abroad ; and, if it is drawn from abroad, the foreign capitalist will not allow the control of the enterprise to pass out of his hands. He must have actual control or a mortgage lien. However, it is doubtless true that most of the larger cities, even in the West, possess enough surplus wealth to pay for public works of this sort. Street paving and public buildings could still be constructed by capital borrowed from outsiders, at lower rates than those paid for capital used on the quasi-public works. In order, also, that the purpose of the organization may not be finally frustrated, it is necessary that its indebtedness shall never become unmanageable. The actual plant must be constructed, and most of the floating capital provided, out of the capital stock. Provision must be made for necessary expansion, out of the earnings or by increase of capital stock. A small bonded or floating debt might be safely handled ; but a large one is likely to throw the whole industry into the hands of creditors, on account of a default in payment of interest caused by some very slight temporary backset which does not interfere with the general prosperity of the industry in the least. As we have seen, the gas trust successfully carried, and has entirely liquidated, a very considerable debt ; but it seems desirable, in order to insure the kind of control required, that dependence should be wholly upon the capital stock, the owners of which can never gain control. A small floating indebtedness might be permitted, but it should be strictly limited in amount.

A further provision, which is not found in the gas trust articles,

should be made, to determine how the property should be disposed of, if it should be found desirable to wind up the affairs of the corporation. Without such a provision, if the company should go into liquidation, the final proceeds would go to the old stockholders. But the plan contemplates no return to them, after they shall have received the face of their stock and dividends equivalent to 8 per cent. on their capital until it is returned. The proceeds from liquidation should go to some public cause.[1]

4. Finally, and most important, perhaps, is the provision that service shall be rendered at actual cost, after these returns shall have been made to the stockholders. It is not to be supposed that a company organized on this basis will charge unreasonable rates up to the time that the obligation to the stockholders is fully discharged; but the full benefits to the public are secured only after that has been done. The gas trust has already saved to the consumers about $10,000,000; but it will become more completely a public servant after the remaining payments shall have been made to stockholders. An industry which comes under the law of increasing returns—and practically every one except the natural-gas industry does—will make much larger profits, and thus be able to pay off the stock obligations and to reduce the cost of production more rapidly. It is possible, however, that it may sometimes be found advantageous to pay back the face of the stock more slowly, thereby making possible a more immediate reduction in the cost to the consumer.

There may, indeed, be cases in which it will seem more desirable to turn the profits of the enterprise to some other public purpose, instead of lowering consumers' costs. The objections to taxing the franchises, or even the plants, of these public agencies have already been stated; but there may be instances where a real public need is supplied by the industry, and yet where the immediate consumers are a class which may well be taxed. For example, if the telephone service of Indianapolis is organized on this plan, the company—which, of course, will here mean the consumers—will probably pay to the city $5,000 for the first 5,000 instruments and $2 per instrument for all above that number, objections can be made to this plan only when the telephone ceases to be in any sense a luxury. Again, it may seem desir-

[1] Since the above was written the articles of the proposed telephone company have been drawn up. These provide for the application of the proceeds of possible liquidation to public purposes.

able to let the street-car fare remain unchanged, and turn the profits of the business to the park fund. However, there are serious objections to this; for it would be better to tax the land-owning class to maintain the parks than the mass of those who need the street-car service. Lower car fares would help to relieve the congestion in the city, would make the larger parks available to larger numbers of the class which most needs them, and would thus be a proper auxiliary to a park system. However, all of this is a matter of detail. The essential feature is the control of quasi-public works in the interest of the community.

Defects may be found in the plan suggested by Mr. Potts; but he has certainly made a contribution that is worthy of consideration by students of municipal problems. It seems to be a plan which will secure adequate control without throwing these works into the hands of the spoils politician. It depends upon a public opinion, such as ultimately controls our greatest educational institutions; and may in these cases be expected to control, though not radically, the management of non-political institutions. It uses our most highly developed business methods in the service of the public, and secures to the public all of the possible advantages of those methods. It secures the complete socialization of the values of social functions, and yet does not throw the strain of frequent oversight of complex institutions upon the social consciousness. This last seems to be *the* desideratum. It might be secured by expert official service, but, unless this should become an intolerable bureaucracy, it must be subject to the fitful changes of our political life; whereas the Indianapolis plan provides for a management whose policy cannot be revolutionized by a spasm of popular prejudice, yet which must be gradually readjusted to meet social needs by the pressure of public opinion at important crises, and which for the faithful performance of its trust will be under *legal* rather than *political* control. In so far as political regulation is necessary, it will undoubtedly be found true, when the semi-public corporation is stripped of its corrupting power, that the municipal government will be found more regardful of the public interests in controlling the corporation as a servant than it would be in controlling itself in the direct management of the quasi-public works; just as the national government is a hard taskmaster in controlling the note issues of the banks, while it is ever in danger of becoming most self-indulgent in controlling its own note and silver issues.

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MINOR EDITORIALS.

THE following note was received too late for publication in the March number. As it concerns a subject of importance in sociology, and is not a merely personal matter, it is quite in place here. Professor Durkheim's position ought to be correctly understood. The original form of the note is therefore given to our readers in preference to a translation.

BORDEAUX, 6 Fevrier 1898.

MONSIEUR ET CHER COLLÈGUE:

Je me suis fait une règle de mettre à profit les critiques qui peuvent être faites de mes travaux sans y répondre directement, sauf quand les idées discutées sous mon nom me sont tellement étrangères que je dois les désavouer pour empêcher des erreurs matérielles de s'accréditer. Jusqu'à présent, le cas ne s'est présenté qu'une fois dans ma carrière. Mais l'article que me consacre votre collaborateur M. Tosti, dans votre numéro de Janvier, m'oblige une seconde fois à sortir de ma réserve.

Suivant cet auteur, j'aurais méconnu qu' "un composé s'explique à la fois par le caractère de ses éléments et par la loi de leur combinaison;" et il s'étonne qu'un logicien comme moi ait pu commettre une telle énormité. Pour faire cesser cet étonnement, il me suffit de le renvoyer aux passages suivants de mon livre:

1. "L'intensité [des courants suicidogènes] ne peut dépendre que des trois sortes de causes suivantes: 1°) *La nature des individus qui composent la société;* 2°) la manière dont ils sont associés, c'est à dire la nature de l'organisation sociale; 3°) les évènements passagers qui troublent le fonctionnement de la vie collective sans en altérer la constitution anatomique" (p. 363 du *Suicide*).

2. "*Il est bien vrai que la société ne comprend pas d'autres forces agissantes que celles des individus;* seulement les individus, en s'unissant, forment un être psychique d'une espèce nouvelle. . . . *Sans doute, les propriétés elémentaires a'où résulte le fait social sont contenues en germe dans les esprits particuliers.* Mais le fait social n'en sort que quand

elles ont été transformées par l'association. . . . L'association est, *elle aussi*, un facteur actif qui produit des effets spéciaux" (*ibid.*, p. 350).

Ainsi, je ne nie pas du tout que les natures individuelles soient les composantes du fait social. Il s'agit de savoir si, en se composant pour donner naissance au fait social, elles ne se transforment pas par le fait même de leur combinaison. La synthèse est-elle purement mécanique ou chimique? Toute la question est là; votre collaborateur ne parait pas la soupçonner.

Puisqu'aussi bien je suis amené à intervenir, je veux dire un mot d'une autre objection qu'il me fait à la suite de M. Bosco: "Si, me dit-on, vous ne trouvez pas de relation définie entre le suicide et les facteurs extra-sociaux, vous n'avez pas le droit d'en rien conclure; car un même fait social peut être le produit de plusieurs causes." Rien de plus certain. Mais il reste ce fait que, quand je compare le suicide aux facteurs sociaux, je trouve des relations définies malgré cette pluralité des causes; que, quand je le compare aux facteurs cosmiques, ethniques etc., je ne trouve plus de ces rapports. D'où il suit que si ces derniers facteurs agissent, leur effet est bien faible, puisqu'il disparait des résultats globaux; mais que, au contraire, les causes sociales doivent être bien puissantes pour affecter aussi manifestement les chiffres de la statistique. Or c'est tout ce que je voulais dire.

Je vous serais obligé de publier cette lettre dans votre prochain numéro, et je vous prie de recevoir, Monsieur et cher collègue, l'expression de mes meilleurs et bien dévoués sentiments.

ÉMILE DURKHEIM.

PROFESSEUR À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE BORDEAUX.

REVIEWS.

Industrial Democracy. By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 2 vols. Pp. 929.

THESE strong volumes follow other notable studies by the same writers. This claims to be a sociological discussion. "Sociology, like all other sciences, can advance only upon the basis of a precise observation of actual facts;" it is a science which deals with facts at first hand. The principle of classification of the vast mass of materials is the end of the associated persons, the direct intention with which the regulations were adopted. The methods of investigation are set forth. The authors began with the structure and functions of the unions, adopted a careful system of note taking, and sought knowledge from documents, personal observation, and interviews. They express a strong sense of the value of sociological investigation. "A knowledge of social facts and laws is indispensable for any intelligent and deliberate human action. The whole of social life, the entire structure and functioning of society, consists of human intervention. The essential characteristic of civilized, as distinguished from savage, society is that these interventions are not impulsive, but deliberate; for, though some sort of human society may get along upon instinct, civilization depends upon organized knowledge of sociological facts and of the connections between them. And this knowledge must be sufficiently generalized to be capable of being diffused. We can all avoid being practical engineers or chemists; but no consumer, producer, or citizen can avoid being a practical sociologist." The plea for funds to pursue investigation should be heard.

Part I deals with "Trade-Union Structure," primitive democracy, representative institutions, the unit of government, and inter-union relations. It may seem strange to some to look for real political lessons in the long despised trade unions. But most interesting experiments have been tried with the assembly of members, the initiative and referendum. The general tendency has been toward representative government for all large and general plans. In industrial associations

as in municipal and national politics the problem is to combine administrative efficiency with popular control; and experience in unions shows that the representative must have professional training of one kind, and the administrative officer must have technical knowledge of the routine methods of the office. Inter-union relations require organization to promote common interests, while home rule must be given freedom to protect peculiar and local interests.

Part II is given to "Trade-Union Function." The vague aspirations of workingmen, as the elevation of life, the promotion of the common good, find expression in their laws. But these commonplaces are made definite in the regulations of the unions and in the methods employed to enforce these regulations. The methods are mutual insurance, collective bargaining, and legal enactments. The regulations relate to specific ends and grievances: the standard rate, the normal day, sanitation and safety, new processes and machinery, continuity of employment, entrance into a trade, and right to a trade. The method of mutual insurance is a means of holding the union together. The insurance is not a primary purpose and is not so secure as in a friendly society, having no actuarial basis or legal standing. But for union purposes the reserve funds are more valuable than savings banks, because (p. 166) they enable the *community* of workmen to acquire wealth, and the possession of wealth binds them into a compact body.

The method of collective bargaining is vital to trade-unionism. The group makes contracts with the employer through a representative and not as individuals. Slowly employers have been coming to accept this principle. The individual wage-earner is weak, while the union is strong. Only by combination can a contract be made on fairly equal terms with a capitalist. But even collective bargaining has its limitations. In the last resort it may end in failure to agree—the strike or lockout. The community may thus be injured. Arbitration is proposed as a help at this point; but arbitration has no sanction. Its chief value lies in conciliation. Compulsory arbitration would mean the fixing of wages by law, and in 1896 the colony of Victoria began an experiment with this policy.

The method of legal enactment is old. The trade unions of the eighteenth century were formed chiefly for the purpose of enforcing legal rules. With the adoption of *laissez-faire* principles, from 1800 onward, this machinery became useless. Excluded from collective

bargaining by combination laws and from legal enactment by theory, the workmen from 1800 to 1825 fell back on mutual insurance, secret coercion, and riots. Up to 1867 collective bargaining became popular, and, after extension of the suffrage, legal enactment was more employed.

Turning to the regulations and their intention, we are taught the meaning of the movement. The standard rate is the one regulation which is practically universal, and it calls for a payment according to some definite standard, uniform in its application. The great industry, with its machinery running at a nearly uniform speed and its large collections of workers, seems to demand greater uniformity of wages. This does not mean equality of wages, but only a minimum rate to prevent the "adulteration of labor" by competition with the incapable.

The employer is biased in favor of a long day. The unions believe the extension of the day means a breaking down of the standard rate, and they resist it. There is a strong tendency to seek to limit hours by law. During the century the hours of labor have been considerably shortened, although overtime continues, and in backward districts the day is still long.

Great progress has been made in enforcing regulations favorable to health and safety. The individual workman is helpless. Even trade-union bargaining is of little avail. The method of legal enactment is the only efficient way, and in this matter public opinion helps the workmen. Employers' liability will not take the place of measures to prevent accident, because it is cheaper for employers to insure with some company than introduce costly protective appliances.

The unions have been able to diminish the tragic pain and misery attending the introduction of new machinery and processes, when the skill acquired by a life work is suddenly rendered valueless. The boot- and shoe- and papermakers have been able to devise means for holding their own without interrupting the use of the best machinery. Even handicraftsmen in some lines, by keeping up price and quality, have maintained their advantages alongside the factory system. It has been more difficult to secure continuity of employment, but even here irregularity and uncertainty have been in a measure corrected. Full explanations are given of the policy of unions relating to entrance upon a trade, child work, and the right to a trade.

Under "Implications of Trade-Unionism" the authors give a lucid

explanation of certain beliefs and prejudices of workmen which outsiders often find it difficult to understand. For example, trade unions do not wish to be incorporated, because liability to suit at law would ruin the union. They oppose "home work" and the small master system, because the worst evils of cut-throat competition linger in these belated forms of industry. They oppose the organization of sick, accident, and burial benefits managed by the employers, because this gives the employers artificial means of control. They oppose profit-sharing, because this bribes men to desert each other with the faint hope of a small premium.

The assumptions of trade-unionism must be considered in any complete view. One conviction is fundamental: social conditions can, by deliberate human intervention, be changed for the better. Three great doctrines have been urged at different times and on different grounds: the doctrine of vested interest in trade, the doctrine of supply and demand, and the doctrine of a living wage. The scheme of the "sliding scale" is inconsistent with the maintenance of the living wage, and the unions believe that the means of efficiency must be provided, and that the price of the product must carry assurance of this minimum. Alliances of employers and wage-workers are formed to keep up profits and wages. The result of this alliance is that the use of invention and machinery is stimulated, inefficient workmen are excluded, the product is thereby increased, and the wealth of the country is enhanced. Of course there is no absolute guaranty to the community that articles of consumption may not be raised in price.

At this point the authors introduce a statement which should be carefully considered in this country, where labor legislation is in its beginnings, especially in the newer manufacturing districts. English public opinion has reached a stage of education where the conditions essential to health and efficiency are not left to the will of employers nor to the struggle attending the higgling of a market. Law determines not only the condition of the shop, but the length of hours for children, and, since 1847, of adult women in certain industries. By an act of 1893 this legislation was extended to protect adult men in the railway service. The decision of the Illinois courts on this principle would seem to be as antiquated as the Dred Scot decision. The writers believe that it will be as easy to give a physiological definition of a minimum living wage, to be enforced by law, as of a maximum day, and this radical doctrine is discussed with eminent ability.

Among trade-unionists there are conservatives, individualists, and collectivists, as among other citizens. Therefore it is not wise for trade-union congresses to discuss the land question, municipalization of monopolies, and other problems about which they know no more than their fellow-citizens, and on which they cannot agree.

Part III deals with "Trade-Union Theory." According to the ancient and rigid form of the wage-fund theory, there seemed to be no possibility of affecting the rate of wages by combination. It was a simple question of division: so much fund set apart for wages divided by the number of workmen, and the individual wage rate is found. This theory the authors examine in the light of recent economic discussion, and conclude that it is definitely abandoned. In a similar way they criticise the use made of the population doctrine. In the present form of these theories they find nothing inconsistent with moderate trade-union claims, and they accept the verdict of economists as substantially valid.

Under the head, "Economic Characteristics of Trade-Unionism," we find a critical estimate of the methods and regulations of the unions. The device of restriction of numbers is no longer much used, and is practically obsolete. It goes with the abandoned wage-fund theory; it would prevent selection of the best workmen and would restrict the extension of business. The ease with which a man can pass from one occupation to another kills this device. The device of the common rule and minimum wage is more efficacious. Its tendency is to compel managers to select the more capable workmen. The parasitic trades are not only an obstacle to the unions, but a burden to society; for the incapable who are not supported by the wages of their calling must depend partly on charity. The minimum of support should be fixed by law and enforced by factory rules. These regulations will leave a residuum who cannot find any place in competitive industry, the unemployable. These persons are already largely supported by alms or theft, and society must provide for them in a way which will remove them from the misery and ruin of their present situation and from the possibility of dragging down the capable and industrious wage-earners, who, without this dead weight about their necks, could take care of themselves. The unemployable would be collected in non-competing colonies, and their imperfect labor so directed that they could earn at least more for themselves than they are doing now. Mr. Charles Booth had some time since reached a similar conclusion. It would mean something

like slavery, but slavery is a social state relatively superior to that deep and brutal savagery in which so many of the "submerged" habitually live. Nothing in such treatment would stand in the way of restoring to liberty all who could be educated and trained to enjoy it without detriment to society.

The frankly socialistic bias of the authors is not concealed, and it seems at places to color the reasoning. But the book as a whole bears every mark of honest, thorough, and highly intelligent investigation and statement. It is simply indispensable to a student of the labor movement in this century. C. R. HENDERSON.

Introduction to the Study of Sociology. By J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1898. Pp. xii + 336. $1.50.

"NOT an introduction to *sociology*, but to its *study*" (p. 239). The book was prepared for three classes of inquirers: *first*, "the large class of professional men and other persons of culture who have had no instruction in sociology, but are desirous of obtaining an idea of its nature and materials, and of pursuing its study privately; *second*, students who have no sociology in their collegiate course, but realize that without it their education and their preparation for life are incomplete; *third*, teachers of social science who desire a compend as the basis of their instruction, or who, while lecturing on sociology, want a manual in the hands of their students."

Every person who is teaching sociology, or proposing to teach it, ought to read this book. The fewer of the other two classes who get hold of it the better. The main subjects discussed are: I, "The Genesis of the Idea of Society;" II, "Definition and Scope of Sociology;" III, "The Relation of Sociology to Other Social Disciplines;" IV, "Division of Sociology;" V, "The Principles of Society *per se;*" VI, "The Historical Evolution of the Principles of Society;" VII, "Sociological Ethics, or the Progress of Society;" VIII, "The Method in the Study of Sociology;" IX, "Is Sociology a Science?" X, "The Sociological Study of the Age."

Dr. Stuckenberg's view of sociology is sane and comprehensive. Hence its value for teachers. A person fit to teach sociology would profit by comparison of his own conception of the subject with that outlined in this volume. I protest, however, against so much beginning to get ready to prepare to commence, as a way of introducing

laymen to sociology. I particularly dissent from the author's judgment that "*Such a volume as is here offered ought to make more easy the introduction of this study into institutions where it is now omitted*" (preface). My opposition is purely pedagogical. Aften ten years' experimentation with sociology as a subject for graduates and undergraduates, I am sure that it is folly and delusion to feed the latter on the kind of propædeutics contained in this book. Better omit sociology from college courses altogether than insert it in this form. I speak with confidence, because I began by committing the very error which I am now pointing out, and I learned its futility by experience. The only sociological instruction which can be made useful enough to undergraduates to justify displacement of time-tested subjects is drill upon definite sections of sociological problems by teachers sufficiently sure of themselves to keep most of this methodology out of sight.[1] When the sociologists were locating the new territory, and at the same time trying to get it recognized by the colleges, they had nothing better to offer than this penumbral trigonometry. We can see now that it was a clear case of "silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto thee." Men are at present available who have had training which the pioneers lacked. They have organized so much of this preliminary delimitation and procedure into their thinking that it is like the grammar of their mother tongue: they can observe it without discussing it, and they can gear it on to the work in hand. These men can introduce undergraduates to problems in sociology in such a way that some of the method may be taught incidentally, some will teach itself in the course of dealing with concrete material, and other parts of valid method will be demanded later by students after they have run against problems of method in a less arbitrary order. Methodology is psychologically, not logically, subject-matter for comparatively late treatment. If it be exploited prematurely, the student gets the impression that sociology is merely a straining to create something out of nothing by formulating vacuity. To his mind it is very much like trying to perfect airships by plotting courses of navigation outside the earth's atmosphere.

The force of these observations will probably not be weakened by the fact that my own primary interest is in methodology, and, more than that, I find myself in hearty accord in the main with Dr. Stuckenberg's conceptions of the scope and method of sociology. I am,

[1] *Vide* JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, May, 1897, p. 847.

nevertheless, sure that the introduction of such a treatment of method into an undergraduate course would be ill-advised.

The book contains many passages to which students may well be referred at different stages of more concrete study. The first chapter would serve the purpose with beginners that the author intended, though it turns out, upon close inspection, to be rather an *a priori* account of how the idea of society *must have arisen* than a report of the precise stages through which it actually did arise. The section on the definition of sociology is particularly clear (pp. 44–53). It is not so evident that the author has straightened out the relation of psychology to sociology (pp. 62 *seq.*). He rejects the division of sociology into "static" and "dynamic" upon grounds which, so far as his statements go, are insufficient, to say the least (p. 107). His treatment of "descriptive sociology" (p. 107) seems to me not well considered. He has, to be sure, such good company as Professors Ward and Giddings in declining to use that designation. Their grounds are not his, however, and are firmer than his. The question, "What sociology is there to be described?" shows that the author gives to the phrase curious connotations. Whether "descriptive sociology" is properly within or without the limits of sociology is a question of innocent methodological gerrymander, after all. To assert that the phrase "descriptive sociology" involves an absurdity requires the same assertion about the phrase "descriptive geography" in distinction from physiography. If there is an absurdity here, it is in the psychology which supposes that we can generalize facts before we have any sort of descriptive analysis of the facts. Not so clear is the author's use of the terms "society" and "societies" (p. 108 and chap. v). He certainly gets at his algebra of the principles of "society" by discussing "societies." This is as it should be, but I am not able to make the two phases of the author's conception quite coherent.

The chapter on "The Principles of Society" does not profess to produce any of them. It tells what their formal relations will be when we have some. Again my objection is pedagogical. There is too much of this formal element for beginners, while it is not carried far enough to join company with the specialists. If Dr. Stuckenberg pursues inquiries after "principles of society," he will not be able to test them very searchingly without getting them placed within the categories "static" and "dynamic," which he rejects. On pp. 154

and 159 the author proposes some subjects of inquiry which smack of reality. He touches *terra firma* when he says: "This brings before us a fundamental problem of sociology: What is there in individuals which so adapts them to one another as to become the ground of association?" The last section in this book should be the first for beginners. The way to begin to study society is to begin. While Dr. Dike, Professor Henderson, and Small and Vincent have proposed somewhat closer methods of studying a local community, Dr. Stuckenberg's categories are surely inquisitive. Instead of trying to study sociology alone, after or even before entering on one of these local studies, however, it would be wiser for beginners to get the help of a competent teacher, by correspondence if no other way is feasible, and thus save dissipation of effort.

The book is profuse without being full. This is best illustrated in connection with the bibliographical references. These are strangely unassorted. In most cases a student who did not previously know how to place the books mentioned would find no help in sifting or arranging them in proper sequence. What excuse can be given for such a collocation as this (p. 93): "On historiography, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, by Bernheim, is excellent. Kidd's *Social Evolution* is so well known as hardly to require special mention"! On pp. 263, 266, and 267 books are named among which a beginner would certainly need help in choosing. There are times and seasons, at any rate, when one is more useful than another. Yet this is the sort of comment that accompanies the titles:

> References to works in the preceding pages may be a general guide. Every good sociological book refers to literature on the subject, and in this way the student can learn what to read. The different standpoints of sociologists and the confusion reigning in their specialty make it difficult to say definitely what books are best. Scores can be recommended as valuable; but every one should be read critically (! !). They furnish important materials, give excellent suggestions, and are very serviceable to independent thinkers. They will be found far more valuable as aids than as authorities.

For further criticism of these platitudes I turn back to p. 42. At the close of the chapter on "The Genesis of the Idea of Society" there are several pages of references to authors, of which this is the last. The aim, it must be remembered, is to steer beginners. The following are mentioned in order: Barrier, Comte de Chabrun, Combes de Lestrade (whose name is misspelled, by the way), Dalle-

magne. For beginners' purposes, the word *rubbish* will classify the quartette. Then follows DeGreef's *Introduction*, which certainly marks a stage in the growth of sociology, but beginners need to be told where to place it and what is most useful in it. After this come Letourneau (name also misspelled), Schaeffle (*Bau und Leben*), and then the four sociological books of Gumplowicz. For beginners these latter would be equally useful, to all intents and purposes, if they were together what a printer's error has made of the *Rassenkampf*, viz., a treatise on the *horse* contest. Next in order is Simmel's *Ueber sociale Differenzierung*, the most abstruse of Simmel's sociological monographs, and, so far as I know, untranslated. If Simmel is to be mentioned to beginners, why not name "The Problem of Sociology," published in the *Annals of the American Academy?* Just below, the list continues: "Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, and the two volumes by Bascom, *Sociology* and *Social Theory*." The former of Bascom's books has not even a third-cousinly relation to methodology of any sort, and mention of either in such company is bathos. The next book named is truly said to be for beginners, but why single out that reference when the whole volume is for beginners? The paragraph concludes with the safe but not sufficient propositions: "*Introduction to Sociology*, by Arthur Fairbanks, contains a valuable bibliography. A complete system is aimed at by Professor Giddings in *Principles of Sociology*."

All this is a jumble where there should be systematic discrimination. The book may well confirm respect for Dr. Stuckenberg as a thinker, but it will not strongly commend his judgment as a teacher.

ALBION W. SMALL.

Outlines of Sociology. By LESTER F. WARD. New York: Macmillan's, 1898. Pp. xii+301.

UNDER this well-chosen title Mr. Ward has collected the twelve papers published by him in the first two volumes of this Journal. The book falls into two parts—Part I, "Social Philosophy," dealing with the boundaries of sociology, and Part II, "Social Science," dealing with its main features.

Professor Ward's great scientific knowledge enables him to locate and characterize social phenomena in the general scheme of cosmic evolution with a rare precision and clearness. His placement of sociology among the sciences is consequently of classic excellence. Of

late years we have had much running of boundary lines by men who knew nothing outside of social sciences. Mr. Ward's encyclopædic equipment enables him to brush aside dreary discussions of 'ologies, and to mark off the sets of phenomena with which the 'ologies deal. It is astonishing how easy and even popular the questions of frontier become when handled by a master.

Of the six chapters that serve to disengage the science from its neighboring sciences, the "Relation of Sociology to Anthropology" is the best. Here a firm line is drawn between animal and human societies by emphasizing the rationality of the latter. Everything that is being done to bring to light the processes of socialization and control contradicts the easy-going theory that actual society is a spontaneous product due to the social instincts of men.

At a moment when Tarde, Simmel, Le Bon, and Giddings are formulating principles that, being neither political, jural, ethical, nor economic, earn the distinctive title of "sociological," it is well to be reminded of the inclusive nature of the science. Mr. Ward does not regard sociology as an abstract science, pursuing some one principle like imitation or consciousness of kind through all its manifestations, but as a concrete science, dealing exhaustively with a great order of phenomena. It is an *ology*, not an *ics*. It is not the fellow but the synthesis of the special social sciences such as politics or political economy.

In Part II the idea of *forces* is strongly marked by such terms as "social mechanics," "social genesis," "static," "dynamic." The author has been criticised for coining such technical terms as "genetics," "telics," "telesis," but I doubt not the public will soon take kindly to these much-needed words. One who resorts to these six chapters for light on the latest topics of discussion will be disappointed. Peculiarly equipped as he is for the essentially philosophical questions, as to the place and purpose, the scope and divisions of sociology, Mr. Ward has properly refused to be drawn aside by special studies on the behavior of crowds, the laws of imitation, or the forms of association.

Certain of the author's positions will not pass unchallenged. He regards desires as the only true social forces. But suggestion is a great transforming agent when it results in imitations that lift the social plane to the level of some invention or initiative. What Tarde called "extra-logical imitation" is not easily placed in Mr. Ward's classification. Moreover, his psychology is so individualistic as to

give scarce room enough for the rôle of suggestion and the direct influence of strong personalities in the progress of society.

Perhaps too much stress is laid on *government* as guardian of collective interests and agent of progress. Surely the ideals and aims that come to reside in the church, the organization of science, the republic of letters, and many voluntary associations, are real safeguards of the collective welfare and forces of progress. Nor can government be clearly set off from other forms of association by its power of control. While it alone can apply physical coercion, the ideals, standards, and values that are gradually elaborated in religion, art, or literature certainly constrain individuals in the common interest, and constitute cases of "collective telesis."

But while the lines are not quite so clear to us as to him, the distinctions Mr. Ward draws in the dynamic department of social science will last. In this work he has formulated the principles of his system more cautiously and justly than ever before, and thereby guaranteed them a new measure of influence. The book should be in the hands of every mature student of society.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Maryland Prisoners' Aid Association.—The scope, methods, and results of the work of the Maryland Prisoners' Aid Association are briefly outlined in a pamphlet issued by the association (Baltimore, 1897). Its object, according to the constitution, is "to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of those who are in prisons or lately discharged therefrom," but the association has gone farther in securing measures for the prevention of crime. Since its organization in 1869 there has been secured, largely through the efforts of the association, the separation of the sexes in jails and almshouses and the removal of children from them; the act giving judges discretion to suspend sentence in certain cases; the act against female sitters in concert saloons; the act prescribing the sale of cigarettes to minors; the abolishment of "the magistrate fee system, with its pernicious features, and great burden on the taxpayers by overcrowding the jails, through commitments on trivial charges, in order to secure the fee for every arrest made."

The Essential Nature of Religion.—"*Religion is a substitute in the rational world for instinct in the subrational world.*" Much has been superadded to the original nucleus, and belongs to it in the sense of having been produced by it.

Along with the individual mind which worked egotistically for the individual's end worked, subconsciously, what may be properly called a collective or social mind, warning against danger and authoritatively inhibiting all race-destroying actions. "A new device, analogous in many respects to instinct on the lower plane, was [thus] gradually developed and perfected *pari passu* with the reason on the higher plane. This device was religion."

"After the appearance of reason upon the scene, passion not certainly having diminished, but having continued to increase, the new power of gratifying passion only served to multiply the dangers that beset the triumphant legatees of this rich heritage. The very method by which intellect works, far too rapid to give time for the development of instincts, precluded for all future time the employment of this safeguard. A new safeguard must be found commensurate with the forces to be held in check, otherwise the fate of the majority of its predecessors must await the dominant race. Religion, in the primitive and fundamental sense in which the term is here employed, was such a safeguard."

The religious sentiment must be distinguished from its product. The sense of race safety is its very kernel. The conception of religion produced the appropriate institution. "Religion as an institution is a different thing from religion as an idea. The institution arose, like all other human institutions, as a product of the social forces brought into equilibrium for the storage and economical expenditure of social energy."

"In the great dualism of life, religion is the champion of function against feeling, of the race against the individual. It is race reason working for function against individual reason working for feeling. It represents the primordial conservatism of mankind." It represents the race and the future; it denies the claims of feeling and demands sacrifice. "It deals with function, not feeling, and simply serves Dame Nature in her great cosmic scheme of preserving, perpetuating, and increasing life. If to these be added the perfectionment of living beings, this is only because such perfectionment is a means to the supreme end. It has no reference to the deepening or heightening of the quality of sentiment. Anything in existing religions that seems to contradict this statement is something superadded to religion itself — some late graft upon the original stock — and belongs to a modern period."

This may seem to be ethics. It needs to be stated that ethics is wholly concerned with *feeling*, while religion is wholly concerned with function. "Pleasure and pain furnish the only basis for a moral quality, while religion has nothing to do with pleasure and pain, but is solely devoted to the maintenance of life."—LESTER F. WARD, *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1898.

Catholic Coöperation in Charity.—"The primary object of the St. Vincent de Paul Society is the edification and advancement of the spiritual welfare of its own members, while the means to be employed in securing that object are prayer and practical works of mercy and charity."

"It is the fashion of Catholic charity to act, while learning theories, when the needs of suffering humanity demand relief and remedy." This should be supplemented by a methodical investigation of social conditions, in order that the relief may have more social efficiency.

Action should be based upon knowledge. Knowledge of real facts can be obtained only through cordial and active coöperation which such other organizations of a public and semi-public character as may be operating in the field of charity.

"While I would not advocate any direct affiliation with the charitable departments of other religious denominations, yet, where they are all coördinated and operate under the auspices of civic bodies, for the purpose of bringing into coöperation all of the philanthropic forces of a municipality, then would I say, work with them hand in hand, and, while not departing from our own particular sphere or field of action, yet, at the same time, rendering to our dissenting brethren such assistance as we can, and receiving in return therefor the benefit of valuable knowledge necessary for the intelligent conduct of our own work."

"The Society of St. Vincent de Paul has become a quasi-public body, and it behooves its members to so conduct their work that no harm or injury shall occur to the public in general, because of indiscriminate almsgiving by its members." It should willingly, cordially, and enthusiastically join hands, as did Cardinal Manning, with organized charity for the elimination of pauperism.—TIMOTHY S. HURLEY, *The Charities Review*, December, 1897.

The Fundamental Laws of Anthropo-Sociology.—"Anthropology is destined to revolutionize the political and social sciences as radically as bacteriology has revolutionized the science of medicine." Economics confines its scope to only one phase—and that only a secondary phase—of social development. Anthropology furnishes a scientific explanation of the historical development of civilizations, by showing them to depend upon the processes of biological evolution."

The two ethnic elements which predominate in Europe are *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*. "In the south of Europe diverse secondary elements are mingled with these two principal races." They have been called the Mediterranean type. "In the hierarchy of races the first place must be given to *Homo Europæus* (the dolichocephalic-blond or so-called Aryan), while *Homo Alpinus* (the brachycephalic type) and the Mediterranean probably rank in the order named."

1. *Law of the distribution of wealth.*—"In countries inhabited jointly by *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*, the former element possesses more than its proportionate share of wealth."

2. *Law of altitudes.*—"In regions inhabited jointly by *Homo Europæus* and *Homo Alpinus*, the former is concentrated in the lower levels."

3. *Law of the localization of cities.*—"Important cities are almost always located in dolichocephalic regions or in the least brachycephalic parts of brachycephalic regions."

4. *Law of urban indices.*—"The cephalic index of urban populations is lower than that of surrounding rural populations."

5. *Law of emigration.*—"In a population in process of dissociation by displacement, it is the less brachycephalic element which emigrates."

6. *Law of marriages.*—"The cephalic index of children of parents from two different regions is lower than the average between the indices of these regions."

This law may be stated in accordance with our verification of it in the following form: "The dolichocephalic members of a community are more apt than the brachycephalic members to choose their spouses outside of the residents of their own birthplace."

7. *Law of the concentration of the dolichoids.*—"In the dissociation of the elements of population the migratory elements are attracted to the centers of dolichocephaly." Migrants belong to the dolichoid element. Cities and the more fertile regions are populated by dolichoids. That which attracts the second dolichoid is that which attracts the first. "It is the more intense desire, characteristic of *Homo Europæus*, for an active and influential career and for a cultivated life."

8. *Law of urban elimination.*—"Urban life acts as an agency of selection in favor of the dolichoids and destroys or rejects the most brachycephalic elements."

9. *Law of stratification.*—"The cephalic index is lower and the proportion of dolichocephalic greater among the higher classes than among the lower classes in each community."

10. *Law of the intellectual classes.*—"Among intellectual workers the absolute dimensions of the head, and particularly the breadth, are greater than the average."

11. *Law of epochs.*—"Since prehistoric times the cephalic index has everywhere and constantly tended to increase." The length of the head has tended, and still tends, to decrease and the breadth in general to increase.

"The laws enumerated above are obviously closely connected and tend to merge one into another. It appears that they may properly be regarded as the detailed and partial statements of various phases of one general law, formulated by Closson and designated by him as the

12. *Law of Lapouge*, viz., *the law of the greater activity of Homo Europæus.*"—GEORGES PACHER DE LAPOUGE, *The Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1897.

The Study of the Negro Problems.—"A social problem is a failure of an organized social group to realize its group ideals, through the inability to adopt a certain desired line of action to given conditions of life." It is ever a relation between conditions and action, and varies as they vary. Hence social problems change, develop, and grow.

"Given any fixed condition or fact—a river Nile, a range of Alps, an alien race, or a national idea—and problems of society will at every stage of advance group themselves about it. All social growth means a succession of social problems—they constitute growth, they denote that laborious and often baffling adjustment of action and condition which is the essence of progress."

Negro problems are evinced by the fact that a definitely segregated mass of eight millions of Americans do not wholly share the national life of the people and are not an integral part of the social body. "The points at which they fail to be incorporated into this group life constitute the particular negro problems, which can be divided into two distinct but correlated parts, depending on two facts:

"First—Negroes do not share the full national life, because as a mass they have not reached a sufficiently high grade of culture.

"Secondly—They do not share the full national life, because there has always existed in America a conviction—varying in intensity, but always widespread—that people of negro blood should not be admitted into the group life of the nation, no matter what their condition might be. The mass of this race does not reach the social standards of the nation with respect to economic condition, mental training, and social efficiency.

"The great deficiency of the negro, however, is his small knowledge of the art of organized social life—that last expression of human culture. His development in group life was abruptly broken off in the slave ship, directed into abnormal channels, and dwarfed by the Black Codes, and suddenly wrenched anew by the Emancipation Proclamation. He finds himself, therefore, peculiarly weak in that nice adaptation of individual life to the life of the group which is the essence of civilization."

Negro problems differ from all others in the fact that they are complicated by a peculiar environment, the essential element of which consists in the widespread

conviction among Americans that no persons of negro descent shall become constituent members of the social body.

Therefore, "before we can begin to study the negro intelligently, we must realize definitely that not only is he affected by all the varying social forces that act on any nation at his stage of advancement, but that in addition to these there is reacting upon him the mighty power of a peculiar and unusual social environment which affects to some extent every other social force." The negro must be studied as a social group and this in his peculiar social environment.—W. E. B. DuBois, *Annals of the American Academy*, January, 1898.

The Tendencies and the Actual State of Sociology.—Sociology is working a radical renovation of the philosophical and juridical sciences. It has availed itself of the progress made in historic, philological, economic, and natural sciences, transforming them and itself, organizing them and itself. It may be objected that a science in process of formation cannot be a useful guide. Whoever reads all the works of contemporary sociologists will note many defects, such as the heaping up of details of little or no importance, the harping on a few strings, vague generalities, reasoning by analogy, etc. There is a naturalistic tendency to indentify biology and zoölogy with sociology. There is an ethnological tendency which has done good service, but has generalized too arbitrarily. The psychological tendency has prevailed in Germany especially. With a broad basis of truth it wanders off to an indefinite distance from the facts it has to explain; it also makes grave errors by exaggerating the share of mental forces in social phenomena. Such one-sidedness is the common fault of sociologists. For instance, Combes de Lestrade, Coulanges, and recently Kidd regard religion as the pedestal of the social edifice, while Marx, Loria, de Greef, Asturaro, and Labriola see only economic production. The interdependence of causes is not sufficiently recognized. There is crying need for a liberal school or college of sociology, which shall teach more critical methods, proper use of synthesis, which shall weigh and compare the results of different sciences and cautiously and impartially organize and unify sociology.—Francesco Cosentini, "Le tendenze e lo stato attuale della sociologia. Esigenza di un metodo critico," *La Scienza Sociale*, January–February, 1898.

Advanced School of Social Science.—Sociology, though newly named, has long been cultivated in Italy, so that the ground was already prepared and thinkers predisposed to modern investigations in this line. Broad as this scientific movement has been in Italy, it has not escaped the defects of contemporaneous sociology. One-sided views, over-fondness for systematizing, hasty syntheses, forced analogies, reasoning about vague generalities, show the uncertainty and rudimentary state of the new science. This uncertainty appears to increase from the divergent views of psychologists, ethnologists, and biologists, of optimists and pessimists, of spiritualists and materialists, according to the greater importance given to the religious, or the ethnic, or the juridic, or the economic factor in social evolution. In such chaos sociology needs critical direction. It should take account of the different characters of the social phenomenon, not presuppose universal identity. It should profit by the results of single social sciences and should systematize these results without being swayed by preconceptions or partisan feeling. Thus only is a unified science of human society possible. It is proposed to establish such a school at Milan. Its character is to be purely scientific, free from partisan politics. Every tendency and branch of sociology is to be taught freely, not as propaganda, but with scientific criteria and methods. Every theory which starts from an objective examination of social phenomena may contribute some truth. The school is to offer to young men of secondary schools and universities a complement to their scholastic studies and to serve for the education of citizens, giving clear explanations of social movements, of historic causes, and of the consequences of various social theories. The instruction under the head of general sociology will be in general sociology, philosophy of history, history of social theories, history of social institutions, history of civilization; under the head of auxiliary social sciences will be palethnology, anthropology, ethnology, demography, statistics, political economy, philosophy of law, criminal sociology, political science, science of reli-

gions, science of language, social psychology, social ethics, pedagogy, æsthetics. Others may be added, such as the science of finance, labor legislation, history of diplomacy, civil law, etc. The instruction will be largely in the evening, that citizens may profit by it. Twenty professors have already agreed to give regular courses as soon as the school is organized, prominent among them Novicow. The instructors are to be of two classes, "regular" and "free." The "regular" instructors are appointed by the directors and chosen from distinguished men. "Free" instructors may be any who by their academic degrees or published work warrant the directors in permitting them to give, with or without pay, a well-outlined course. Any citizens interested may attend as "hearers." Regular students, *i. e.*, those purposing to take a diploma, and "hearers" may be admitted without any scholastic diploma. There shall be a council of directors composed of all the regular professors and of ten members annually elected, both "hearers" and supporters of the school having a vote. This council will direct the publications of the school, engage instructors, and see that courses are regular and in harmony with the aim of the school. The funds are to be derived from gifts and from entrance and examination fees. Eminent Italian and foreign sociologists, who cannot give complete courses, will be invited to give Sunday lectures. Annual congresses will also be arranged. The school will publish an annual and a bulletin giving reports of the school, courses, etc., and a "Biblioteca" containing dissertations of professors and students.— LA DIREZIONE, *La Scienza Sociale*, January–February, 1898.

Sociology Applied to Politics; Social Theories and Russian Conditions — Gumplowicz (*Sociologie und Politik*) maintains that "politics must become a science, based on natural laws," and that "political practice that does not recognize these laws leads to an aimless dissipation of social forces." The following relates to his treatment of two important contemporary European questions: "The relation of western Europe to Russia, and the relation of the Germans to the Slavonic peoples." Gumplowicz holds that there is an inherent opposition between Russian civilization and that of western Europe, and that the latter must stand as a unit against the aggressions of the former. Despotism, or lack of popular participation in government, is attributed to Russia. But in western continental Europe there are enormous fluctuations in the popular participation in government. During long periods it was not known and now it often means only class participation. In Russia there was the greatest participation of the people in the government up to the latter half of the seventeenth century. The abolition of Russian representation and the rise of a distinct ruling class was an inevitable result of the western influence felt at this period. Russian society is not prone to despotism. In both the movements, represented by the western party and the "Slavophiles," representation has a prominent place. But the faults of western national representation are clearly seen by the government, and the evolution of a new form of representation of different interests is looked for in Russia similar to that proposed by such men as Ahrens, de Greef, and Ward. The real distinction between Russia and western Europe is that "the necessity of a strong government is, without doubt, more keenly felt in Russia; the preëminence of aristocracy in all the functions of political and social life is more remarkable in the West, notwithstanding all its professed love for equality; finally, the antithesis of the classes is stronger in western Europe than in Russia." These differences are readily explained historically, and by no means serve as a reproach to Russia. The second question, "The relation of the Germans to the Slavs is determined by great economical and intellectual currents, lasting a thousand years," the component elements being, (1) "The feeling of a superiority, rooted in success and in a fuller development," on the part of the Germans. "This feeling leads to the presumption that the Slavs are a race of minor intellectual capacity, and this latter in its turn justifies injustices to the Slavs." (2) "The overproduction of population, industry, and capital, which seek an issue and find it most conveniently in the neighboring Slavonic countries." The Slavonic world ununited is too feeble to resist aggression without Russia's help, and hence the prevalence of pan-Slavistic sentiment. The same tendencies are found among the Italians, the Germans, the Americans (the Monroe doctrine), and even the Latins and the Teutons. "Political and economic conceptions cannot be confounded

with scientific truths; they are only the efforts of the human mind to bring into order the real political and economic conditions. From this point of view it is quite evident how pernicious must be the transfer of political and economic conceptions from one region into another quite different one."—F. SIGEL, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1898.

Industrial Insurance.—There are over eight millions of industrial policies in force in the United States, amounting to over a thousand millions of dollars, as the result of the experience of twenty years. There is evidently a popular demand for small insurances. In England a single company, the Prudential, has fairly met this demand. In this country the conditions are somewhat different, due to greater territorial extent, smaller comparative population, and the division into states with separate legislative bodies. As a result there have been innumerable coöperative and assessment and fraternal societies, most of them short-lived. "Industrial insurance is an effort to provide safe, small insurances on scientific principles for the great mass of the people." Its application involves many difficulties and intricate details which are being worked out by the companies. Weekly payments of premiums, though an expensive method, have been found to be a necessity. I, The mortality question. Industrial mortality is considerably higher than the general mortality, due to the fact that industrial insurance in this country reaches only the working people in cities, among whom the rate of mortality is high. This accounts for the expensiveness of industrial insurance. II, The question of child insurance. The evidence shows that "the mortality of insured children is less than the general child mortality." Child insurance does no harm to the children. "The system is a family insurance system, purely burial insurance at the earlier ages, life and even investment insurance at the later ages." III, The expense ratio of industrial insurance is necessarily high on account of the very nature of the business, dealing as it does with a large number of policies, small premiums, and collections at frequent intervals. IV, Effort is made so to regulate the method of compensation of agents that lapses may be prevented. Lapses are a source of loss rather than gain to the companies. V, "Lapsed policy-holders are treated with the utmost liberality." In case of lapse after five years they may receive a paid-up policy. Within a year after lapse the payment of arrears secures reinstatement. Other methods are also provided to secure the policy-holder from loss through lapse. VI, The surplus no longer goes to the stockholder to any great extent. It is either distributed to the policy-holders in the form of premiums or held for their protection. Coöperation on the part of those working among the poor with the industrial companies would be mutually advantageous, especially in two directions: (1) "If any charitable worker finds an individual case of hardship by reason of the policy-holder having fallen on evil times or been ill-treated by an agent, he will confer a favor on the company by communicating the circumstances." (2) "Much good can be done by an effort to reduce the sick and death expenses of the insured, so as to save for the survivors as much of the death claim paid as possible."—HALEY FISKE, *Charities Review*, March, 1898.

Anthropological Data in Sociology.—Gumplowicz finds the origin of society in an hypothesis. Society and social laws are born, he writes, from the struggle of the weak against the strong. The state springs from the subjection of one group to another. He assumes polygenism, humanity composed of an infinite number of heterogeneous elements or primitive tribes. He invokes Vogt, Virchow, Kollmann, V. Hoelder, and Passavant to justify his theory; but Virchow and Kollmann are monogenists, and the others are far from maintaining that different facial or cranial types indicate primitive heterogeneous tribes. If the polygenism of Gumplowicz has no natural basis, if it is a fantastic notion not even clear to the author, it can not be the foundation of sociology. He has no clear conception of his polygenism. He does not explain whether by "innumerable primitive tribes" he means species of one or more animal genera, or whether they are groups that happen to be born far apart, or races, or peoples produced by mixture of races. The polygenism supported by Morton, Agassiz, and others, though disputable, has a scientific basis in implying a

group-relationship not admitted by Gumplowicz. Facts do not sustain his theory. To be enemies races or peoples need not be strangers to each other or heterogeneous; the bitterest enmity often exists between the groups most closely related, because they compete on the same ground and for the same things. The ethnic names quoted by Gumplowicz do not indicate different races, but simply location. In Italy the Latins, Sabines, Volscians, etc., he calls heterogeneous, but anthropological analysis shows them to be of one stock. Again, when two ethnic stocks come together they may fuse without struggle. I am a polygenist, but my polygenism is founded on such facts and laws as serve to classify in zoölogy. I cannot yet tell the number of human species, nor clearly their characteristics. I have tried to establish two species, the Eurafrican and Eurasian. The first extends from the center of Africa to the extreme south of Europe; the second occupies the mountains of central Asia and a great part of Europe, partly pure and partly mixed with the first. Study and observation along the Mediterranean show that, contrary to Gumplowicz, from one race have come very different varieties, and that groups closely akin have fallen upon one another fiercely for the dominion of the great sea. Later changes, such as those after the fall of the Roman empire and those today in Europe, are not to be regarded as struggles of races as commonly interpreted. It can be shown that France is an amalgamation of as many elements as the Austrian empire, with this important difference that there has been in France a fusion of languages as well. The sociologist must study anthropological data without preconceived theories, if he is to know the origin of social laws.—G. SERGI, "I dati antropologici in sociologia," *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, January, 1898.

Political and Municipal Legislation in 1897.—In the suffrage, legislative steps towards the adoption of an educational qualification were taken in 1897 in Delaware, North Dakota, and Connecticut. A constitutional amendment making voting compulsory has been submitted to the people by the legislature of North Dakota. Woman suffrage failed in Nevada; it will soon be voted upon by the people in Oregon and South Dakota. New laws, or amendments to former laws, intended to improve the party primaries, were made in California, Wisconsin, Delaware, and Missouri. The tendency in recent years of modifying the Australian ballot system, so as to be able more easily to vote the "party" ticket, has been continued in 1897 by the acts of New Hampshire, Nevada, and Wyoming. Party lines are also strengthened by the law passed last year in five states forbidding a candidate's name appearing upon more than one ticket. Corrupt-practices acts were passed by Wisconsin, Missouri, and Nebraska. All of these include provisions forbidding contributions by corporations to political parties. Indiana now gives the right to any political party of "polling" before elections, *i. e.*, demanding of citizens their electoral qualifications. A thoroughgoing constitutional amendment, providing for the popular initiative and referendum, has been submitted to popular vote in North Dakota. Nebraska has passed a law making this principle in local matters; and something of the same thing has been passed in California and Minnesota. The civil-service merit principle has been attacked the past year by the "practical" politicians with especial violence. It was defeated by popular vote in Maryland. Governor Black weakened the law in New York. The legislative session in California it is proposed to divide in two sessions with an interval between. No new bill can be proposed in the second without consent of a three-fourths vote. Much legislation has taken place concerning the granting of municipal franchises, particularly tending to safeguard the granting and to prevent long grants. Pennsylvania placed a tax upon the employment of alien labor. Indiana, Massachusetts, Nevada, Michigan, Tennessee, and North Dakota made advances in the checking of contracting convict labor; many states took steps in the line of the principle of parole, and indefinite sentences. Arkansas arranged for a state railroad, the state not to be financially responsible, but supported by local contributions. New, or enlarged, inheritance-tax laws were passed by Montana, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Rather radical income-tax systems were adopted by both North Carolina and South Carolina.—E. D. DURAND, *Annals of the American Academy for Political and Social Sciences*, March, 1898.

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May—for February-April.

CONDUCTED BY C. H. HASTINGS.

NEW BOOKS AND BOOKS REVIEWED.

Explanation. *Titles not starred* represent new publications announced in the standard publishers' lists since the last issue of the bibliography. A *star prefixed* to a title indicates that it was taken from a review of the work in the periodical cited after the title. It may or may not be a new announcement. The *arithmetical signs* following the citation to a review indicate the tenor of the review: ×, uncertain; +, favorable; —, unfavorable; + —, favorable, but with reservations; — +, unfavorable, but with commendation; + +, very favorable; — — very unfavorable; + + —, very favorable, but with reservations; — — +, very unfavorable, but with commendation. Absence of any sign indicates that review has not been read. The *publication date* when not given is understood to be the current year. *Prices quoted* are usually for volumes bound in cloth in the case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others.

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A. Arena.
AA. American Anthropologist.
AAC. Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle.
AAE. Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia.
AAP. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
AC. L'Association Catholique.
ACQ. American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AE. Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen.
AGP. Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR. American Historical Review.
AIS. Annals de l'Institute de Science Sociale.
AJP. American Journal of Psychology.
AJS. American Journal of Sociology.
AJT. American Journal of Theology.
ALR. American Law Review.
ALRR. American Law Register and Review.
AMP. Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Séances.
AN. American Naturalist.
Ant. L'Anthropologie.
AOR. Archiv für öffentliches Recht.
ASA. American Statistical Association, Publications.
ASAr. Allgemeine statistisches Archiv.
ASG. Archive für sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik.
ASP. Archiv für systematische Philosophie.
BDL. Bulletin of the Department of Labor.
BG. Blätter für Gefängnisskunde.
BML. Banker's Magazine, London.
BMN. Banker's Magazine, New York.
BOT. Bulletin de l'Office du Travail.
BS. Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt. Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée.
BUI. Bullein de l'Union Internationale de Droit Pénale.
ChOR. Charity Organisation Review.
ChR. Charities Review.
CoR. Contemporary Review.
DL. Deutsche Litteraturzeitung.
DR. Deutsche Revue.
DRu. Deutsche Rundschau.
DS. Devenir Social.
DZG. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.
EcJ. Economic Journal.
EcR. Economic Review.
EdR. Educational Review.
EHR. English Historical Review.
EM. Engineering Magazine.
F. Forum.
FR. Fortnightly Review.
GEc. Giornale degli Economisti.
GM. Gunton's Magazine.
HLR. Harvard Law Review.
HN. Humanité Nouvelle.
HZ. Historische Zeitschrift.
IAE. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
IJE. International Journal of Ethics.
JAI. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JEc. Journal des Economistes.
JFI. Journal of the Franklin Institute.
JGV. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirthschaft.
JHS. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.
JMS. Journal of Mental Science.
JPE. Journal of Political Economy.
JNS. Jahrbücher für National-Oekonomie und Statistik.
LC. Literarisches Centralblatt.
LG. Labor Gazette.
LoQR. London Quarterly Review.
LQR. Law Quarterly Review.
M. Monist.
MHM. Mansfield House Magazine.
Mi. Mind.
MIM. Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
MA. Municipal Affairs.
NA. Nuova Antologia.
NAR. North American Review.
NC. Nineteenth Century.
NS. Natural Science.
NW. New World.
NZ. Neue Zeit.
PhR. Philosophical Review.
PSM. Popular Science Monthly.
PSQ. Political Science Quarterly.
PsR. Psychological Review.
QJE. Quarterly Journal of Economics.
QR. Quarterly Review.
RCS. Revue de Christianisme sociale.
RDI. Revue de Droit internationale.
RDM. Revue des deux Mondes.
REA. Revue mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.
RéfS. Réforme sociale.
ReS. Revue Socialiste.
RH. Revue historique.
RHD. Revue d'Histoire diplomatique.
RIF. Rivista italiana di Filosofia.
RIS. Revue internationale de Sociologie.
RiIS. Rivista italia na di Sociologia.
RISS. Rivista internazionale di Scienze Social i
RMM. Revue Metaphysique et de Morale.
RP. Revue philanthropique.
RPe. Revue pénitentiaire.
RPh. Revue philosophique.
RPP. Revue politique et parliamentaire.
RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
RRN. Review of Reviews, New York.
RSI. Revisita Storica italiana.
RSP. Revue sociale et politique.
RT. Revue du Travail.
S. Sanitarian.
Sc. Science.
SP. Science Progress.
SR. School Review.
SS. Science Sociale.
VSV. Vierteljahrschrift für Staats- und Volkswirthschaft.
VWP. Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
YR. Yale Review.
ZE. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZGS. Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaften.
ZPK. Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik.
ZPO. Zeitschrift für das private und öffentliche Recht.
ZPP. Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane.
ZVR. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZVS. Zeitschrift für Volkswirthschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung.

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INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.—The following abbreviations prefixed to page indicate the character of the matter :

a, ... Article published in this volume of the JOURNAL
ab, ... Abstract of an article
ac, ... Article in current bibliography (*Bibliography of Sociology*)
b, ... Book (by person named or with title given) reviewed
bc, ... Book in current bibliography (*Bibliography of Sociology*)
br, Book in current bibliography, with reference to a review of same (*Bibliography of Sociology*)
bs, ... Book or article in a special bibliography (*Bibliography of Sociology*)
mb, ... Miscellaneous bibliography (not in *Bibliography of Sociology*)
r, ... Book reviewed by

N. B.—This index may be used as a bibliographical index to the reprints of the *Bibliography of Sociology* by noticing that all references having *ac*, *bc*, *bs* prefixed to number of page refer to titles in the *Bibliography of Sociology*. In the case of subject headings such references are placed at the end in brackets. As the page numbering refers in every case to the paging of the JOURNAL, these numbers should be written on the corresponding pages of the reprints. Pages of reprints correspond to pages of JOURNAL as follows: 1–16 = 129–44; 17–32 = 417–32; 33–48 = 661–76; 49–64 = 713–28; 65–78 = 864–75.

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